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Select Your Conference of Choice:

The Virginia Forum

Considering all periods and all peoples
Showcasing the latest research, scholarly thinking and historic resources
Shenandoah University, Winchester, Va., April 7-8, 2006

The Virginia Forum will offer an exchange of ideas among specialists, scholars and the many people who find in Virginia the stories and persons that make its past so vital to understanding the present. In a variety of formats, participants in the Forum will discuss their interests and pursue conversations that help advance new work in research, writing, education, preservation and the public interpretation of Virginia history. All periods and all peoples within the Virginia experience will find a hearing at the Forum, as will those who look to Virginia for themes and ideas of universal significance. This event will be of interest to students, teachers and scholars, as well as historical professionals from museums, historical societies, historic sites and all related fields including public history, preservation, geography, literature and archaeology.



You will have the option to earn one semester hour of history elective undergraduate or graduate academic credit through our Continuing Education program. Teachers can count this same credit hour as 30 recertification points. An academic enrollment pre-registration form must be submitted by each candidate while registering for the conference itself. See the [Registration and Accommodation](#) section for additional details. **The conference will conclude with an open discussion asking all participants how best to establish the Virginia Forum as an annual event for the promotion of scholarship and writing on the history of Virginia.** Warren Hofstra of Shenandoah University, and Brent Tarter, of the Library of Virginia, are conference chairs.

Sponsorship opportunities available. Registration now open.



You may also e-mail your name and address to **Sandy Snyder** at ssnyder@su.edu or call 540-535-3543 for additional information.

Official 2007 Community Project
 Winchester - Frederick County

Program Schedule Follow "highlighted names links" for biographies and presentation overviews.

Friday, April 7, 2006

Opening Keynote : 9–10 a.m.

Warren R. Hofstra, Welcome and Introduction

Brent Tarter, Library of Virginia, "Making History in Virginia"

Friday Morning Concurrent Sessions: 10:30 a.m.–noon

Teaching Virginia History, A Panel

Richard E. Bond, Virginia Wesleyan College, presiding

Kevin R. Hardwick, James Madison University

James R. Sweeney, Old Dominion University

Warren R. Hofstra, Shenandoah University

Race, Religion and the Law

T. Stephen Whitman, Mount St. Mary's University, presiding and commenting

Ellen Eslinger, DePaul University, "The Black Laws of Virginia in the Shenandoah Valley"

Eva Sheppard Wolf, San Francisco State University, "The 'White Negroes' of Fauquier County, Virginia, in the Antebellum Period "

A. Glenn Crothers, University of Louisville and Filson Historical Society, "'I Felt Much Interest in their Welfare': Quaker Philanthropy and African Americans in Antebellum Northern Virginia"

Family Matters in Virginia

Robert E. Kenzer, University of Richmond, presiding and commenting

Phillip F. Hamilton, Christopher Newport University "The President and His Wife in Retirement: The Tyler Family, Politics and Ambition in Antebellum Virginia"

Jeffrey W. McClurken, University of Mary Washington, "Reconstructing the Confederate Veteran Family in Pittsylvania County and Danville"

Amy Feely Morsman, Middlebury College, "Being a Real Man: How Virginia Communities Counseled Distaught Planters in the Postwar Period"

Constructing a Frontier History: A Poster Session

Kevin Berland, Penn State University, "William Byrd's Dividing Line Histories as Hybrid Texts"

Judith Ridner, Muhlenberg College, "What Can Captivity Narratives Tell Us About Virginia's Western Frontier?"

Casey Clabough, Lynchburg College, "Athowominee"

Special Poster Session Paper Access: *(Password protected and available only to Forum registrants)*

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[\(Click here to access Poster Session Papers\)](#)

Lunch on your own in downtown Winchester: Noon–1:30 p.m.

First Friday Afternoon Concurrent Sessions: 1:30–3 p.m.

Colonial Virginia, Politics and the Early Modern Atlantic World

Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins University, presiding
Thaddeus W. Tate Jr., College of William and Mary, commenting
Nuran Çınlar, Simmons College, "How Investors Govern: The Atlantic Context of the Virginia Company's Politics"
Alexander B. Haskell, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, "What Did Settlers Expect from Government: Toward a Transatlantic Approach to Understanding Seventeenth Century Virginia Popular Politics"
R. S. Taylor Stoermer, University of Virginia, "A Commander-in-Chief Without a Single Sentinel: Anglo-Virginia Politics at the Dawn of the British Empire"

The Changing Valley of Virginia

Pablo J. Davis, Program Director, South Atlantic Humanities Center, Virginia Foundation for Humanities, presiding and commenting
Kenneth E. Koons, Virginia Military Institute, "Processing the Bounty of Field and Forest: Manufacturing in the 19th Century Valley of Virginia"
Paul Christopher Anderson, Clemson University, "After the Fire: Charles James Faulkner, Alexander Robinson Boteler, and the Reconstruction of Identity in the Shenandoah Valley"
Laura Zarrugh, James Madison University, "The Latinization of the Central Shenandoah Valley"

The Continuing Civil War

Marie Tyler-McGraw, Research Historian, presiding and commenting
James J. Broomall, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, "Beyond the Big House: Interpreting and Remembering Slaves and Slavery in Fredericksburg"
Kevin M. Levin, St. Anne's–Belfield School, "Landscapes and the Lost Cause: An Analysis of the 1903 and 1937 Crater Reenactments"
Sarah Selvaggio, Chemical Heritage Foundation, "The Loathing of Lincoln: Understanding the Lost Cause in a Popular Culture Context"

The Culture of Print and Letters: A Poster Session

Roger P. Mellen, George Mason University, "The Germination of a Free Press: A Dissident Print Culture and the Stamp Act in Colonial Virginia"
David A. Rawson, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, "A Spare Fund of Knowledge': Literacy and Learning in Early Republic Virginia"
J. Jefferson Looney, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, "Thomas Jefferson's Communications Network, 1809–1826"

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Second Friday Afternoon Concurrent Sessions: 3:30–5 p.m.

Hidden in Plain Sight: Finding Virginia History in the Library of Congress' American Memory Online Collections:

Marilyn Parr, Library of Congress, presiding, "Virginia in American Memory"

Susan Garfinkel, Library of Congress, "Virginia's Built Environment and the Historic American Building Survey"

Juretta Jordan Heckscher, Library of Congress, "Beyond Politics: American Memory's Presidential Papers as an Unconventional Research Source"

Mark F. Hall, Library of Congress, "Eyewitness Accounts of Civil War Virginia in American Memory"

Gendered Speech, Culinary Tradition and Memory: Virginia Women Across Three Centuries

Sandra G. Treadway, Library of Virginia, presiding and commenting

Christine Eisel, University of Toledo, "Babbling Words: Gossip and Gendered Resistance in the 17th Century on Virginia's Eastern Shore"

Katharine E. Harbury, Library of Virginia, "The Hidden World in Culinary Manuscripts: Interdisciplinary Discoveries about Colonial Chesapeake Society"

Caroline E. Janney, University of Virginia, "The Dead Before the Needy: Women's Relief and Memorial Societies during and After the Civil War"

Taking Jim Crow to Court

John T. Kneebone, Virginia Commonwealth University, presiding and commenting

Derek Charles Catsam, University of Texas, Permian Basin, "Sic Semper Tyrannis: Challenging Jim Crow on the Ground and in the Courts in the Old Dominion"

Larissa M. Smith, Longwood University, "Securing the 'Equal' in Equal Opportunities: The Virginia NAACP's Campaign Against Segregated Education, 1947–1951"

Peter Wallenstein, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, "Segregation, Desegregation and Higher Education in Virginia, 1935–1972"

The Landscape of Memory: A Poster Session

Lydia Mattice Brandt, University of Virginia, "Re-created Domesticity: The Virginia Building at the World's Columbian Exposition"

Evelyn D. Causey, History Matters, LLC, "The Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907"

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Dinner Session: Virginia Roots Music

James K. Bryant II, Shenandoah University, presiding

Reception begins at 6:30 p.m.

Ted Olson, East Tennessee State University, "The 1927 Bristol Sessions"

Gregg Kimball, Library of Virginia, "The 1936 Prison Sessions"

Saturday, April 8, 2006

First Saturday Concurrent Sessions: 9–10:30 a.m.

Patrick Henry Reconsidered

Jon Kukla, Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation, presiding

Kevin R. Hardwick, James Madison University, commenting

C. Jan Swearingen, Texas A & M University, "Henry and the Presbyterians: Pulpit Oratory, Presbyterian Polity and the Rhetoric of Liberty in Colonial Virginia"

Thomas E. Buckley, Jesuit School of Theology/Graduate Theological Union, "Patrick Henry and Religious Liberty in Virginia"

Kevin J. Hayes, University of Central Oklahoma, "How Thomas Jefferson Understood Patrick Henry"

The Very First Families of Virginia, et Alia

Barbara J. Heath, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, presiding and commenting

J. Frederick Fausz, University of Missouri at St. Louis, "The 'Barbarous Massacre' of 1622 and the Creation of a New Virginia: Reevaluating Violence in Early Atlantic History"

Edward D. Ragan, Syracuse University, "Rappahannock Indian Settlement Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: Environmental Stress, English Colonization and Indigenous Persistence"

Arica L. Coleman, University of Delaware, "The Present State of Virginia Indians: The Predicament of Race and Culture"

Reforming Virginia

Nelson D. Lankford, Virginia Historical Society, presiding and commenting

Christopher M. Curtis, Iowa State University, "'Red Republicanism' in Antebellum Virginia? The Inspector Controversy of 1849 and the Politics of Law Reform"

Ralph Mann, University of Colorado, "Appalachian Virginia Progressives: A Comparative Case Study"

Rand Dotson, Louisiana State University, "Progressive Reform in Roanoke"

Interpreting Race and Community: A Poster Session

Scott E. Casper, University of Nevada, Reno, "Mount Vernon, from Reconstruction to Jim Crow: Black Employees, White Tourists and an Alternative History of Historical Preservation"

Lynn Rainville, Sweet Briar, "Investigating African-American

Mortuary Traditions in Virginia"

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[\(Click here to access Poster Session Papers\)](#)

Second Saturday Concurrent Sessions: 11 a.m.–12:30 p.m.

Familiar Sources, New Ideas

Frances S. Pollard, Virginia Historical Society, presiding and commenting

Douglas W. Sanford, University of Mary Washington, "Slave Housing from a Documentary Perspective: Building Contexts for Urban Slavery"

Gary Stanton, University of Mary Washington, "Piano Forte in the Parlor: Antebellum Music among the Merchant Classes of Fredericksburg, Virginia"

Sara B. Bearss, Library of Virginia, "The Dictionary of Virginia Biography: Rewriting Virginia History One Life at a Time"

Enterprising Women

Sarah Meschutt, Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, presiding and commenting

Ann Denkler, Shenandoah University, "'To Train the Hearts and Minds of Their Pupils': Winchester's Mary Tucker Magill as Educator and Southern Historian"

Psyche Williams-Forson, University of Maryland, College Park, "'What the Colored Women Need[s] is an Opportunity to Make Money': African American Women, Food Service and Virginia Railroads"

Geraldine Kiefer, Shenandoah University, "Frances Benjamin Johnston and The Ladies Home Journal Visit the Country of Sheridan's Ride"

Slavery as Lodestar: How Antebellum White Virginians Imagined Themselves

Melvin Patrick Ely, College of William and Mary, presiding and commenting

John J. Zaborney, University of Maine at Presque Isle, "Slave Hiring, White Society and Slavery in Antebellum Virginia"

Calvin Schermerhorn, University of Virginia, "Slave Trade and Proslavery: The World of Silas Omohundro and George Fitzhugh"

Margaret Abruzzo, Notre Dame, "'The Happy Consciousness that his Master is His Friend': Slaveholders and the Rhetoric of Benevolence"

Political Leadership in the Early Republic: A Poster Session

Richard Labunski, University of Kentucky, "The Second Convention Movement in Virginia, 1787– 1789"

John Schlotterbeck, DePauw University, "'This Language of the

People': Local Politics in Rural Central Virginia, 1784 to 1815"
Robert A. Carter, Department of Historic Resources, "James Monroe of Oak Hall and Charles Fenton Mercer of Aldie: The Place of Place and Friendship in Political Collaboration"

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Saturday Closing General Session

Boxed Lunch and Wrap Up: Do We Do This Again? 1–2 p.m.

We recommend that you visit the Museum of The Shenandoah Valley while in Winchester, Virginia's newest history museum.

[Museum of the Shenandoah Valley](#)

General Information (Registration and Accommodations)

Registration – Participation in the forum is by pre-registration only. Space will be reserved when we receive the registration information with payment in full. Phone and fax registrations can be made during weekday office hours with Visa and MasterCard. Telephone (540-535-3543) and fax (540-665-3496), or download and complete a registration form.

Registration forms and payment must be received on or before April 1.



[Click here to download the Virginia Forum registration form.](#)

Standard Registration

Fees – The standard fee includes all forum sessions, break refreshments, and one box lunch. The fee does not include a reception and banquet on Friday evening or the Saturday Museum of the Shenandoah Valley tour. The tour and banquet tickets may be purchased separately.

Scholarship Opportunities - Students are encouraged to inquiry about a limited number of available scholarships being made available to conference

attendees. You must apply prior to March 1, 2006. Candidates may contact ssnyder@su.edu or call (540) 535-3543 for qualification guidelines and application procedures.

Academic Credit Registration Fees – Students and teachers may wish to enroll in our optional “academic program track” where they can also receive full academic credit and teacher recertification points from their conference experience combined with successful completion of all syllabus requirements.

Earn one semester hour of history elective undergraduate or graduate academic credit. Teachers can count this same credit hour as 30 recertification points. An academic enrollment pre-registration form must be submitted by each candidate while registering for the conference itself.

Students pay the additional \$100 (undergraduate) or \$120 (graduate) academic track registration fee IN ADDITION to the standard forum, banquet and tour registration fees. There is also a one-time registrar's office \$25 processing fee for those students entering Shenandoah University credit programs for the first time. Participants MUST register for the banquet in order to fulfill mandatory instructional requirements and classroom time prior to completing all syllabus requirements.

Refunds – Full refunds can be made only if notice is received on or before March 20. There is a non-refundable cancellation fee of \$25.

Forum Sites – The registration desk will open at 7:30 a.m. prior to the initial 9 a.m. session. The registration desk and most forum sessions will take place at Shenandoah University History and Tourism Center, 20 S. Cameron Street, Winchester, Va. You will receive your registration badge and packet at check-in. The opening general session is a short walk to Winchester's famous walking mall at Rouss Fire Hall. The banquet will be held at Hampton Inn, Berryville Ave. A map and directions for conference sites will be mailed with your registration confirmation letter and in your registration packet.

[Click Here to Download a Winchester Area Map Made Especially for Virginia Forum](#)

Map is compliments of Patrick Fly, Frederick County Dept. of GIS, Winchester, VA

Parking - Limited free parking is available at the rear of the History and Tourism Center building but paid (25 cents per hour) parking is readily available next door at Judicial Court Square Parking Garage. The History and Tourism Center is within easy walking distance of Winchester's walking mall and a selection of good restaurants. You will need to drive to our banquet location at the Hampton Inn on Berryville Ave.

Accommodations – Participants are responsible for making their own housing arrangements; we will provide an accommodation directory upon request. The Hampton Inn, 1204 Berryville Ave., Winchester, (540) 678-4000 is one of our official forum hotels where discounted rates are available. Rooms will be held until March 31, 2006 for forum guests. To reserve a room, please contact the Hampton Inn directly and be sure to mention that you are attending the Virginia Forum sponsored by Shenandoah University's History and Tourism Center.

Hampton Inn

1204 Berryville Ave.
Winchester, VA 22601
(540) 678-4000
\$75 – Includes a hot breakfast each morning.

Econo Lodge - North

1593 Martinsburg Pike (I-81 at Rt.37/11)
Winchester, VA 22603
(540) 662 4700
\$55.80 - Single
\$60.30 - Double

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Speaker Biographies and Abstracts

Keynote Address:

Warren R. Hofstra, Shenandoah University, Welcome and Introduction

Warren R. Hofstra is Stewart Bell Professor of History at Shenandoah University in Winchester, Virginia. He holds an M.A. degree from Boston University and the PhD. from the University of Virginia. In addition to teaching in the fields of American social and cultural history and directing the Community History Project of Shenandoah University, he has written or edited five books on various aspects of American regional history including *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); *A Separate Place: The Formation of Clarke County, Virginia* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1986, 1999); *George Washington and the Virginia Backcountry* (Madison House, 1998), *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900* (University of Tennessee Press, 2000), and *Virginia Reconsidered: New Histories of the Old Dominion* (University of Virginia Press, 2003). His current research focuses on the global economy of grain and flour production from the late eighteenth century to the 1950s and on the Shenandoah Valley during this same period when wheat farming and flour manufacturing created a distinctive landscape and way of life.

Brent Tarter, Library of Virginia, "Making History in Virginia"

Brent Tarter is a founding editor of the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* and has worked at the Library of Virginia in one capacity or another for more than 30 years. He was an editor of *Revolutionary Virginia, The Road to Independence: A Documentary Record* (1973–1983), and has published original, primary-source scholarship on topics in all four centuries of Virginia's English-language history and on such diverse subjects as George Mason and Harry Byrd, early pirates in Chesapeake Bay, and medal of honor winners from Virginia during the Civil War. Among his relatively recent publications are an extended needs-and-opportunities article on Virginia history, "The New Virginia Bookshelf," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (1996): 7–102, and "Reflections on the Church of England in Colonial Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 112 (2004): 339–371. He and other members of the staff of the Publications and Educational Services Division at the Library of Virginia are writing a brief history of Virginia for the forthcoming fifth edition of *The Hornbook of Virginia History*.

Presentation Overview:

"Making History in Virginia," prepared specifically for the first Virginia Forum, is a meditation on how for nearly four hundred years English-speaking Virginians have been interpreting and reinterpreting their past and their roles in the continuing drama of human history. The interpreters have included some of the actors in the historical narrative, partisan propagandists, novelists, members of patriotic societies, authors of textbooks, sponsors of roadside historical markers, and academic historians. Taking stock at the Virginia Forum of how our predecessors framed the master narrative of Virginia's history may help us chart the course of our own future attempts at interpreting the history of Virginia.

Friday Morning Concurrent Sessions: 10:30 a.m.–Noon

Teaching Virginia History, A Panel

Richard E. Bond, Virginia Wesleyan College, presiding

Richard Bond is an assistant professor of History at Virginia Wesleyan College, where he teaches early American, Atlantic, and Virginia history. He is the co-editor of *Perspectives On Life After a History Ph.D.* (American Historical Association, forthcoming). His current work focuses upon black life in colonial New York.

Kevin R. Hardwick, James Madison University

James R. Sweeney, Old Dominion University

Warren R. Hofstra, Shenandoah University

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Race, Religion and the Law

T. Stephen Whitman, Mount St. Mary's University, presiding and commenting

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Eva Sheppard Wolf, San Francisco State University, "The 'White Negroes' of Fauquier County, Virginia, in the Antebellum Period "

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Robert E. Kenzer, University of Richmond, presiding and commenting

Phillip F. Hamilton, Christopher Newport University "The President and His Wife in Retirement: The Tyler Family, Politics, and Ambition in Antebellum Virginia"

Jeffrey W. McClurken, University of Mary Washington, "Reconstructing the Confederate Veteran Family in Pittsylvania County and Danville"

Jeffrey McClurken graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 2003 with a Ph.D. in American History. He is currently working on a book project--*After the Battle: Reconstructing the Confederate Veteran Family in Pittsylvania County and Danville, Virginia, 1860-1900*--from which this paper is drawn. He is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Mary Washington, in Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Presentation Overview:

In the aftermath of the Civil War, home was the place to which soldiers wanted to return and rebuild their lives, within the emotional and economic support of their familial households, relatives and friends. Still, this reconstruction of veteran families took place in a new world full of obstacles to that rebuilding process, a world in which veteran families worked with disadvantages due to their soldiers' time away, their wounds, diseases, and deaths. At its most basic, the rebuilding of veteran families required, as one veteran wrote after the war, "using every economy & working every way to get along." This paper will explore what that meant for the Confederate veteran families of Pittsylvania County and Danville, Virginia.

Based on letters, diaries and memoirs, but especially upon an extensive analysis of the manuscript population census, the paper traces veteran families from 1860 to 1870 and explores the variety of strategies these families employed to maximize their economic and emotional benefits. I argue that these strategies included manipulating the family household structure, attempting to succeed in farming or other work in the postwar, post-slavery world by using the labor of all family members, moving away, and turning to friends and relatives. As families tried to rebuild and reconstruct their lives, however, some also found themselves weakened or even broken by problems brought on by military service, wartime actions and the postwar world in which they lived.

Amy Feely Morsman, Middlebury College, "Being a Real Man: How Virginia Communities Counseled Distaught Planters in the Postwar Period"

Amy Feely Morsman is an assistant professor of history at Middlebury College in Middlebury, VT. She completed her doctoral dissertation, entitled "The Big House After Slavery: Virginia's Plantation Families and their Postbellum Domestic Experiment" in May 2004 and is currently adapting her project into a book, which will be published by the University of Virginia Press.

Presentation Overview:

The ravaging of the Virginia landscape during the Civil War and the elimination of slave labor helped to create a severe financial crisis for plantation families. Some Virginia planters and their wives struggled to save themselves from decline in the postwar period by putting their own hands to work at agricultural and household tasks. Making these changes, however, was not easy for elite men or women, for doing so altered their marital relationships and their conceptions of proper gender roles. *Privately*, planters expressed feelings of embarrassment and even emasculation over this crisis in status. But *publicly*, they heard a variety of messages about how to deal with the emotional uncertainties that lingered in their postwar households.

This paper explores the public responses of community institutions – churches, agricultural organizations and political parties – to the postwar troubles of Virginia elites. Planters looked to these groups to help them understand the changes taking place in their households. These groups did not speak, however, with one voice when counseling former masters and mistresses on appropriate class and gender identity. In the midst of a decaying patriarchal system, planters were left unsure of what it meant to be a real man in postwar Virginia.

Constructing a Frontier History: A Poster Session

Kevin Berland, Penn State University, "William Byrd's Dividing Line Histories as Hybrid Texts"

Judith Ridner, Muhlenberg College, "What Can Captivity Narratives Tell Us About Virginia's Western Frontier?"

Judith Ridner is an associate professor of history at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania, where she teaches courses in early American history, the American Frontier, and American immigration. She is the author of numerous published articles and conference papers on the history 18th century Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Her presentation for the Forum is drawn from a new project that seeks to explore how memories of violence carried over from seventeenth-century Ireland to the eighteenth-century American frontier.

Presentation Overview:

By using captivity narratives, one of the more popular literary forms of the 18th century, as the focus of my work, this paper seeks to suggest several important things about the scope and context of cross-cultural relationships on Virginia's western frontier. Because captivity involved such an intimate connection between people of differing cultures, these sources reveal the highly personalized nature of relationships between Native Americans and whites in Virginia. Native Americans attacked and captured those they knew; these were encounters between neighbors rather than strangers. At the same time, captivity, especially for those whites adopted into the tribes they resided with, only further deepened the intimate connection between frontier peoples.

These encounters also had important ethnic dimensions. The different ethnic identities and histories of the participants shaped the way each group approached these encounters and experienced the violence that often characterized them. Different Indian peoples brought different goals and preconceptions to these encounters, as did Virginia's many Scots-Irish and German settlers. None of these peoples operated with a blank slate; each group had its own, patterned ways of dealing with the "others" they encountered.

Casey Clabough, Lynchburg College, "Athowominee"

Casey Clabough, a 2005 Fellow at the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Assistant Professor of English at Lynchburg College, is the author of the books *Elements: The Novels of James Dickey* and *Experimentation and Versatility: The Early Novels and Short Fiction of Fred Chappell*, as well as a broad range of essays in journals such as *Contemporary Literature*, *The Sewanee Review*, and *The Virginia Quarterly Review*.

Presentation Overview:

This paper considers historical constructions of sites along a Native American thoroughfare called Athowominee, "the Warrior's Path," in order to arrive at new considerations of the development, cultural and environmental, of the western Virginia frontier during the second half of the 18th century. It draws on a number of sources—including county histories and primary materials—as well as my own fieldwork—my foot journey covering over five hundred miles of Athowominee during

summer 2004—in noting and comparing specific sites I observed against the accounts of early travelers and explorers, as well as the various historians who have conceptualized them. An excerpt from a large, in-progress, book-length work, this paper will constitute not so much a self-contained theoretical rendering of events, but rather a cross-section model of a historiography that takes into account experiential learning and the fluid, overlapping variables of place, terrain and culture. It is my hope that feedback on the paper will help me to contextualize further the development of 18th century western Virginia for the book as a whole.

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First Friday Afternoon Concurrent Sessions: 1:30–3 p.m.

Colonial Virginia, Politics, and the Early Modern Atlantic World

Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins University, presiding
Thaddeus W. Tate Jr., College of William and Mary,
commenting

Nuran Çınlar, Simmons College, "How Investors Govern: The Atlantic Context of the Virginia Company's Politics"

Alexander B. Haskell, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, "What Did Settlers Expect from Government: Toward a Transatlantic Approach to Understanding 17th Century Virginia Popular Politics"

R. S. Taylor Stoermer, University of Virginia, "A Commander-in-Chief Without a Single Sentinel: Anglo-Virginia Politics at the Dawn of the British Empire"

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The Changing Valley of Virginia

Pablo J. Davis, Program Director, South Atlantic Humanities Center, Virginia Foundation for Humanities, presiding and commenting

Kenneth E. Koons, Virginia Military Institute, "Processing the Bounty of Field and Forest: Manufacturing in the 19th century Valley of Virginia"

Kenneth E. Koons is the General Edwin Cox '20 Institute Professor of History at Virginia Military Institute, where he serves as Associate Head of the History Department. He is coordinator of the department's two-semester World History course and teaches courses in social history. His research and writing focus on the history of rural life in the Great Valley of Appalachia during the nineteenth century. His publications include "The Staple of Our Country": Wheat in the Regional Farm Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Valley of Virginia," which appears in *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900* (University of Tennessee Press, 2000), a collection of essays he edited with Warren R. Hofstra. He holds a Doctor of Arts in History from Carnegie Mellon University.

Presentation Overview:

In recent years, historians have documented well the nature of the agrarian economy of the Valley of Virginia during the nineteenth century, in which farmers concentrated on wheat farming and stock-raising. The grain-livestock complex led to the emergence of rural-based manufacturing establishments necessary to process the food and fiber produced by farmers. Wheat had to be converted into flour before it could be shipped to extra-regional markets. Similarly, farmers' excess corn and rye was shipped out of the Valley as whiskey. Gristmills, saw mills, distilleries, tanneries, and the like were essential to the functioning of the valley's agrarian economy, and yet historians have been slow to examine manufacturing enterprises such as these. To help remedy this state of neglect, this paper examines the size, composition, and functioning of the manufacturing sector of the regional economy of the Valley of Virginia during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. How significant was manufacturing to the economic vitality of a region known principally, among historians, for the high productivity of its agricultural sector? Also, the paper utilizes individual-level census data, canal boat records, account books, ledgers, letters, and diaries to describe and analyze the nature of entrepreneurial activity involved in various types of manufacturing processes.

Paul Christopher Anderson, Clemson University, "After the Fire: Charles James Faulkner, Alexander Robinson Boteler,

and the Reconstruction of Identity in the Shenandoah Valley"

Paul Christopher Anderson is an Associate Professor of History and Alumni Master Teacher at Clemson University. His first book, *Blood Image: Turner Ashby in the Civil War and the Southern Mind*, explores the image of Confederate cavalry hero Turner Ashby, who rose to fame in the Shenandoah Valley in 1861-62 and is buried in Winchester. His current project, a three-volume study tentatively entitled *After the Fire: Memory and Intimacy in the Shenandoah Valley, 1850-1880*, explores the reconstruction of cultural identity in the lower Valley after the Civil War.

Presentation Overview:

His paper "After the Fire: Charles James Faulkner, Alexander Robinson Boteler, and the Reconstruction of Identity in the Shenandoah Valley" is a brief foray into the first volume of *After the Fire*. Boteler and Faulkner were antebellum political rivals who adopted similar ideas about history even though their experiences as "leading men" were vastly different. Both men fully participated in a culture of sensibility that was essentialist: its history, its art, and its literature stressed an organicism, a unity, a harmony—of people, of experience, of identity. Boteler's Confederate experience ultimately immersed him in a worldview that emphasized the harmonious inevitability of history, one tinged with the melancholy of tragedy and failure. But Faulkner, nominally a Confederate as well, trimmed his experiences to the winds—and survived and prospered in the postwar era because of it. By experience Faulkner regarded events not as a series of natural, inevitable progressions, but as full of manmade contingencies that could be reconfigured in multiple possibilities. But only if "history" legitimized those events as natural progressions could Faulkner's own postwar activities in West Virginia be justified and celebrated. More importantly, only in that way could the myriad divisions of the past be polished, its jagged edges smoothed and pieced back together, so that history could be used to reconstitute a cohesive identity for the lower Valley.

Laura Zarrugh, James Madison University, "The Latinization of the Central Shenandoah Valley"

Laura Zarrugh, Ph.D., is a cultural anthropologist and adjunct professor in Cross-Disciplinary Studies at James Madison University. She is currently engaged in research on recent immigrants in the Central Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and teaches a course on immigrants in American society.

Presentation Overview:

Virginia is one of a number of southern states that have experienced a sudden growth in Latino immigration during the past decade. Not only is the volume of growth unprecedented, but the destinations involved are mostly new and rural. Places that have not hosted immigrant populations for generations are quickly becoming multicultural. The small city of Harrisonburg (population 42,000 according to the 2000 Census), which is located in the rural Central Shenandoah Valley, is perhaps the premier example of this new pattern of change. While local advertising once promoted Harrisonburg for its "99.2% American-born and 93.7% white" population, the area today holds the distinction of hosting the second most diverse public school enrollment in the state, with students from 53 countries who speak 38 languages. Among them are Spanish-speaking students from at least 11 different countries. Scholars, such as historian Raymond Mohl, have just begun to document the changes being wrought by the new immigration. He refers to the process as "the latinization of the *Nuevo New South*." Drawing on the concept of "latinization," the paper chronicles the history of Latino immigration to the Harrisonburg area, focusing on the diversity of groups involved, the unique context of reception they encounter in the Valley and the roles played by agriculturally-based industries, "faith-based" communities and social networks in recruiting newcomers and facilitating the creation of a series of transnational communities in the Harrisonburg area.

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The Continuing Civil War

Marie Tyler-McGraw, Research Historian, presiding and commenting

James J. Broomall, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, "Beyond the Big House: Interpreting and Remembering Slaves and Slavery in Fredericksburg"

James J. Broomall is currently a Master of Arts candidate at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro for a degree in history with a concentration in museum studies. He received his Bachelor of Arts in history with a concentration in American history from the University of Delaware in 2000. Last year, he completed an internship at the Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania National Military Park where he worked with staff members to construct and implement a slave-based tour of Chatham Manor—18th century plantation located north of Fredericksburg, Virginia. During this experience, he uncovered fascinating yet troubling stories concerning the plantation's slave community. He is utilizing portions of this research for the paper he will present at the Virginia Forum. Slave resistance, external representations of the slave past, and notions of remembrance are compelling

topics, which have influenced his historical interests to date.

Program Overview:

Two remarkable episodes—exposures of slavery’s tenuous position 19th century society—occurred at Chatham Manor, located in Stafford County, Virginia. In January 1805, a number of slaves revolted against their overseer leaving four people dead, forcing the transportation of two others, and striking fear into the hearts of local Virginians. Forty-five years later an enslaved woman, Ellen Mitchell, purchased her freedom and that of her children. How can these dramatic moments of resistance be successfully incorporated today into museum tours and reveal the complex and often-contradictory bonds between master and slave?

This paper will focus on 19th century Virginia slavery with the goal of exposing pivotal moments in Chatham’s past that can be integrated into museum interpretive tours. Slavery’s meaning then and how it should be viewed and used today are important considerations for the historical community. The politics of historical memory, moreover, twist public representations of slavery. These distortions in turn obscure interpretive opportunities that are intimately connected to the world that slaves at Chatham made. My findings not only reveal new dimensions of life at Chatham; they also speak more generally to the rich possibilities available when interpreting the institution of slavery at any house museum or cultural institution in Virginia.

Kevin M. Levin, St. Anne's–Belfield School, "Landscapes and the Lost Cause: An Analysis of the 1903 and 1937 Crater Reenactments"

Kevin M. Levin teaches American history and the Civil War at the St. Anne’s – Belfield School in Charlottesville, Virginia. His most recent publication is titled, “William Mahone, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History, which appeared in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (December 2005). He is currently working on a book-length manuscript on postwar commemorations and memory of the Battle of the Crater.

Presentation Overview:

This paper explores the 1903 and 1937 reenactments of the battle of the Crater fought in the city of Petersburg, Virginia on July 30, 1864. On both occasions the general public was presented with a version of the famous fight at the Crater, shaped not only by the experiences of the veterans’ own subjective memory but also by the Lost Cause tradition and its accompanying political outlook. Evidence for this can be seen in the blatant omission of African American participation from the 1903 reenactment, even though United States Colored Troops played an important role at the Crater and were a prominent feature in the letters and diaries of Confederates immediately following the battle and later in postwar recollections. Reenactments performed the vital function of connecting memory to landscape, which solidified a narrow view of the Civil War well into the twentieth century. Understanding this process, its outcome and consequences sheds light on the creation and maintenance of public memory. A closer examination of the evolution of public memory surrounding Civil War battlefields is indispensable to the goal of providing necessary correctives to the way these sites are interpreted.

Sarah Selvaggio, Chemical Heritage Foundation, "The Loathing of Lincoln: Understanding the Lost Cause in a Popular Culture Context"

Originally from Wilmington Delaware, Sarah received her BA in History from the University of Delaware in 2003. She continued on and received her MA in American History with a certification in Museum Studies in 2005 from the University of North Carolina, Greensboro. Currently, Sarah is working at the Chemical Heritage Foundation in Philadelphia Pa. As a program assistant in the Collections Department Sarah is working on the building of an archival, object and research collection based on the life of Intel’s co-founder, Gordon Moore.

Sarah has also completed internships at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia Pa, The Guilford Courthouse National Military Park in Greensboro North Carolina and Altapass Historic Apple Orchard located in Little Switzerland North Carolina. She has presented at the North Carolina Museum Council Annual Conference on Digitalizing History and has received the Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference scholarship to attend the Modern Archives Institute in Washington DC.

Presentation Overview:

My paper, “The Loathing of Lincoln: Understanding the Lost Cause in a Popular Culture Context!” examines the modern perpetuation of the Lost Cause and southern memory by using the 2003 protests in Richmond Virginia against the Lincoln statue as a case study. While pro-confederate groups and their actions do not directly connect with the historical idea of what constitutes the Lost Cause, currently some groups are re-interpretating the Lost Cause ideals in order to regain and reinstate Confederate pride. By using the protests against the erecting of the Lincoln statue in Virginia, I suggest that these public actions and discussions insinuate that there is a degree to which the Lost Cause, however distorted, remains a part of the modern landscape.

Because this is a mostly a study of the Lost Cause in a popular culture I have combined sources used in historical and ethnographical studies in order to examine current sources on memory. For example, my paper relies heavily on

internet websites that are run by or hosted by neo-Confederate activist groups. By examining these websites I conclude that these groups refashioned the Civil War from a battle over actual space to a battle waged over virtual space. I also use neo-Confederate conferences, Web blogs, as well as recent and historical writings about the Lost Cause.

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The Culture of Print and Letters, A Poster Session

Roger P. Mellen, George Mason University, "The Germination of a Free Press: A Dissident Print Culture and the Stamp Act in Colonial Virginia"

Roger Mellen is a doctoral candidate in the George Mason University History Department with an emphasis on colonial Virginia print culture. He is currently working on his dissertation, "A Culture of Dissidence: The Emergence of Liberty of the Press in the Public Sphere of Pre-Revolutionary Virginia." Before returning to school, Mellen was Visiting Assistant Professor in Journalism and Coordinator of the Electronic Journalism Minor at George Mason University. He came to GMU after two and a half years as an Assistant Professor at American University and more than 20 years as a broadcast journalist. His B.A. is in Broadcast Journalism from Hampshire College, his M.A. in Mass Communication from the University of Denver. Mellen just completed hiking the entire 2,100 miles of the Appalachian Trail in segments; a little each year. It took more than 30 years to complete!

Presentation Overview:

This paper explores the political culture of dissidence that paralleled the rise of printing in Colonial Virginia by the mid-1700s, and focuses on the transformational character of print culture. A society of deference gradually gave way to a climate that allowed for political disagreements, a need for press freedom, and eventually even Revolution. This study explores the clash between Parliament's Stamp Act and colonial printers. Research focuses primarily on the *Virginia Gazette* and *Maryland Gazette* newspapers of the 1760s, and includes other material printed locally plus the few available financial records of printing houses. (The Maryland newspaper had wide circulation in Northern Virginia.)

Emerging from this research is the transformational character of an expanding print culture and how that enabled political dissidence. Print was certainly not the complete cause of such Revolutionary thought, but it appears to have been a necessary precipitant. From this dispute, and from struggles with the royal governor over control of the content of printed material, the concept of liberty of the press emerges. This paper brings new insight into the Stamp Act crisis by viewing it within the emerging new print culture of Virginia, and it sheds new light on the origins of freedom of the press.

David A. Rawson, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, "'A Spare Fund of Knowledge': Literacy and Learning in Early Republic Virginia"

J. Jefferson Looney, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, "Thomas Jefferson's Communications Network, 1809–1826"

J. Jefferson Looney is Editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, sponsored by the Thomas Jefferson Foundation in Charlottesville and published by Princeton University Press. He was formerly an editor and project director of the Dictionary of Virginia Biography, and he is the author or editor of several works on the history of Princeton University.

Presentation Overview:

Thomas Jefferson maintained an extensive correspondence after retiring from the presidency. He regularly complained about his never-ending stream of incoming unsolicited letters, and the breadth of his contacts, from famous European scientists and American statesmen to obscure charity-seekers and local craftsmen, is no surprise. But virtually no effort has been made to quantify and classify Jefferson's epistolary output, even though he logged in and out almost every letter he wrote and received for his last forty years. This record is of great use to the documentary editor, but it also deserves scrutiny as a source for postal history (since he gives dates of receipt as well as composition for incoming letters) and as a digest of all of the letters written and received, whether extant or not.

This paper uses digital tools prepared by the Retirement Series of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson to provide some hard data on the number of letters Jefferson received from within and outside Virginia and to consider how this changed over time, how these formal written epistles are located within a broader universe of printed, written, spoken, and nonverbal discourse, what was Jefferson's supply network for various goods and services, and how his communication network might have varied from that of his elite and non-elite neighbors. During his last seventeen years, Jefferson received 1,100 letters from Richmond (almost as many as he received from New York and Philadelphia combined), more than 250 letters from Charlottesville, 113 letters from Lynchburg, and 28 letters from Winchester. This study begins expanding and refining these numbers and starts thinking about

what they mean.

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Second Friday Afternoon Concurrent Sessions: 3:30–5 p.m.

Hidden in Plain Sight: Finding Virginia History in the Library of Congress' American Memory Online Collections: Marilyn Parr, Library of Congress, presiding

At the intersection of public history, K-16 education, advanced historical scholarship, and Virginia history on the Internet, this session will bring to light a number of the "hidden treasures" on Virginia topics that are tucked away in plain sight within the Library of Congress's expansive collections of digitized primary materials (<http://memory.loc.gov/>). Following an introduction to and overview of the American Memory collections and the range of Virginia resources included there, we follow with three excursions into document sets from those collections that reveal unexpected levels of information. For first-time visitors to the site, these presentations will provide an overview of the many resources available and will demonstrate the ways researchers can effectively and efficiently navigate American Memory to locate information. For experienced digital researchers we hope to further unlock the riches of American Memory, providing avenues for mining the collections more fully.

Marilyn Parr, Library of Congress, "Virginia in American Memory"

Marilyn K. Parr is Head of the Digital Reference Team and Public Service and Collections Access Officer for the Library of Congress. She has worked in the Main Reading Room as the American History specialist for the colonial and Early Republic periods. In this same capacity she has worked in the Performing Arts Division and the Manuscript Division. With degrees from the University of Minnesota (B.A.), University of Maryland (M.L.S.), and The George Washington University (Ph.D.), her academic work focused on Augustus John Foster, secretary to the British legation, 1804-1808, and British minister to the United States, 1811-1812. She published an article about Foster's experience in the new capital city in *Washington History* (Spring 2000). Dr. Parr is a past member of the executive board of the Society for History in the Federal Government and serves on the Pendleton Prize Committee. Other professional memberships include the American Library Association, Organization of American Historians, Society for History in the Federal Government, U.S. Capitol Historical Society, and the Historical Society of Washington. On a regular basis Dr. Parr reviews titles about American history and Anglo-American relations during the Early Republic for several journals. She recently has presented papers and served on panels at the annual meetings of the OAH, Society for History in the Federal Government, the National Council for History Education, and the annual conference of project directors for the Teaching American History grant program.

Presentation Overview:

American Memory collections featuring Virginia are almost too numerous to mention, ranging from *Early Virginia Religious Petitions* to three sets of presidential papers to WPA slave narratives to *Fiddle Tunes of the Old Frontier*. This overview of Virginia in American Memory collections will both highlight those resources and review tips and techniques useful for browsing, searching, and otherwise making the best use of the Library's multimedia digital resources. Audience members will receive a handout with pointers to significant Virginia-related collections.

Susan Garfinkel, Library of Congress, "Virginia's Built Environment and the Historic American Building Survey"

Susan Garfinkel is currently a Research Specialist at the Library of Congress, where she works especially with digitized visual and historical materials in the American Memory Collections, especially HABS/HAER, and is cultivating a new-found interest in material culture of the book. Before coming to the Library in 2002, Garfinkel held a variety of teaching positions in American Studies and English at the University of Pennsylvania, The George Washington University, Georgetown University, and the University of Maryland. She is currently affiliated faculty for the Smithsonian Master's Program in the History of Decorative Arts, where she last taught a seminar on material culture historiography (Spring 2004). Garfinkel holds a Ph.D. in American Civilization from the University of Pennsylvania (1997) as well as M.A. degrees in Folklore and Folklife (University of Pennsylvania, 1990) and from the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture (1986). Her dissertation featured the cultural meanings of Quaker meeting houses in early national Philadelphia, and she continues to work steadily on projects relating to Quaker material life in the Delaware Valley, and to cyberspace geography. She recently gave a paper for the Vernacular Architecture Forum on the topic "Towards a Renewed Performance Theory of Vernacular Architecture," and has upcoming papers on a group called the Free Quakers scheduled for the American Historical Association annual meeting and a McNeil Center conference on publishing in the age of Franklin. Her most recent publication, accompanying an exhibition at the National Building Museum, was an exploration of elevators as liminal space in film and fiction; an entry on "The Vernacular" is forthcoming for the *Encyclopedia of*

Material Culture.**Presentation Overview:**

“Virginia’s Built Environment and the Historic American Building Survey”
 Along with Pennsylvania and the New England states, Virginia has long been recognized, through its architecture and patterns of land use, as formative in the development of a distinctively American landscape. The Historic American Building Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER), presented in American Memory under the title *Built in America*, provides documentation for hundreds of Virginia domestic and institutional structures from earliest settlement through to the twentieth century. This presentation will provide background on the creation of the collection as well as highlight some of the most interesting Virginia materials—for example, drawings and/or photographs of both the seventeenth-century cottage “Pear Valley” as well as the reconstructed Governor’s Palace and 43 additional Williamsburg structures—concluding with suggestions for how researchers might incorporate such architectural information into their own Virginia-related projects.

Juretta Jordan Heckscher, Library of Congress, "Beyond Politics: American Memory's Presidential Papers as an Unconventional Research Source"

Juretta Jordan Heckscher is a Research Specialist on the Digital Reference Team at the Library of Congress and the former Editor of the Library’s online American Memory collections. Formerly a Dance Program Specialist at the National Endowment for the Arts, she has taught courses in American Studies and in American folklore at The George Washington University and at George Mason University. She holds an A.B. from Harvard University, an M.Litt. from Oxford University, and a Ph.D. in American Studies from The George Washington University. Her honors and awards include a U.S. Marshall Scholarship to Oxford University, research grants from The British Council and the Virginia Historical Society, an arts administration fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Richard Reuss Prize from the American Folklore Society, and the Ralph Henry Gabriel Dissertation Prize from the American Studies Association. An active participant in numerous scholarly conferences and professional associations and a member of the Annette Kolodny Prize Committee of the A.S.A., Dr. Heckscher is currently revising her dissertation, “All the Mazes of the Dance: Black Dancing, Culture, and Identity in the Greater Chesapeake World from the Early Eighteenth Century to the Civil War,” for publication in book form. She has published dance criticism in the *Washington Post* and other publications in the Washington and Boston areas, and is the author of an article on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Southern creolization of African and European dance traditions in an anthology of new scholarship in American vernacular dance (University of Illinois Press, forthcoming).

Presentation Overview:

“Beyond Politics: American Memory’s Presidential Papers as an Unconventional Research Source”

Invaluable for the study of political and military history in the period of the Revolution and Early Republic, the Library of Congress’s online Papers of Virginians George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison are also rich resources for the study of other aspects of Virginia’s history. The Jamestown Records of the Virginia Company of London, part of the *Thomas Jefferson Papers*, are a buried treasure of information about the colony’s beginnings. Other components of these collections illuminate a surprising range of Virginia’s social, cultural, and environmental history—from the rebellion of Nathaniel Bacon to that of Nat Turner, and from intergenerational family relationships among the gentry to baseline data for the longitudinal study of climate. This presentation will highlight some of the lesser-known areas of historical inquiry for which these online manuscript collections yield particularly valuable evidence, and will outline search and navigation strategies most likely to bring such evidence to light.

Mark F. Hall, Library of Congress, "Eyewitness Accounts of Civil War Virginia in American Memory"

Mark F. Hall holds an M.A. in English from George Mason University and an M.S.L.S. from The Catholic University of America. He has also earned a Certificate in Editing and Publications from Georgetown University and an Advanced Diploma in Local History from the University of Oxford. He has worked for the Library of Congress since 1991. Since 2001, he has been a member of the Library’s Digital Reference Team as a reference specialist in Colonial American History. He is the author of a number of articles in a variety of publications, including a biography of George Washington in the forthcoming *Writers of the American Revolution* volume of *The Dictionary of Literary Biography*.

Presentation Overview:

“Eyewitness Accounts of Civil War Virginia in American Memory”

The Civil War was a watershed event in American history and its impact was perhaps felt most strongly in Virginia, which was the central battleground for much of the war. The American Memory online collections contain a variety of Civil War primary-source materials that provide eyewitness accounts of the war’s impact on Virginia. Among these are several collections of nineteenth-century texts, including books, periodicals, and published memoirs. Other collections contain period maps,

both commercial and military, as well as photographs and drawings. This presentation will highlight some of the Virginia materials in the resources available on this site and will demonstrate the ways researchers can effectively and efficiently navigate the site to bring together information from across collections to illustrate a particular research topic.

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Gendered Speech, Culinary Tradition, and Memory: Virginia Women Across Three Centuries

Sandra G. Treadway, Library of Virginia, presiding and commenting

Christine Eisel, University of Toledo, "Testified Gossip: English Women, the Courts, and Gendered Speech in the 17th Century Community"

Katharine E. Harbury, Library of Virginia, "The Hidden World in Culinary Manuscripts: Interdisciplinary Discoveries about Colonial Chesapeake Society"

Caroline E. Janney, University of Virginia, "The Dead Before the Needy: Women's Relief and Memorial Societies During and After the Civil War"

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Taking Jim Crow to Court

John T. Kneebone, Virginia Commonwealth University, presiding and commenting

Derek Charles Catsam, University of Texas, Permian Basin, "Sic Semper Tyrannis: Challenging Jim Crow on the Ground and in the Courts in the Old Dominion"

Derek Charles Catsam is an assistant professor of history at the University of Texas of the Permian Basin in Odessa. His manuscript, *A Brave and Wonderful Thing: The Freedom Rides and the Integration of Interstate Transport*, is under contract with Louisiana State University Press and is set to appear in David Goldfield's series "Making the Modern South." He is currently at work on a project on comparative bus boycotts in the United States and South Africa. His first book, *Bleeding Red: A Red Sox Fan's Diary of the 2004 Season* (Washington, DC: Vellum, 2005) has just been released. It chronicles one magical year in the life of an obsessive fan. Derek found time in between his "real" work to write half of *Bleeding Red* as a fellow at the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities in Charlottesville and as a participant at a National Endowment for the Humanities summer institute at Ferrum College in 2004.

Program Overview:

In a two decade period stretching from 1946 to 1967 the state of Virginia stood at the forefront of crafting a policy of massive white resistance to civil rights advances. During these same years, black Virginians and their white allies challenged Jim Crow on the ground and in the courts to the point where some of the most significant legal precedents of the Civil Rights Movement had their roots in the Old Dominion. This paper will seek to investigate how black Virginians were able to achieve consistent levels of success in challenging *de jure* segregation in transportation, education, and interracial relationships. The focus will be on a series of Supreme Court cases, including *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946), *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960), and *Loving v. Virginia* (1967), and others.

Larissa M. Smith, Longwood University, "Securing the 'Equal' in Equal Opportunities: The Virginia NAACP's Campaign Against Segregated Education, 1947–1951"

Peter Wallenstein, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, "Segregation, Desegregation, and Higher Education in Virginia, 1935–1972"

Peter Wallenstein is professor of history at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. His books include *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law, An American History* (2002), *Blue Laws and Black Codes: Conflict, Courts, and Change in Twentieth-Century Virginia* (2004), and *From VPI to State University: President T. Marshall Hahn Jr. and the Transformation of Virginia Tech, 1972–1974* (2004).

Presentation Overview:

Treatments of civil rights tend to pay little attention to higher education.

Treatments of higher education generally fail to pay careful attention to the ways in which segregation worked, how it came under attack, and how the old restrictions finally fell. My paper, tying the two themes together, draws on statutes, court

cases, institutional records, interviews, and news accounts. It emphasizes the time, between 1935 and 1972, when black Virginians increasingly contested the old regime and demanded an end to traditional ways. It highlights the ways the color line worked in higher education; the process by which enhanced opportunity was achieved even within segregation; and the steps that brought segregation itself down.

In 1935, Alice Jackson sought admission to do graduate study at the University of Virginia; in 1950, under a court order, Gregory Swanson became the first African American to enroll at the school—although he did so under “separate but equal,” and the university remained segregated, albeit with one black student, and then others. In the 1960s, formal desegregation came to schools across the state, and by 1972, black undergraduates had enrolled at, and graduated from, every public college and university in Virginia, including (that year) Virginia Military Institute.

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The Landscape of Memory, A Poster Session

Lydia Mattice Brandt, University of Virginia, "Re-created Domesticity: The Virginia Building at the World's Columbian Exposition"

Lydia Mattice Brandt is in her final semester as a candidate for a master's degree in American Architectural History at the University of Virginia. Her research is centered on issues of late nineteenth century Southern identity and public memory, focusing on how these issues were expressed through architecture. Other recent projects include an exhibit on early twentieth century boarding houses in Charlottesville, Virginia and a National Historic Register district nomination for a late-nineteenth century immigrant neighborhood in Chicago, Illinois.

Presentation Overview:

The Virginia Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, was the first in a series of reproductions of Mount Vernon that gained in popularity by evoking idealized visions of the domesticity of George Washington and of the Colonial era. The initial replica served as a representation of two narratives, one regionally specific to the South and the other a part of a longer national tradition of the memory of Washington and Mount Vernon as icons of Colonial American domesticity. These two narratives served the purpose of at once proclaiming Virginia as having always been an integral part of the Union and also as a remediation of the more recent memory of the South's loss in the Civil War. By appropriating Washington and his home as regional symbols yet alluding to their ability to bring the South and the North together again, the Virginia Building exhibited the complexities of Southern identity after the Civil War; its players and the moment in which it was created embed it in the burgeoning tradition of the Lost Cause myth. The Virginia Building was part of the crafted social memory of Southern Colonial history that grew in the post-Reconstruction period, focusing on Washington's domestic life and the general idealized domesticity of the white, Southern antebellum elite.

Evelyn D. Causey, History Matters, LLC, "The Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907"

Evelyn D. Causey is Historian at History Matters, LLC, a history and preservation consulting firm based in Washington, DC (<http://www.historymatters.net>). She is a Ph.D. Candidate in history at the University of Delaware. Her Virginia Forum paper is based on research conducted to nominate the Jamestown Exposition Historic District to become a National Historic Landmark.

Presentation Overview:

On April 26, 1907, the 300th anniversary of the Jamestown colonists' arrival at the Virginia shore, President Theodore Roosevelt officially opened the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition. Over the next seven months, almost three million people visited the exposition grounds at Sewell's Point on Hampton Roads. This paper will place the Jamestown Exposition in the context of world's fairs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and examine its relationship to the Colonial Revival movement. The Jamestown Exposition of 1907 was one of more than 13 world's fairs and expositions held in the United States between 1876 and 1917, the heyday of American expositions. More so than other expositions of the era, the Jamestown Exposition celebrated America's colonial past as a heritage that would unify the nation. Its Colonial Revival-style architecture expressed this focus on history and promoted an idealized vision of America's colonial past as a simpler, more harmonious era. Although it was unusual in its emphasis on historical and naval themes, like other American world's fairs and expositions of the era, the Jamestown Exposition promoted national unity and celebrated American imperialism and industrial progress.

Lynn Rainville, Sweet Briar College, "Investigating African American Mortuary Traditions in Virginia"

Dr. Lynn Rainville is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Archaeology at Sweet Briar College. Dr. Rainville received her BA from Dartmouth College and her PhD in Anthropology from the University of Michigan. Her research interests include social history, American cemeteries and mortuary practices, ante-bellum

plantations and enslaved communities, Mesopotamian households, ancient urbanism, and the Assyrian Empire. She directs a survey of slave cemeteries in Virginia, supervises excavations at an ante-bellum plantation, and is the Assistant Director of excavations at Ziyaret Tepe (a Mesopotamian Iron Age site located in southeastern Turkey). In addition to numerous articles, she is the author of *Investigating Upper Mesopotamian Households Using Micro-Archaeological Techniques* (Archaeopress 2005).

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Dinner Session: Virginia Roots Music

James K. Bryant II, Shenandoah University, presiding

Reception begins at 6:30 p.m.

James K. Bryant II, Shenandoah University

Dr. Bryant received his Bachelors of Science degree in History Education from Hampton University, his Masters of Arts degree in History from the University of Vermont, and his Ph.D. in History from the University of Rochester. He has been a certified Virginia public school teacher specializing in secondary history since 1994 and briefly taught high school social studies in the Hampton (Virginia) City Public Schools. He spent five years as a historian with the National Park Service in Fredericksburg, Virginia and was an adjunct professor at Mary Washington College teaching U.S. and Virginia History. Dr. Bryant was a Pre-doctoral Fellow with the Frederick Douglass Institute for African and African-American Studies and received the Glydon Van Deusen Award for Excellence in 19th Century American History from the University of Rochester. He currently teaches U.S., Virginia, and African-American History at Shenandoah University. Dr. Bryant's other areas of specialization and interests include 20th Century American History, U.S. Military History, Civil War History, the American South, the Atlantic Slave Trade, Comparative Slavery, and Oral History. Among his many projects include the editing and compiling of primary documents in African-American history called *Dreams of Freedom* to be published by the American History Company of Fredericksburg, Virginia. He has recently published an article entitled "...That Sable Hero": African-Americans in the Fredericksburg-Area Battlefields" for the *Fredericksburg Historical Journal* and is currently working on a manuscript for the University of Virginia Press on the soldiers of the 36th U.S. Colored Infantry and their families in the Civil War.

Ted Olson, East Tennessee State University, "The 1927 Bristol Sessions"

Ted Olson holds the Ph.D. in English (1997) from the University of Mississippi. Presently Associate Professor of Appalachian Studies and English at East Tennessee State University, he has served as Director of that school's Appalachian, Scottish, and Irish Studies program and as President of the Tennessee Folklore Society. In addition to co-editing (with Charles K. Wolfe) *The Bristol Sessions: Writings About the Big Bang of Country Music* (McFarland & Company, Inc., 2005), Olson is the author of *Blue Ridge Folklife* (the University Press of Mississippi, 1998); the author of *Breathing in Darkness: Poems* (Wind Publications, 2006); the editor of an award-winning poetry collection by the late Kentucky author James Still, *From the Mountain, From the Valley: New and Collected Poems* (University Press of Kentucky, 2001); the editor of *CrossRoads: A Southern Culture Annual* (Mercer University Press, 2004 and 2005); the editor of Sarah Orne Jewett's *The Country of the Pointed Firs and Selected Short Fiction* (Barnes & Noble Classics, 2005); the Music Section editor and associate editor for *The Encyclopedia of Appalachia* (University of Tennessee Press, 2006); and a contributing author to *Hiking Trails of the Smokies* (Great Smoky Mountains Natural History Association, 1994, revised edition 2001). Additionally, Olson is the author of many articles, essays, encyclopedia entries, reviews, oral histories, poems, and creative nonfiction pieces published in a wide variety of books and periodicals.

Gregg Kimball, Library of Virginia, "The 1936 Prison Sessions"

Gregg Kimball holds the Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Virginia as well as a Masters of Library Science from the University of Maryland and is currently the director of Publications and Educational Services for the Library of Virginia. His main research interests are African-American history and culture, traditional music in America, and the American South. Kimball was a curator and historian at Richmond's Valentine Museum for almost ten years, developing many exhibitions and serving as the chief historian during the restoration and interpretation of the Tredegar Iron Works site, now the headquarters for the Richmond National Battlefield Park, National Park Service. His most recent book is *American City, Southern Place: A Cultural History of Antebellum Richmond* (University of Georgia Press, 2000), and he has published numerous articles, reviews, and essays. Kimball has long had an interest in traditional music. In 2002 he organized the

Virginia Roots Music project at the Library, highlighting the state's musical traditions. He also assisted with the production, writing, and editing of an associated CD, *Virginia Roots: the Richmond 1929 Sessions* (2002). He has developed concerts and workshops on traditional music for, among others, The Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, the Carpenter Center for the Performing Arts, Virginia's Governor's School, the Library of Virginia, and the Southern Association of Women Historians. Kimball also served on the program committee and was a presenter for the 2005 National Folk Festival. He is currently working on a project to erect historical markers honoring Virginia's early blues musicians. Kimball has published numerous articles on Virginia musicians, including the blind street singer Jimmie Strother, Anglo-American ballad singer Horton Barker, and Hopewell's Tubize Royal Hawaiian Orchestra, a factory band that appeared on radio and recorded for O'keh Records. Kimball plays traditional music in a variety of styles on the guitar and banjo. He performs regularly with Sheryl Warner and the Southside Homewreckers, who won the James River Blues Society's 2000 blues competition and twice performed at the Blues Foundation's International Blues Challenge in Memphis. He also has appeared at the Carpenter Center for the Performing Arts, the Washington D.C. Blues Festival, and most recently with the Richmond Symphony Orchestra.

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Saturday, April 8, 2006

First Saturday Concurrent Sessions: 9–10:30 a.m.

Patrick Henry Reconsidered

Jon Kukla, Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation, presiding

Dr. Jon Kukla has been Executive Vice-President and director of Red Hill–The Patrick Henry National Memorial since January 2000. Born in Wisconsin, he was graduated from Carthage College and accepted his Ph.D. from the University of Toronto. Dr. Kukla directed the research and publishing program at the Library of Virginia from 1973 to 1990, where he also edited *Virginia Cavalcade* magazine for several years. He left Richmond in 1990 to serve as chief curator and executive director of the Historic New Orleans Collection until 1998.

Dr. Kukla is a recognized authority on 17th and 18th-century American history, with special emphasis on the early history of Virginia. He has written extensively about American history and culture for the major historical journals and in several books and has enjoyed research fellowships at the Virginia Historical Society and the International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello. Since its inception more than a decade ago Dr. Kukla has been founding member of the advisory board for the APVA's ongoing Jamestown Rediscovery archaeological excavations on Jamestown.

In April 2003, Alfred A. Knopf published Dr. Kukla's sweeping narrative about the Louisiana Purchase. An alternate selection of the Book of the Month Club and main selection of the History Book Club, *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America* had three printings in hardcover and was issued in paperback in August 2004. *Publisher's Weekly* ranked *A Wilderness So Immense* on its list of best non-fiction for 2003. "Rarely," said *Publisher's Weekly*, "does a work of history combine grace of writing with such broad authority." Historian Gordon S. Wood, writing in *The New Republic*, described *A Wilderness So Immense* as "a remarkable story rich in entertaining anecdotes, colorful characters and unpredictable contingencies."

Dr. Kukla lives on the grounds at Red Hill, the Patrick Henry National Memorial, overlooking the Staunton River valley in Charlotte County, Virginia. His current book project is entitled *Mr. Jefferson's Women*, under contract with Alfred A. Knopf for publication in 2007.

Kevin R. Hardwick, James Madison University, commenting
C. Jan Swearingen, Texas A & M University, "Henry and the
Presbyterians: Pulpit Oratory, Presbyterian Polity, and the
Rhetoric of Liberty in Colonial Virginia"

C. Jan Swearingen is Professor of English at Texas A&M University, and a Past President (1998-2000) of the Rhetoric Society of America. Her book *Rhetoric and Irony, Western Literacy and Western Lies* (Oxford UP, 1991) is an historical study of western concepts of rhetoric and religious oratory. She has recently completed chapter on religion and rhetoric in colonial Virginia for the *Encyclopedia of American Rhetoric*, Vol 1, *The Colonial Period*. She is currently teaching courses early American political sermons, and on the Scottish Enlightenment political doctrines that helped shape Jefferson's language in the Declaration.

Presentation Overview:

The influence of itinerant Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies upon Patrick Henry presents an unusually well documented instance of how Scottish Enlightenment rhetoric and political invective shaped arguments that made their way eventually into the Declaration of Independence. Henry said of Davies, "He taught me what it is to be an orator." The increasing number of Scots in Virginia's colonial population led to heated debates about religious toleration during the 1740s. Henry's defense of dissenters' rights became well known after the Parson's Cause case of 1763, his legal debut. By this time, "liberty" was beginning to have political as well as religious meanings, a shift for which Davies and Henry should both be credited. Their oratory and writings between 1759 and 1775 illustrate the degree to which Virginia's debates about religious toleration became a vehicle for popularizing longstanding Scottish doctrines of political and religious freedom from the English crown. Not only the style of Henry's famed invective, but also the political doctrines he defended, had been perfected by centuries of Scottish and Presbyterian struggle with the English, defending their liberty in both religious and political terms.

Thomas E. Buckley, Jesuit School of Theology/Graduate Theological Union, "Patrick Henry and Religious Liberty in Virginia"

Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., professor of modern Christianity at the Jesuit School of Theology and the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California, received his doctorate in 1973 from the University of California at Santa Barbara. His first book was entitled *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776-1787*. His most recent book, *The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion*, is a study of legislative divorce in its legal, social, and religious contexts. Currently, he is writing a study of Virginia's efforts to understand and implement Thomas Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom.

Presentation Overview:

Professor Buckley's paper examines the role Patrick Henry played in the development of religious liberty in Virginia. Focusing on the passage of Thomas Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom in 1786, historians have given Jefferson and James Madison the lion's share of the credit for that achievement. That law effectively countered Henry's 1784 proposal for a tax to support all religious bodies in the state. By making that moment indicative of Henry's entire career, historians have portrayed him as a supporter of church establishments rather than as a leader in the struggle for conscience rights. This paper challenges that interpretation. Before Virginia could accept Jefferson's statute, the church-state context had to change and Henry bears conspicuous responsibility for that twenty-year process of transformation. During the late colonial period Henry fought to secure toleration for dissenters and in 1776 he proposed the resolution for a religious liberty guarantee in the Virginia Declaration of Rights. But unlike some of his contemporaries, Henry valued organized religion and saw the churches as essential props for civic virtue in the new republic. Despite the rejection of his assessment proposal, his perspective on religion in a republican society became the dominant ethos in Virginia for the next century and a half.

Kevin J. Hayes, University of Central Oklahoma, "How Thomas Jefferson Understood Patrick Henry"

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The Very First Families of Virginia, et Alia

Barbara J. Heath, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, presiding and commenting

J. Frederick Fausz, University of Missouri at St. Louis, "The 'Barbarous Massacre' of 1622 and the Creation of a New Virginia: Reevaluating Violence in Early Atlantic History"

J. Frederick Fausz is a history professor and former honors college dean at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. Since earning his Ph.D. at William and Mary, he has published extensively on 17th-century Chesapeake ethnohistory, the 18th-century Osage-French fur trade, and the era of Lewis and Clark. He was a consultant on Kevin Costner's *500 Nations* documentary and other film projects and has delivered public lectures on Indians and the fur trade throughout Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa. Fred serves on the national advisory boards of the Center for French Colonial Studies and the Jamestown Rediscovery Archaeology Project. He has recently completed books on the 1622 massacre and Chouteau's history of early St. Louis.

Presentation Overview:

Few events in the first century of English colonization are more familiar—or less understood and so little appreciated—than the "Barbarous Massacre" of 22 March 1622. Centuries of myths and mistakes have confused some of the details about

that major watershed event, but recent studies, driven by political correctness and scholarly squeamishness about intercultural violence, have more seriously diminished its significance and relevance for our times. It was, indeed, a massacre of unprecedented scope and intensity and must be analyzed as the first large-scale terrorist attack on English-speaking civilians in American History. Its role in destroying the old Elizabethan colony of Jamestown and stimulating the creation of a new Virginia society better adapted to American realities confirms the central importance of intercultural and ideological violence for interpreting Britain's Atlantic History in the seventeenth century.

Edward D. Ragan, Syracuse University, "Rappahannock Indian Settlement Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: Environmental Stress, English Colonization, and Indigenous Persistence"

Arica L. Coleman, University of Delaware, "The Present State of Virginia Indians: The Predicament of Race and Culture"

Arica L. Coleman recently received her doctorate in American Studies with a specialization in African American - Native American relations at the Union Institute and University (Cincinnati, Ohio). Her dissertation entitled "Notes on the State of Virginia: Africans, Indians, and the Paradox of Racial Integrity," is a narrative history of African American -Native American relations in Virginia from the colonial era to the present. It explores the legacy of racial purity as well as the complex negotiations of racial identity for Native Americans of African descent in the present state of Virginia. Dr. Coleman serves as an adjunct faculty member in the Writing and Black Studies Programs at the University of Delaware. She is also a member of the Delaware Humanities Speakers Bureau and serves as the African American Studies program evaluator. Dr. Coleman's ancestral roots are in Virginia which are detailed in her article "Slavery Up Close and Personal," (Ancestry Magazine 2000), which details her research journey in uncovering the place and people of her slave past in King George County, Virginia. Her forthcoming article "Tell the Court I Love My [Indian] Wife: Interrogating Race and Self Identity in Loving V Virginia," which examines the self identity of Mildred Loving as an Indian woman will appear in *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture and Society* (March 2006).

Presentation Overview:

"The Present State of Virginia Indians: The Predicament of Race and Culture," will contribute to the discourse regarding the legacy of the racial integrity efforts in Virginia by reexamining the role of twentieth-century anthropological advocacy on behalf of the Virginia Indians and the ways in which such advocacy contributed to the racial integrity campaign. While scholars have cited the Virginia case as an exemplar of the benefits of such advocacy, my paper will demonstrate that Virginia's anthropological advocacy should be viewed as a cautionary tale rather than as a model for others to follow. Such advocacy reified the notion of racial purity, further driving racial divisions among people of African, Indian and African/Indian admixture which persist to this day. The paper will focus on the activities of renowned scholar Frank Speck, who spent a quarter of a century in an effort to revive Native American identity and culture in the Commonwealth. Through his effort to rescue the Amerindian population from Walter Plecker's ethnocidal regime, Speck, while attempting to construct an Indian identity based on culture, found himself wedged between the predicament of race which used the absence of Blackness as the defining criteria for Native American identity. While Plecker believed Virginia Indians were no longer Indian due to Black admixture, Speck believed they could be saved if they no longer intermarried with Blacks and maintained a policy of segregation from the Black community. A new generation of advocates followed in Speck's footsteps and assisted eight tribes in gaining state recognition. Nevertheless, anthropological advocates promoted the same racialist ideology as their foes which resulted in split families, churches and communities. It also poisoned relations between people of African and Indian descent, a legacy which continues in the present state of Virginia. Therefore, I argue that anthropological advocacy in the case of the Virginia Indians was at once both beneficial and detrimental.

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Reforming Virginia

Nelson D. Lankford, Virginia Historical Society, presiding and commenting

Christopher M. Curtis, Iowa State University, "'Red Republicanism' in Antebellum Virginia? The Inspector Controversy of 1849 and the Politics of Law Reform"

Ralph Mann, University of Colorado, "Appalachian Virginia Progressives: A Comparative Case Study"

Dr. Ralph Mann (Ph.D. Stanford University) Mann teaches 19th century U.S. Social

History and Civil War and Reconstruction at Colorado University where he is currently the Department of History's Distinguished Teaching Professor. His research centers on the social impacts of Western mining and of guerrilla warfare in the Civil War Appalachian South. His most important historical works are: *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California*, and "Neighbors and Kin: War and Subsistence in Appalachian Virginia" (forthcoming). He has won two Colorado University awards for undergraduate advising; the Boulder Faculty Teaching Excellence Award, and the Kayden Faculty Book Manuscript Award. Dr. Mann can be reached at Ralph.Mann@Colorado.EDU

Presentation Overview:

In the early 20th century a group of "Progressives" came to prominence in Dickenson County in Virginia's Appalachian Southwest. His presentation will put this group into the context of Virginia Progressivism as a whole, stressing how their historical experiences set them on a very different road to progressive change. Dickenson's progressives were drawn from a new elite of storekeepers, attorneys, teachers and local entrepreneurs. Most of these new elites were educated outside of the mountainous regions of Virginia and they were very aware of their differences when compared to the old land-based leadership. On the surface, they were the "schools and roads" progressives common to Southern conservative reform, but they certainly did not call on an "Old Virginia" ideology to rationalize their goals. Raymond Pulley's model in *Old Virginia Restored* posits that Virginia Progressivism could occur only after the chaos of Reconstruction and Readjusterism had been brought under control, and blacks and poor whites had been eliminated from politics. But Reconstruction had no impact on the area that would become Dickenson (1880); there was only a tiny African-American population; and the Readjusters unified the new county by giving residents a new set of political common goals: schools and transportation. Indeed, the local progressive movement extended, rather than opposed, the Readjuster program. Dickenson opposed the Constitution of 1902; its progressives' emphasis on education was in part intended to cope with the new literacy requirements. In much of this, Dickenson resembled other Appalachian counties--I will conclude by putting the Dickenson experience into an Appalachian context.

Rand Dotson, Louisiana State University, "Progressive Reform in Roanoke"

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Interpreting Race and Community, A Poster Session

Scott E. Casper, University of Nevada, Reno, "Mount Vernon, from Reconstruction to Jim Crow: Black Employees, White Tourists, and an Alternative History of Historical Preservation"
Lynn Rainville, Sweet Briar College, "Investigating African American Mortuary Traditions in Virginia"

Dr. Lynn Rainville is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Archaeology at Sweet Briar College. Dr. Rainville received her BA from Dartmouth College and her PhD in Anthropology from the University of Michigan. Her research interests include social history, American cemeteries and mortuary practices, ante-bellum plantations and enslaved communities, Mesopotamian households, ancient urbanism, and the Assyrian Empire. She directs a survey of slave cemeteries in Virginia, supervises excavations at an ante-bellum plantation, and is the Assistant Director of excavations at Ziyaret Tepe (a Mesopotamian Iron Age site located in southeastern Turkey). In addition to numerous articles, she is the author of *Investigating Upper Mesopotamian Households Using Micro-Archaeological Techniques* (Archaeopress 2005).

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Second Saturday Concurrent Sessions: 11 a.m.–12:30 p.m.
Familiar Sources, New Ideas

Frances S. Pollard, Virginia Historical Society, presiding and commenting

Douglas W. Sanford, University of Mary Washington, "Slave Housing from a Documentary Perspective: Building Contexts for Urban Slavery"

Douglas W. Sanford, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Historic Preservation, University of Mary Washington (UMW); Director – Center for Historic Preservation at UMW

Beginning with a B.A. in Anthropology from William and Mary and an M.A. in American Civilization from the University of Pennsylvania, Douglas Sanford's career has focused on historical archaeology within the Chesapeake region. Research interests include plantation and industrial contexts, and particularly the study of

enslaved African Americans. His dissertation work focused on slave-related sites at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello plantation in Charlottesville, representing the culmination of a PhD in Anthropology at the University of Virginia. Since 1994 he has been with the Department of Historic Preservation at the University of Maryland Washington, teaching courses in archaeology, material culture, and cultural resource management.

Presentation Overview:

Archaeological, historical, and architectural studies of enslaved African Americans have centered on rural slavery. While historians have paid significant attention to urban slavery, archaeologists' and architectural historians' efforts remain limited and less cohesive. Given recent comparative approaches to the multiple contexts for slavery and African-American cultures, the need for more attention to relatively neglected slave-based societies has arisen. So has the practice of developing and sharing computerized databases of standardized information for aspects of slavery. This study incorporates such an approach, compiling information on slave housing from documentary sources, with attention directed to the nature of slave residences in Virginia's antebellum towns and cities. Data are drawn from the fire-insurance policies of the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia (1796-1865) to establish patterns of urban slave housing as to size, materials, placement within lots, and financial investment. Additional information from census, tax, and court records serve to further illuminate slaveholdings and residency within the case study of Fredericksburg, Virginia. Urban practices for hiring out slaves and for slave to live out from masters also contributed to housing options. Such research underscores regularities and variation in the architecture, household composition, and material opportunities for enslaved African Americans as well as urban slavery's fluid nature.

Gary Stanton, University of Maryland Washington, "Piano Forte in the Parlor: Antebellum Music among the Merchant Classes of Fredericksburg, Virginia"

Sara B. Bearss, Library of Virginia, "The Dictionary of Virginia Biography: Rewriting Virginia History One Life at a Time"

Since 2000, Sara B. Bearss has been senior editor of the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, published by the Library of Virginia. She is also the book review editor for *Virginia Libraries*, the quarterly magazine of the Virginia Library Association. She received an M.A. from the University of Virginia. She is the author of *The Story of Virginia, an American Experience* (1995), and her articles have appeared in the *Journal of the Early Republic*, *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, *Virginia Cavalcade*, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, the *Ellen Glasgow Newsletter*, and *Perspectives*, the American Historical Association's newsletter.

Program Overview:

The *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* is the first scholarly, comprehensive biographical reference work on Virginia. This presentation will describe how the *DVB* is revolutionizing the study of Virginia history and how researchers can use the bricks and mortar of the *DVB* biographies as the raw materials to construct new histories of Virginia and to provide a deeper, more thorough understanding of the lives of all Virginians.

Many of the *DVB*'s entries offer the first reliable biography ever printed about their subjects. The project's comprehensive character has already led to a significant revision of portions of the written history of Virginia through the expansion of the cast of characters, the correction of facts and the elucidation of relationships and networks, the new interpretations presented in the biographies, and the questions suggested by close reading of grouped biographies. By the time the project is completed, the publication of the *DVB* will necessitate a complete rewriting of the entire history of Virginia to take account of the many economic, institutional, organizational, and personal history resources that the project has discovered and employed for the first time.

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Enterprising Women

Sarah Meschutt, Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, presiding and commenting

Ann Denkler, Shenandoah University, "'To Train the Hearts and Minds of Their Pupils': Winchester's Mary Tucker Magill as Educator and Southern Historian"

Psyche Williams-Forsen, University of Maryland, College Park, "'What the Colored Women Need[s] is an Opportunity to Make Money': African American Women, Food Service and Virginia Railroads"

Psyche Williams-Forsen is Assistant Professor of Race and Identity in the Department of American Studies at the University of Maryland College Park. She is the Humanities Book Review Editor for the journal *Food and Foodways*. Williams-Forsen is also the recipient of a prestigious Ford Foundation Diversity Fellowship (2005-06) and has received research fellowships from the Virginia Historical Society, the Winterthur Museum and

Library, and the Smithsonian Institution. Her book, *Building Houses Out of Chicken Legs: Black Women, Food, and Power* will be published by the University of North Carolina Press in 2006.

Presentation Overview:

After the Civil War, many blacks viewed the railroads as a means of escaping the vicious social and economic conditions of the rural south. The railroad served as a major link between the south and other geographical locations, and it provided numerous opportunities for African American men (and women). Among these opportunities was a chance to engage in formal and informal aspects of entrepreneurship. This was particularly the case for women hucksters, vendors, and hawkers. This study employs cultural, historical, and critical methods to document the traditions and practices of African American women who served as hucksters and vendors around train tracks. Personal narratives, travel logs, newspaper accounts, historical manuscripts, and oral lore are replete with stories of women, many black, some bearing trays of food on their heads, lining the tracks and walking the aisles of stations waiting for trains to approach. At the proper moment, they would boldly approach passengers offering chicken, eggs, coffee, rolls, and other foodstuffs. This paper will explore preliminary investigations into these informal enterprises and the ways in which they bring to the fore the agency of the women often rendered invisible in some of the early capitalist economies of rural Virginia.

Geraldine Kiefer, Shenandoah University, "Frances Benjamin Johnston and The Ladies Home Journal Visit the Country of Sheridan's Ride"

Geraldine Kiefer is an assistant professor of art history and art at Shenandoah University. Over the years Gerry has taught a dizzying number and array of courses at distinguished institutions that include Kent State and Case Western Reserve, two of her alma maters, as well as Cleveland State University, Notre Dame, and the University of Cincinnati. She has been invited to deliver prepared lectures such as the one we are about to hear at a number of other colleges and universities, and on frequent occasion has made less formal presentations at regional club meetings and in such venues as local libraries, public-school classrooms, and church Sunday schools. An exhibited artist herself, Gerry has both curated and judged a variety of art exhibitions. She has also written book and exhibition reviews, scholarly articles, and exhibition catalogues, has published a monograph on photographer Alfred Stieglitz, and is currently under contract to write a book on Margaret Bourke-White.

Presentation Overview:

In 1900-01 enterprising Washington photographer-illustrator Frances Benjamin Johnston proposed, recorded and published a Ladies' Home Journal "pictorial" (center spread) on the route of General Philip Sheridan's famous 1864 ride to Winchester. As repackaged by its editors, the piece "centered" that much pictured and poeticized story in the place where it transpired (the Valley Turnpike between Winchester and Middletown), and fueled three of the Journal's marketing campaigns: picturesque travel, nostalgia, and the burgeoning field of women's photography.

Johnston and the Journal effectively packaged the Valley, Sheridan and Civil War memory into a spectacle and passage--staged, via stage, in an "old-world" and "old Virginia" setting. In so doing, she resuscitated and updated the 1850s notion of the pastoral garden, including its baggage of rural rusticity and racial stereotypes. In making these notions "real" through photography, however, she resuscitated cultural and historic myths that perpetuated into the ensuing automobile age. Furthermore, her photographs announced and presaged the commodification of the Valley and its distribution through postcards, coffee-table books, and regional histories. They muscled both Sheridan and the Valley into modern consumer society, providing an uneasy mix of myth and modernity, and a radical conjunction of masculine Civil War culture and feminine commodity culture.

The intent of this presentation is to introduce, then survey and plot the following contexts for Johnston's project:

1. Introduction: her photographs; the tour
2. Valley imagery, transportation and commerce in the American rural landscape
3. Valley imagery and regional commerce: the "commercial" photograph album
4. The commerce in the "Old South" and "Old Virginia": race and visibility
5. The commerce of imagery in The Ladies' Home Journal
6. Frances Benjamin Johnston's work: exposition photography, educational photography, photojournalism, travel, the woman photographer
7. Johnston and Sheridan's Ride in the 1890s: from fantasy to poetic realism
8. Johnston, Sheridan's Ride and the journals: gender in the saddle, 1890s style
9. Early-20th-century postcards and photographs of Sheridan's Ride and the

Valley Turnpike

10. Conclusion: the legacy; the tour

It will be shown that Johnston not only centered Sheridan's Ride in turn-of-the-century and fine-art photography, but recast this trope and route of white male bravery and adventure in the imagery of the history-, gender- and race-contested American marketplace. Old turnpikes, military pageantry, the photographed Valley, "Old Virginia," and particularly the Journal figured in this mix. Johnston's photography added art, education and spectacle. Reprinted, re-nationalized and re-contextualized, a consumer-streamlined country ride would map the route as retreat and destination in the automobile age. The way would be paved for the "mainstreaming" of Sheridan's Ride.

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Slavery as Lodestar: How Antebellum White Virginians Imagined Themselves

Melvin Patrick Ely, College of William and Mary, presiding and commenting

Melvin Patrick Ely writes and teaches about the history of African Americans and of the South. His recent book, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2004; Vintage Books, 2005), tells the story of free African Americans in one Virginia county and their relations with whites and enslaved blacks. The book won the Bancroft Prize, the American Historical Association's Albert J. Beveridge Award for best book on American history (US, Canada, or Latin America), the AHA's Wesley-Logan Prize for best book on the history of the African diaspora, and the Library of Virginia Literary Award for Nonfiction. *Israel on the Appomattox* was named an Editor's Choice by the *New York Times Book Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, a Best Book of 2004 by the *Washington Post Book World* and two other metropolitan newspapers, and an Outstanding Academic Title by *Choice* magazine. It was the runner-up for the Mark Lynton Prize in History, a finalist for the Frederick Douglass Book Prize and the John Hope Franklin Prize, and a selected title of the History Book Club.

Melvin Ely has also written *The Adventures of Amos 'n' Andy: A Social History of an American Phenomenon* (1991; 2nd edition, 2001); that book probes the racial ideas and behavior of black and white Americans as reflected in the popular radio and television series and in the ways people of both races responded to it. Like *Israel on the Appomattox*, Ely's *Amos 'n' Andy* was featured on the front cover of the *New York Times Book Review*, which cited it as a Notable Book of 1991.

Ely taught for a number of years at Yale University, where he was awarded both the Prize for Outstanding Scholarly Publication and Research and the Prize for Teaching Excellence by Yale College. He served as Fulbright Professor of American Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1998-1999. He is chair of the board of directors of the University of Virginia Press. Ely received his doctoral degree from Princeton University in 1985, and a master's degree in linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin in 1978.

John J. Zaborney, University of Maine at Presque Isle, "Slave Hiring, White Society and Slavery in Antebellum Virginia"

John Zaborney received his BA in History and Political Science from Bridgewater College (Virginia), his MA in History from the State University of New York at Cortland, and his Ph.D. in History from the University of Maine. His specialization is slavery in the United States, and he is completing a book manuscript on slave hiring in Virginia. Zaborney is Associate Professor of History at the University of Maine at Presque Isle.

Presentation Overview:

Slave hiring, or renting, was a mechanism whereby slaves were transferred between persons or firms. In antebellum Virginia, slave hiring was pervasive in rural areas as well as in cities, and involved slave women and children as well as men. Numerous whites carried out the logistical tasks which facilitated transfer of slaves from owners to renters. Also, slave hiring was a part of the long-standing, positive relationships between different groups of whites centered around mutual assistance. These activities and relationships mitigated any potential resentments between whites based upon slave ownership status.

In a variety of ways, then, slave hiring linked all groups of white Virginians (defined by class, gender, age, household composition, birthplace, ethnicity, and occupation) to slavery generally. Contrary to the most recent contention of another historian of slave hiring, therefore, evidence from Virginia shows that the practice enhanced white solidarity among apparently disparate groups of whites, and so edified Virginia slavery on the eve of the Civil War.

John J. Zaborney

**Associate Professor of History
University of Maine at Presque Isle
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Calvin Schermerhorn, University of Virginia, "Slave Trade and Proslavery: The World of Silas Omohundro and George Fitzhugh"

Schermerhorn's research focuses on how African Americans resisted family disruption brought about by slaveholders in the Virginia and Maryland Chesapeake hoping to profit from selling them and by the slave traders who facilitated their forced transportation to the cotton frontier of the Lower South. Part of the argument is that defenders of slavery as a positive good helped to legitimate widespread family disruption in the name of an imagined planter paternalism. Before entering the University of Virginia, he went to Harvard Divinity School (M.T.S., 2000) and St. Mary's College of Maryland (B.A., 1998). A native of Southern California, he grew up in Southern Maryland.

Presentation Overview:

This presentation addresses how the slave trade in antebellum tidewater Virginia expanded amid positive defenses of slavery in behalf of capitalist expansion and economic diversification. The demographic shifts to which the slave trade gave rise helped to transform the tidewater into an incipiently industrial and economically diversified region. Emigration of enslaved people hovered above twenty percent of the enslaved population each decade between 1800 and the late 1850s and reached a peak of nearly 30 percent during the decade of the 1830s. Slave owners trained and retained skilled slaves, hired out others, and split families when market conditions favored sale. By the late 1840s, the economy of the tidewater was rapidly diversifying and its port cities were thriving, which provided the inspiration for George Fitzhugh's vision of Virginia's future. Fitzhugh argued for a resurgence of efficient economic advances and internal improvements as an outgrowth of an ostensibly stable paternalistic slave society. Like most proslavery writers after 1835, Fitzhugh's motivations were to ensure that the vast profits masters made on the backs of slaves found their way back into southern hands. Richmond slave trader Silas Omohundro represented a class of traders who were busy advancing the region in just that direction.

Margaret Abruzzo, Notre Dame, "'The Happy Consciousness that his Master is His Friend': Slaveholders and the Rhetoric of Benevolence"

Margaret Abruzzo is an Edward F. Sorin Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Notre Dame, where she is revising her dissertation, "Polemical Pain: Slavery, Suffering, and Sympathy in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Moral Debate," for publication as a book. The manuscript traces the development of moral concern about pain and its impact on the American debate over slavery from the early eighteenth century until the Civil War.

Presentation Overview:

Views of pain shifted gradually during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from acceptance of pain as inevitable to moral revulsion at its deliberate infliction. Antebellum abolitionists assaulted slavery by demonstrating, through bloody and graphic detail, the cruelty of slavery. But they too easily assumed that they could trump the battle by invoking cruelty. By the 1840s, proslavery claims to humanitarianism undermined their confidence. This paper examines the efforts of Virginia slaveholders and their defenders to lay claim to this moral language of humanitarianism and to portray slavery as not only just, but fundamentally humane. It focuses on their claims of personal benevolence as voiced in their private letters, diaries, and plantation books in the 1840s and 1850s. Slaveholders' private papers reveal their persistent concern with demonstrating their humanity; their moral self-understandings depended on defusing attacks on slavery as a system of bloody cruelty. Slaveholders' claims about benevolence have too often been treated as the outgrowth of a static slaveholding ideology; we can better understand them in the context of a fierce debate: these claims served as private rhetoric in a battle for their moral identity. These claims now seem patently absurd, but they once seriously vexed abolitionists.

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Political Leadership in the Early Republic, A Poster Session

Richard Labunski, University of Kentucky, "The Second Convention Movement in Virginia, 1787– 1789"

Richard Labunski is a professor in the School of Journalism and Telecommunications at the University of Kentucky. He previously taught at the University of Washington and Penn State. He has a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. in political science from the University of California. His J.D. is from Seattle University School of Law. Labunski is the author of five books, including the soon-to-be

published *James Madison and the Struggle for the Bill of Rights* (Oxford University Press in its "Pivotal Moments in American History" series). He has written numerous journal articles and newspaper commentaries on the First Amendment and the early republic. He has also written for the History News Network, History News Service, and has done a commentary for "Talking History" on public radio.

Presentation Overview:

Few scholars have examined how close this nation came to having a second constitutional convention during the ratification period. Leading political figures such as Edmund Randolph, George Mason, and Patrick Henry demanded that a convention be held to modify the transfer of power from the states to the new federal government and to provide for explicit protection of individual rights. Virginia and New York formally called for a second convention.

James Madison worried about efforts to organize such a convention at the very time that states were debating whether to ratify the Constitution. Virginia came close to making its acceptance of the Constitution contingent upon the approval of amendments by a second convention or the First Congress. Madison believed that conditional ratification was tantamount to rejection and could derail the ratification process. A second convention would likely have been dominated by Anti-Federalists, such as Henry, who would have proposed radical changes.

This paper will discuss efforts to organize such a convention, how such a convention would have been conducted, and what its impact may have been. Even if such a convention had been held after ratification, the Constitution would have provided little guidance for those planning such a meeting.

John Schlotterbeck, DePauw University, "'This Language of the People': Local Politics in Rural Central Virginia, 1784 to 1815"

Robert A. Carter, Department of Historic Resources, "James Monroe of Oak Hall and Charles Fenton Mercer of Aldie: The Place of Place and Friendship in Political Collaboration"

Robert A. Carter (Bob) serves as director of community services and deputy director for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR), the Commonwealth's state historic preservation office. Bob has worked at DHR in a variety of positions since 1980 including staff historian, editor, survey and register supervisor, chief of preservation services, chief of staff and director of DHR's Winchester and Capital region offices, before assuming his present duties in 2001. A native of Baltimore, Maryland and resident of Richmond, Virginia, he holds degrees in history from Princeton University, the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Virginia, where he received his doctorate in American history in 1988. Dr. Carter served as principal investigator and author of two major reports to the Virginia General Assembly and published numerous articles in DHR's agency magazine *Notes on Virginia*. More recently he served as a contributing author of *The Chesapeake Voyages of John Smith, 1607-1609*, which will be published by the University of Virginia Press in 2007.

Presentation Overview:

This paper examines the evolving personal friendship and political collaboration of near neighbors James Monroe (1758-1831) and Charles Fenton Mercer (1778-1858) over three decades. It traces the beginnings of their personal and political association to the Mercer-Monroe kinship network on the Northern Neck, successive encounters in Fredericksburg (where Monroe began his marriage and law practice), Richmond and London from 1786-1803, and to their converging political interests in Loudoun, Richmond and Washington during the Madison administration. Personal friendship became political collaboration during Monroe's presidency and retirement to Oak Hill. Mercer's advocacy, and Monroe's leadership, in advancing the American Colonization Society's Liberia project set the pattern for their subsequent collaboration on legislation and a British treaty to restrict the African slave trade as well as on legislation authorizing the first federal subscription of public stock in the C&O Canal Company. The paper concludes with the story of Monroe and Mercer's joint service as delegates from Loudoun County in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30 and Mercer's advocacy in Congress for repayment of the nation's debt to Monroe for his long public service.

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