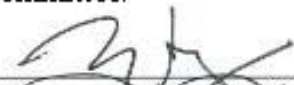


UP TO DATE AND PROGRESSIVE
WINCHESTER AND FREDERICK COUNTY VIRGINIA, 1870-1980


by

Mary Sullivan Linhart
A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
History

Committee:



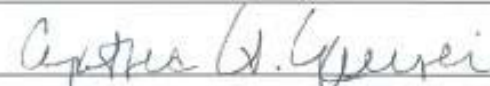
Director



Loni-Michelle C. Travis

Brianna

Department Chairperson



Program Director

Dean, College of Humanities
and Social Sciences

Date: _____ Fall Semester 2014
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at George Mason University

by

Mary Sullivan Linhart
Master of Arts
University of Virginia, YEAR

Director: Zachary Schrag, Professor
History Department

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Fairfax, VA

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DEDICATION

For past, present, and future generations of my family, my friends and the citizens of Winchester and Frederick County Virginia.

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ABSTRACT

UP TO DATE AND PROGRESSIVE
WINCHESTER AND FREDERICK COUNTY VIRGINIA, 1870–1980

Mary Sullivan Linhart, Ph.D.

George Mason University, 2014

Dissertation Director: Dr. Zachary Schrag

Between 1870 and 1980, leaders in Winchester and Frederick County, Virginia, successfully encouraged industry, diversified agriculture, improved local institutions and infrastructure, and promoted the community and its products. In 1870, the community was recovering from the devastation caused by the Civil War. In succeeding years, Winchester and Frederick County did not decline as the United States transitioned from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Unlike many other small American communities, Winchester and Frederick County achieved economic stability as farmers diversified crop production and business leaders organized to attract industry and encourage commerce and tourism. Leaders became community boosters and extended their goals to improve community life. Progressive leaders strengthened and expanded government, improved education and medical care, supported better transportation, and upgraded the civic infrastructure.

This dissertation examines progressive business leaders for more than a century and focuses on efforts to achieve economic stability. Farmers developed apples as an important commercial crop. In the business sector, leaders attracted outside industry and developed local industries to provide jobs. Leaders coped with many challenges, including the legacy of the Civil War, the impact of external forces, national economic downturns, the Great Depression, and two World Wars.

Most Winchester and Frederick County leaders between 1870 and 1980 were independent businessmen and believed there was a congruence of their interests and those of the region. They understood the community and were actively involved in civic life. Leaders influenced and reacted to the attitudes of fellow citizens. Leaders of Winchester and Frederick County were ordinary citizens who cooperated to expand and diversify the economy and meet the challenges of change.

CHAPTER I: OVERVIEW

I. INTRODUCTION

Between 1870 and 1980, progressive business, agricultural, and civic leaders in Winchester and Frederick County, Virginia, encouraged industry, diversified agriculture, improved their institutions and infrastructure, and promoted their community and its products. The city of Winchester is an independent entity with its own government and also the county seat of Frederick County and the location of the County's government. Even as similar communities with agricultural economies in the United States declined, Winchester and Frederick County leaders achieved a transition from an agricultural economy to a region with a diverse economy. The efforts of leaders enabled the community to achieve growth. Important factors that made for success were the cooperation of leaders who organized efforts to attract new industry, the development of commercial apple orchards and related businesses, the community's location at an intersection of major highways, avoidance of major labor difficulties, ethnic and racial tension, and active civic and business associations.

Leaders adopted the goals and attitudes of New South proponents of the late nineteenth century and progressive American business leaders of the early twentieth century. These groups advocated attracting business investment, industrialization, and economic diversification. To achieve diversification in Winchester and Frederick County,

farmers initiated apple production and businessmen organized to attract industry. Community leaders offered incentives to businesses and railroads to locate in the region. They advocated transportation improvements and created an Industrial Development Corporation to purchase land and attract national corporations. To support their economic goals, leaders became community boosters and social progressives and extended their efforts to improve all aspects of community life. They supported efficient management of government. To develop a positive image, leaders improved the civic infrastructure, medical care, and education, and minimized disruptions when schools and other institutions integrated. Leaders attracted two colleges and built a large well-equipped hospital. They encouraged commerce and tourism by developing attractions such as shopping malls and the Apple Blossom Festival.

The majority of leaders were successful farmers, professionals, or businessmen who sought both financial gain for their own enterprises and improvement for their community. Most Winchester and Frederick County leaders were local men with strong ties to the community. Many were from families that had arrived in the region before the American Revolution. Most had been educated in the community and the majority had college degrees. These leaders were active in a variety of civic, religious, and social organizations.

Silas Lucien Lupton (1856–1920) of Frederick County was one of the most active progressive leaders in the region. His father, John Lupton, started the first commercial apple orchard in Frederick County. Lucien Lupton served in both state and federal governments; after he left federal employment, Lupton became an apple orchardist. Like

other progressive leaders, Lupton was a proponent of efficiency and modern business methods and advocated research and expertise. He was a leader in several apple growers' associations. In 1912, Lupton appeared before the US House of Representatives Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures to support legislation to regulate apple packaging. At the time, there were problems in marketing apples, often leading to disputes over quality caused by "long distances between buyers and sellers" which could result in deterioration of the fruit.¹ Two slightly different sizes of barrels compounded marketing difficulties as did the fact that apples from the western United States were packed in boxes. As a progressive business leader, Lupton believed that, although government regulations might be restrictive, solving the marketing problems was warranted to improve marketing of Virginia apples.

Holmes Conrad (1840–1915) was another Winchester leader and advocate of economic diversification. Conrad, an attorney, was appointed United States Solicitor General in 1895.² In Winchester, Conrad had worked with a wealthy Pennsylvania judge, John Handley, to organize the Winchester Equity Corporation to buy land, attract industry, and create local jobs. Although this project did not succeed, it set a precedent for future development. When Handley died, he left most of his large estate to Winchester, and Conrad assumed leadership in management of the funds and organized a Board of Trustees to build a library and improve educational facilities.

¹ Carolyn Dimitri, "Contract Evolution and Institutional Innovation: Marketing Pacific-Grown Apples from 1890 to 1930," *The Journal of Economic History* 62, No. 1 (March 2002): 189, accessed May 6, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2697977>.

² "Office of the Solicitor General: Holmes Conrad," United States Department of Justice, accessed May 7, 2014, <http://www.justice.gov/osg/aboutosg/osghistpage.php?id=8>.

In the 1950s, progressive businessman and civic booster William Battaile (1913–2004) became the first president of the Economic Development Corporation (EDC). The EDC was a nongovernment organization supported by the local Chamber of Commerce that purchased land, created several industrial parks, and attracted industry to the region. In a 1992 interview, William Battaile and other attendees agreed that because of the success of the EDC, the region was “buffered as best as possible against those realities of the turn down in the economy. Because we are so diversified, we don’t depend on any one industry, we have a lot of nice medium size industries that exist in our community.”³

This dissertation argues business and agricultural leaders such as Holmes Conrad, Lucien Lupton, and William Battaile succeeded in their efforts to obtain outside industry and diversify the economy of a small Southern community over a period of more than 100 years. This dissertation differs from studies that address specific aspects of community life for limited time periods and claims a transition from minimal government support for individual initiative in attracting industry to increasing government involvement in financing and supporting initiatives of leaders and an increasing participation of government officials over time. This study argues there was a close relationship between efforts of progressive business leaders to expand and diversify the local economy and efforts to improve other aspects of community life including government, education, medical care, welfare, transportation, and infrastructure improvement.

³ Transcript, “Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee,” February 3, 1992, SA 4–2, Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA, 17.

II. BACKGROUND

Winchester and Frederick County are located in Virginia at the northern end of the Shenandoah Valley. The Shenandoah Valley is part of the Great Appalachian Valley that extends through the Appalachian Mountains in eastern North America from Canada to Alabama. The Great Appalachian Valley is a natural highway through the mountains. The north-flowing Shenandoah River defines the Shenandoah Valley and meets the Potomac near Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. The Valley extends 150 miles and includes counties in Virginia and West Virginia. The Blue Ridge Mountains form a natural barrier on the east and the Allegheny Mountains border the Valley on the west. In the northern Valley (known as the lower Valley because it is lower in elevation), the first European settlers arrived to a wilderness. Colonial Virginia authorities established Frederick County in 1738 with Winchester as county seat. As population increased, new counties were created and eventually all or parts of 11 counties were formed from the original Frederick County. During the Civil War, some of the counties became part of West Virginia. Frederick County today occupies 422 square miles and Winchester is 9 square miles.⁴

Virginia encouraged European settlement in western Virginia through its land policy. The colonial government attracted settlers with the promise of “low taxes, cheap land, and the chance to preserve their cultural identity.”⁵ The Virginia colony had no clearly defined western boundary and expansionist ideas influenced Virginia leadership

⁴ Sam Lehman, “Boundaries,” in *The Story of Frederick County* (Winchester: Wisecarver’s Print, 1989), Chapter 3.

⁵ James Titus, *The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 6.

to encourage western settlement. Virginia authorities were concerned about the dangers of the wilderness, Indian hostility, and the Spanish.⁶ Colonial leadership desired western settlement as a buffer zone. Authorities were also concerned the West could be a haven for runaway slaves.⁷

The backcountry differed significantly from eastern Virginia since most settlers came from outside Virginia, especially Pennsylvania. Settlers were diverse in background, religion, and language. Early settlers from the North were predominantly Germans and Scotch-Irish. Other nationalities included English, Swiss, Welsh, Dutch, and French Huguenots. Virginia leaders were willing to let non-Virginians, even those like the Germans who did not speak English, establish communities in the western buffer zone. Many settlers arrived in the Shenandoah Valley with wives and children, often with a larger kinship group or a religious community. Settlers were overwhelmingly Protestant. Another group immigrated to Frederick County from the Tidewater section of Virginia. Most settlers who arrived in the region after the Revolution had ties to the plantation aristocracy. Many of these arrivals moved to the portion of Frederick County that became Clarke County in 1836. These settlers increased Winchester and Frederick County's ties with eastern Virginia, brought substantial numbers of slaves with them, and established a variant of plantation agriculture in Frederick County.⁸ In the first census in 1790, the population in Frederick County was over 19,000. The region showed steady

⁶ Alan Vance Briceland, *Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier, 1650–1710* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), 96.

⁷ Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 7.

⁸ Michael Joseph Gorman, "Political Culture in the Lower Shenandoah Valley: Frederick County, Virginia, 1836–1861" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 1997), 26.

growth until 1836 when Virginia created new counties from Frederick County, resulting in a sharp decline in both white and black population. Frederick County reported a 45 percent population loss in 1840 and the African American population declined by more than 64 percent because of the creation of Clarke and Warren counties.

In contrast to the tobacco-based plantation economy of eastern Virginia, the Valley developed a more diverse agricultural economy, a number of towns, and an economy less dependent on slavery. Other sources of labor included indentured servants, apprentices, and individual labor. Most farmers owned between 100 and 400 acres of land. The most important market crop was wheat. Frederick County's "economic orientation lay largely toward the North. With fairly widespread land ownership, family farms, and wheat cultivation, early Frederick County's agricultural system resembled that of Pennsylvania far more than that of the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont."⁹

The French and Indian War acted as an impetus to commercial development in Winchester. The town served as a provision center for militia and horses; the number of houses doubled between 1753 and 1756.¹⁰ By the 1760s, shops surrounded the courthouse and Winchester had become a commercial center. To support the American Revolution, the community contributed supplies and men. Winchester and Frederick County provided military leaders, including George Washington (who lived there as a soldier), and Daniel Morgan, who led a group of sharpshooters who used Indian tactics against the Redcoats. In addition, hundreds of British and Hessian prisoners of war and

⁹ Gorman, "Political Culture in the Lower Shenandoah Valley," 10.

¹⁰ Robert Mitchell, "The Southern Backcountry: A Geographical House Divided," in *The Southern Colonial Backcountry*, eds. David Crass, Steven Smith, Martha Zierden, and Richard Brooks (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 24.

Philadelphia Quakers, who refused to take a loyalty oath, were incarcerated in the Winchester area.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, wheat was the most important crop in Winchester and Frederick County. Regional farmers faced growing competition from the western frontier. To boost the region's commercial importance, leaders focused on improved transportation of farm products. They submitted a number of petitions to the state and obtained road improvements.¹¹ Local boosters were determined to participate in the railroad boom and the Winchester and Potomac Railroad was the second railroad chartered in Virginia. The train ran a 32-mile line between Winchester and Harpers Ferry, and "linked Winchester to the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O) and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal."¹² The connection to the B&O Railroad was useful, although Winchester never became a major railroad center.

After the secession of South Carolina in December 1860, the majority of Winchester and Frederick County citizens favored remaining in the Union. They realized their vulnerability and worried about the impact of secession since the local economy was tied closely to Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Virginia General Assembly called a special election for a Richmond convention to determine the state's position. Winchester and Frederick County overwhelmingly elected pro-Union representatives, including prominent lawyer Robert Young Conrad, the father of Holmes Conrad. A Winchester newspaper presciently summed up the general sentiments: "Let us bear our present ills

¹¹ Warren Hofstra, "These Fine Prospects: Frederick County VA 1738-1840" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1985), 309-312.

¹² Rebecca Ebert and Teresa Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia, From the Frontier to the Future* (Norfolk: The Donning Company, 1988), 65.

than rush on others we know not of. There is no evil under which we suffer that cannot be better remedied in the Union than out.”¹³

However, most Winchester and Frederick County citizens supported the Confederacy and most able-bodied men were in the military. For the Union, control of the Shenandoah Valley meant control of the “Breadbasket of the Confederacy” and would hurt Lee’s Army. For Confederate troops, the Valley provided a highway to the North. Winchester served as a staging, supply, and hospital area for Lee’s campaigns to Antietam and Gettysburg. Winchester changed hands numerous times, bearing grim witness to the town’s strategic importance. Estimates range from 58 to 84 changes in control and at times there were multiple changes in a single day. Six battles were fought in the region.¹⁴

In 1864, after Federals gained final control of Winchester, Ulysses Grant wrote to General Philip Sheridan, “Do all the damage to rail-roads & crops you can. Carry off stock of all descriptions [sic] and negroes so as to prevent further planting. If the War is to last another year we want the Shenandoah valley [sic] to remain a barren waste.”¹⁵ Sheridan’s troops “burned barns, crops, mills, furnaces, forges, factories, and houses, while driving off or killing all the livestock they could find.” “The Burning,” as the people of the Valley named it, affected everyone “in the Union army’s path including

¹³ Roger Delauter, *Winchester in the Civil War* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard Inc., 1992), 6.

¹⁴ Ebert and Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia*, 55–60.

¹⁵ Ulysses Grant to Major General Philip H. Sheridan, 26 August 1864, *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant: Volume 12 August 16–November 15, 1864*, ed. John Simon (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984) 97, accessed May 8, 2014, Google Books.

religious groups who opposed war.”¹⁶ By the end of the War, more than 200 homes were destroyed in Winchester. Of those remaining, many needed extensive work. Almost all 10 churches in Winchester were in bad shape because of military use.¹⁷ Buildings used as hospitals and stables needed repair. In Frederick County, the outlook was bleak. Farmers “had lost nearly all their stock, wagons, and farming implements, and many of their homes, and nearly all their barns and other outbuildings were destroyed by the Federal soldiery.... Businesses and financial institutions were wrecked and there was no money.”¹⁸ The region’s leaders faced a daunting task.

III. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

According to historian Robert Dykstra, historians study smaller communities because they are uniquely important or as a case study. Salem, Massachusetts, Pullman, Illinois, and cattle towns studied by Dykstra are examples of unique communities. Case studies often emphasize the importance of the town as a commercial and economic center of an agricultural region at some point in its development.¹⁹ Dykstra characterizes Mary Ryan’s study of Oneida County, New York, as a case study.²⁰ Joseph Amato, author of *Rethinking Home: A Case for Writing Local History*, observes “the country town... is first and foremost about business.” Amato argues that “decline and growth are dramatically based in the contemporary countryside.” He goes on to observe, “disrupted by economic

¹⁶ Emily J. Salmon, review of John L. Heatwole, *The Burning: Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: Rockbridge Publishing, 1998), accessed February 28, 2010, http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/VALib/v45_n1/campbell.html.

¹⁷ Garland Quarles, *The Churches of Winchester Virginia* (Winchester: Farmers and Merchants National Bank, 1960), 22.

¹⁸ Frederic Morton, *The Story of Winchester in Virginia* (Strasburg, VA: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), 193–194.

¹⁹ Robert Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), passim.

²⁰ Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

cycles, transformed by changing technologies, altered by contracting and expanding markets, and influenced by politics,” change is constant in the countryside.²¹ This dissertation can be characterized as a case study of leadership in a Southern community. The study of small communities also enriches and deepens the historian’s understanding of the past. Historian Michael Kammen points out one value that professional historians recognize as they pursue community studies: “you see different things when you use a microscope rather than the telescope.”²²

Until the 1960s, most of those who wrote local histories were amateur historians. They usually resided in the community that was their subject. Historian Kathleen Conzen observed that local history writing was “insulated from either the interpretative frameworks or the critical standards of academic historians” and “wavered between sterile antiquarianism and uncritical boosterism.”²³ After 1960, there was an intensification of interest in local history by scholars as historians tried to assess the changes that had occurred in small communities. One of the first professional local histories was Merle Curti’s study of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County*. Curti made extensive use of statistics and the computer in the late 1950s to test the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner about the influence of the frontier on American democracy.²⁴

²¹ Joseph Anthony Amato, *Rethinking Home: A Case for Writing Local History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

²² Michael Kammen, “Challenges and Opportunities in Writing State and Local History,” in *Pursuit of Local History*, ed. Carol Kammen (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996), 132.

²³ Kathleen Conzen, “Community Studies, Urban History, and American Local History” in *The Past Before Us*, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 271.

²⁴ Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959).

Some community studies focus on topics of national importance such as the Civil Rights movement, labor, or a particular industry in order to analyze the impact at the local level. Roy Rosenzweig's study of working people in Worcester, Massachusetts, and Lisa McGirr's study of conservatives in Orange County, California, examined local responses to national issues.²⁵ This dissertation does not focus on a single issue or a single topic but implicitly argues the value of a comparison of three generations of leaders who addressed a variety of local and national issues. Among these issues were development of railroads, changes in American agriculture, technological changes, the influence of New South advocates and progressives, the impact of the World Wars and Depression of the 1930s, the Civil Rights movement, and the impact of the national economy throughout the period.

Historians who studied small agricultural communities since the Civil War often described decline. During those years, although farm production increased, farm population and the number of farms declined and urban and suburban growth outpaced that of small communities. Historian Richard Davies studied a small town where leaders failed to cope with "regional and national forces." In *Main Street Blues: The Decline of Small-Town America*, Davies related how Camden, Ohio, prospered during the 1920s, suffered from the depression in the 1930s, and adjusted to the war in the 1940s. In the 1950s, Camden began an economic decline which Davies attributed to a variety of factors including rerouting of a major highway, loss of the local high school, loss of a single

²⁵ Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1921* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

major industry, closing the railroad station, and lack of energetic leadership, including lack of a progressive newspaper editor. Davies argued the “controlling assumption” of his study was “that the fate of the American small town has been the byproduct of regional and national forces.” Davies contended Camden, Ohio, was unable to overcome difficulties that were the result of outside forces, and believed federal highway and urban policy had a negative impact on small towns. Davies asked rhetorically, could town leaders have mounted a “sustained effort to build a viable economic base in the town?” In reply, Davies argued, “it would have been asking too much of relatively unsophisticated small-town operators to whom economic planning and development were at best, vague and unfamiliar concepts.”²⁶ Davies depicted Camden as representative of many towns that did not contend successfully with twentieth century demands, and no doubt, some towns faced insurmountable obstacles. By contrast, this dissertation claims Winchester and Frederick County was an agricultural community where leaders overcame negative regional and national forces as they cooperated and transformed the community.

Hal Barron, in *Mixed Harvest: The Second Great Transformation in the Rural North, 1870–1930*, described a transformation in agriculture and farmers as the nation matured. The change favored larger operations “led by a new middle class of managers and professionals heeding bureaucratic imperatives and criteria of efficiency.” According to Barron, “the transformation received additional momentum from the spread of new consumer goods and the spread of mass cultures.”²⁷ During the same era, many Frederick

²⁶ Richard Davies, *Main Street Blues: The Decline of Small-Town America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 186.

²⁷ Hal Barron, *Mixed Harvest: The Second Great Transformation in the Rural North, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 243.

County farmers adopted businesslike management practices and valued expertise, scientific research, and technology to support their efforts to improve their enterprises as they became progressive businessmen. Barron also discussed the impact of highway construction and education which were important to Winchester and Frederick County as well.

In his book, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina*, Orville Burton surveyed a rural area and described circumstances that were the common lot of many Southern regions before and after the Civil War. Burton pointed out that the South differed from New England which was established by religious emigrants. In the South, there had been no “formal ideology that defined community.” Studies of Southern agricultural commodities include Tracy Campbell’s study, *The Politics of Despair: Power and Resistance in the Tobacco Wars* and Anthony Badger’s study, *The New Deal, Tobacco, and North Carolina*. Jack Temple Kirby, in his book, *Rural Worlds Lost: The American South 1920–1960*, discussed changes in southern agriculture in the twentieth century, including the decline in the agricultural workforce and the decline of sharecropping.²⁸

Scholars have explored the transition as country people moved to towns and worked in industry. Mill workers are the subjects of Bryant Simon’s *Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910–1948* and Jacquelyn Hall’s *Like a*

²⁸ Orville Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 315. See also Tracy Campbell, *The Politics of Despair: Power and Resistance in the Tobacco Wars* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993); Anthony Badger, *The New Deal, Tobacco, and North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Jack Temple Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost: The American South 1920–1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World.²⁹ Joe Bageant, a Winchester author, described his family's adjustment after moving from the country to Winchester. Biographies of singer Patsy Cline reveal her family's struggles as they left the country and adjusted to life in Winchester.³⁰ A study of migrant workers by Monica Heppel, Joanne Spano, and Luis Torres focuses on labor issues that affected orchardists in Winchester and Frederick County.³¹ As the pool of local farm labor declined, orchardists turned to migrant and foreign workers. This study claims apple growers faced new problems because of government regulations as they employed foreign and migrant labor.

This dissertation argues that the economy of Winchester and Frederick County were closely integrated; historian William Cronon recommended studying cities and counties together since they often have a common history and an integrated economy. Cronon, in *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, asserted that, "city and country have a common history so their stories are best told together."³² Cronon emphasized an integrated economy tied city and country together. David Russo, in *American Towns: An Interpretive History* concurred and observed, "Economic activities of town dwellers have usually embraced a territory greater than their town's political boundaries, as the inhabitants of towns have served the surrounding rural population in

²⁹ Bryant Simon, *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910–1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jacquelyn Hall, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

³⁰ Joe Bageant, *Rainbow Pie* (Carlton Australia: Scribe Publications, 2011), 91; Margaret Jones, *Patsy: The Life and Times of Patsy Cline* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 12; Douglas Gomery, *Patsy Cline, The Making of an Icon* (Bloomington: Trafford Publishing, 2011), 33-37.

³¹ Monica L. Heppel, Joanne Spano, and Luis R. Torres, "Changes in the Apple Harvest Work Force in West Virginia: Implications for the Community," *Changing Face* 3, no. 4 (September 1997), accessed September 14, 2012, http://migration.ucdavis.edu/cf/comments.php?id=151_0_2_0.

³² William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), xiv.

various capacities.”³³ This dissertation argues the integration of the economy of Winchester and Frederick County since the mid-eighteenth century. Ties were not only economic but included ties of religion, family, and friendship. For a variety of reasons, including population growth, transportation, and communication improvements, differences between Winchester and Frederick County diminished during the twentieth century. City and county governments initiated joint efforts in various areas, including public safety, and seriously considered merging the two governments.

Besides the economies of communities that Cronon describes, scholars seek to understand the distinction between the myth and reality of small towns. For novelists Sinclair Lewis and Sherwood Anderson,³⁴ Main Street and American small towns were not ideal places. Anderson “expressed deep regret over the way the rapidly expanding business system was warping the special way of life of the American town.”³⁵ Lewis’s portrayal of Gopher Prairie as stultifying and unimaginative was counter to an image of a friendly, charming community. In recent years, the image of small towns has improved, and most Americans think of Main Street with a sense of nostalgia and affection, as Garrison Keillor’s Lake Wobegon stories demonstrate. In an attempt to separate myth from reality, Richard Francavigli described the physical evolution of Main Street in *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America*. The findings of sociologists who have examined small communities are also of interest to historians. In 1929, the landmark study *Middletown*, by Robert and Helen Lynd, provided insight into

³³ David Russo, *American Towns: An Interpretive History* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2001), xi.

³⁴ Sinclair Lewis wrote *Main Street*, published in 1920, and Sherwood Anderson wrote *Winesburg, Ohio*, published in 1919. Both are classics of American literature.

³⁵ Richard Davies, *Main Street Blues: The Decline of Small-Town America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 10.

interactions in communities. Other studies include the 1945 study *Plainville, U.S.A.* by Carl Withers, and a follow-up work by Art Gallaher in 1961, *Plainville Fifteen Years Later*. Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman's *Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power, and Religion in a Rural Community* provided insight into the attributes of rural communities in the 1950s.³⁶

David Russo, in *American Towns: An Interpretive History*, was more interested in myth than reality and surveyed changes in small communities. Russo observed local governments had “an informal amateur quality” in the early years of the nation. Local government was largely financed by property taxes. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, local progressive officials began to introduce professionals to perform government functions. The hiring of a city manager in Winchester in the 1920s was an example of this practice. Russo argued the depression of the 1930s “led to a fundamental shift of political power from local government to state and federal government.” Russo went so far as to say local government became “little more than a conduit for the administration of services created and largely planned by state and federal governments.”³⁷ Leadership in Winchester and Frederick County displayed little resistance to demands of higher levels of government even if the demands meant federal oversight; they were usually accompanied by funding. Local leaders realized part of the

³⁶ Richard Francavigli, *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996); Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929); James West (Carl Withers), *Plainville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945); Art Gallaher, *Plainville Fifteen Years Later* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power, and Religion in a Rural Community* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).

³⁷ Russo, *American Towns*, 92, 110, 113, 115.

changed relationship necessitated new knowledge and skills in order to participate in the largess of the larger governments.

Regional studies of the South are relevant since Winchester and Frederick County sympathies were largely Southern during the Civil War and Southern attitudes, including racial attitudes, predominated well into the twentieth century. A number of studies of Southern small towns described aspects of the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s and emphasized the importance of local leadership. These studies include *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* by John Dittmer; Emilye Crosby's book, *A Little Taste of Freedom: The Black Freedom Struggle in Claiborne County, Mississippi*; and a study of Alabama, by Glenn Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle*.³⁸ Unlike these deep South communities, Winchester and Frederick County had a relatively small African American population. This dissertation discusses the impact of integration and the rationales and efforts of leaders in Winchester and Frederick County. Local leaders, both black and white, wanted to minimize disruptions because of the transition to integrated schools and businesses.

A number of historians have examined Virginia's growth and characteristics since the Civil War. Knowledge of Virginia is essential for this study. Ronald Heinemann produced a general study of the state and a study of the Great Depression and the New Deal. Raymond Pulley focused on Progressivism in Virginia, and like Robert Wiebe,

³⁸ John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Emilye Crosby, *A Little Taste of Freedom: The Black Freedom Struggle in Claiborne County, Mississippi* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Glenn Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

viewed the progressive impulse as a “search for order.” Edward Younger edited a collection of essays that examined the lives, politics, and administration of the governors of Virginia between 1860 and 1978 as Virginia moved from Democratic Party dominance to a two-party system. Edward Ayers has produced studies about life after Reconstruction and other aspects of the state’s history.³⁹

Winchester and Frederick County citizens produced a number of studies of the region and although some of these authors were not professional historians, many of these works are valuable sources.⁴⁰ Warren Hofstra’s study *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* is an excellent scholarly study of the early years.⁴¹ Older histories are useful not only as chronicles of events but in providing an understanding of the mindset of prior generations. J. E. Norris published a history of the Shenandoah Valley in 1890. Thomas Cartmell, a well-informed Frederick County government official in the late nineteenth century, described local events and Frederick County history and families in *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*.⁴² Although there are many studies of the Civil War in Winchester and

³⁹ Ronald Heinemann, John Kolp, Anthony Parent, and William Shade, *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2007); Ronald Heinemann, *Depression and New Deal in Virginia: The Enduring Dominion* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2007); Raymond Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870–1930* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968); Edward Younger, ed., *The Governors of Virginia 1860–1978* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1982); Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1992); Edward Ayers and John C. Willis, eds., *The Edge of the South* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991).

⁴⁰ Many historians have studied the region during earlier years, particularly the Civil War era.

⁴¹ Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*.

⁴² J. E. Norris, *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley* (Chicago: A. Warner and Co., 1890); Thomas Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants. A History of Frederick County, Virginia from Its Formation in 1738 to 1908* (1909, repr., Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007).

Frederick County, this dissertation is one of very few studies of the region that discusses post-Civil War events.

The Archives at the Handley Library in Winchester contain ample material on many aspects of the past in the region and the Archive librarians are excellent sources of information. The public records of local governments provide insight into the attitudes of leaders on government and its role in supporting economic development. The local newspapers, the *Winchester Star* and the *Northern Virginia Daily*, chronicle day-to-day events, give an indication of local reactions, consistently support business, and generally reflect the views of local leaders.

In the late nineteenth century, ideas of New South advocates influenced Winchester and Frederick County leaders who were anxious to rebuild their economy and hoped to encourage industry, northern investment, and agricultural diversification. Historian Paul Gaston, in *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking*, described the New South movement. According to Gaston, New South supporters intended to point the way for the South to “fulfill the American success story.”⁴³ Raymond Pulley observed, “In Virginia, as in the South as a whole, men of all political creeds began to dream of a new era of prosperity in which railroads and factories would be created upon the decaying, war-ruined agriculture system of ante-bellum [sic] days.”⁴⁴ Henry Grady of Atlanta was the chief proponent of the New South gospel. He traveled to the Northern states encouraging investment in the South and urged reconciliation in both

⁴³ Paul Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 89.

⁴⁴ Raymond Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse 1870–1930* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 24.

North and South. Grady also urged agricultural diversification and less dependency on tobacco and cotton.

Leaders in the early years of the twentieth century in Winchester and Frederick County considered themselves progressive businessmen. In *New Men, New Cities, New South*, historian Don Doyle observed the progressive mindset of Southern business and civic leaders and argued that they supported progressive programs in government, education, health, welfare, temperance, and other areas partly from “a combination of genuine humanitarian sentiment, often grounded in religious faith, and partly from a calculating grasp of the necessity of upgrading the South’s human capital as a prerequisite to economic development.” Doyle calls this attitude of leaders a “new paternalism.”⁴⁵ Doyle examined leadership in four southern cities in the late nineteenth century and found many leaders with important roles in urban development in those cities were not local citizens but men from outlying areas.⁴⁶ Leaders built networks of associations and business and relationships to strengthen their influence. This dissertation argues that by contrast, most Winchester and Frederick County leaders were local citizens with long standing family ties. A few were professionals, but most were independent businessmen. Some leaders after 1950 were not natives of the region, but almost all were Virginians with wide-ranging local affiliations in the business community through activities in service clubs, especially the Chamber of Commerce.

⁴⁵ Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 260ff.

⁴⁶ Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, passim.

Scholars have found that affiliations, including churches, clubs, family ties, and friendships are particularly important to the success of leaders in small communities. Through affiliations, leaders maintained awareness of community attitudes, built consensus, and influenced opinion. Historian Jane Pederson, in *Between Memory and Reality: Family and Community in Rural Wisconsin, 1876–1970*, described stability and enduring affiliations in two Wisconsin communities over time. She refuted notions of rural isolation in her description of community life.⁴⁷ Don Doyle considered boosting itself, that is, organizing and acting to promote and improve a community, as a way to bring citizens together and a “powerful adhesive in the making of the business class.”⁴⁸ In Winchester and Frederick County, almost all leaders were active in their churches and many were leaders in service clubs, especially the Chamber of Commerce, or in farmers’ organizations. The Apple Blossom Festival, a largely volunteer endeavor organized by boosters, served to build community cohesiveness and support.

As noted above, most leaders in Winchester and Frederick County were local citizens or Virginians. One of the most well-known, Harry F. Byrd, Sr., was editor of the local newspaper and an orchardist as well as governor of Virginia in the 1920s and a U.S. senator. Ronald Heinemann produced a biography of this progressive businessman and called Byrd the “Apple King.” Harvie Wilkinson described Byrd’s career as a business progressive governor in Virginia.⁴⁹ Winchester author Garland Quarles provided sketches

⁴⁷ Jane Pederson, *Between Memory and Reality: Family and Community in Rural Wisconsin 1870-1970* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

⁴⁸ Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 137.

⁴⁹ Ronald Heinemann, *Harry Byrd of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1996); J. Harvie Wilkinson, *Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945–1966* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968).

of Winchester leaders in his book, *Some Worthy Lives*, and wrote a number of other useful books about Winchester.⁵⁰ Wilbur Johnston, in *Weaving a Common Thread: A History of the Woolen Industry in the Top of the Shenandoah Valley*, described this important industry in the region and included short biographies of its leaders.⁵¹

Acting as community boosters, Winchester and Frederick County business and agricultural leaders expanded their efforts beyond their individual economic goals to include improvement and promotion of their community. Historian Daniel Boorstin examined the American spirit of community enterprise that developed in the nineteenth century. Boosters in small communities were seldom satisfied with limited local opportunities and they endeavored to expand the opportunities. Boorstin argued “Not to boost your city showed both a lack of community spirit and a lack of business sense.” He emphasized that a booster was a “community builder, loyal for the time at least to his place.” He observed that civic boosters throughout the country promoted infrastructure and transportation improvements. For transportation, this meant railroads in the nineteenth century and roads in the twentieth. Boorstin’s observations that boosters wanted to build a hotel to attract visitors to the community, wanted the prestige of an

⁵⁰ Garland Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives* (Winchester: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1988); Garland Quarles, *Some Old Homes in Frederick County, VA*, rev. ed. (Stephens City, VA: Commercial Press, 1971); Garland Quarles, *Story of One Hundred Old Homes in Winchester, VA* (Winchester: Farmers and Merchants Bank, 1967); Garland Quarles, *John Handley and the Handley Bequests to Winchester, Virginia* (Winchester: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1969).

⁵¹ Wilbur S. Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread: A History of the Woolen Industry in the Top of the Shenandoah Valley* (Winchester, VA: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1990).

institution of higher learning in their community, and were supported by local newspapers hold true for boosters in Winchester and Frederick County.⁵²

Historian Diane Barnes reported civic boosters in Clarksburg, West Virginia, worked together and developed a “booster ethos.” Barnes found citizens both sought to achieve their personal goals and joined with others to commit to improvement of their community. This shared attitude “allowed for unity and collective action” in “city building.” The boosters described by Barnes were similar to those in Winchester and Frederick County. They were landowners, lawyers, and merchants. Many owned farmland but also maintained a residence in the county seat and most had strong family ties to the region.⁵³

As the nation became more urban and industrialized, many leaders developed attitudes and values that are associated with progressivism. Historian Robert Wiebe viewed this trend as essentially a traditionalist movement to cope with uncertainty in American life around the turn of the twentieth century. Wiebe described the progressive mentality as a “search for order.” Efficiency, expertise, knowledge, and order were prized by business progressives and Wiebe observed similar attitudes among farmers: “The firm business values, the new vocabulary of marketing and chemistry...emerged most clearly, an official declaration of these farmers as agricultural businessmen instead of ‘the

⁵² Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965), 117-118, 137, 160; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Random House, 1973), 734.

⁵³ L. Diane Barnes, “Booster Ethos: Community, Image, and Profit in Early Clarksburg,” *West Virginia History* 56 (1997): 27-42, accessed September 24, 2013, http://www.wvculture.org/history/journal_wvh/wvh56-2.html.

people.”⁵⁴ Robert Wiebe argued the nation moved from “island communities” to a more complex and interconnected society. Winchester and Frederick County bore some resemblance to an “island community” although not an isolated one. Wiebe observed that from afar, an island community might “resemble a leveled democracy” but examined more closely, there were “innumerable fine gradations” and variations that, although not rigid, were recognized by inhabitants. Because of lack of foreign immigration and the stability of Winchester and Frederick County, outward signs of wealth were less important than local knowledge in determining gradations and variations in status. Nevertheless, there were definite and visible signs of status in wealth, housing, appearance, education, and occupation that belied any resemblance to a “leveled democracy.” Winchester and Frederick County were not isolated. Winchester had been a commercial center for a large geographic agricultural area. For many residents, business, family, and religious connections existed with outside regions, particularly Maryland and Pennsylvania. Local newspapers devoted much space to national affairs. However, like island communities, Winchester and Frederick County were “moved by the rhythms of agriculture,” and somewhat “homogeneous,” if a mix of Germans and Scotch-Irish could be considered homogeneous. The region was definitely Protestant and, except for the turmoil of the Civil War, enjoyed an “inner stability.”⁵⁵

Historian Raymond Pulley studied the “Progressive Impulse” in Virginia and agreed with Wiebe’s notions of a “search for order.” Pulley described a “traditionalist movement in the state.” For Pulley, the concept of a conservative progressivism, that is, a

⁵⁴ Robert Wiebe, *The Search For Order 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 127.

⁵⁵ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, xiii, 2-3.

movement led by established leaders to restore order, has merit when studying Virginia, where concern about the challenges after Reconstruction combined with a desire to restore “traditionalist control.”⁵⁶ Southern progressives supported using government power to implement progressive change. After Reconstruction, Rand Dotson observed, Virginians worked “on restructuring the electorate” (that is, virtually eliminating the black vote), education, sanitation and health care, roads, and prohibition. Goals included expanding public education sanitation improvements; segregation ordinances; health and food regulations; construction of roads, parks, playgrounds, and libraries; urban planning; and professional city management.⁵⁷ In Winchester and Frederick County, leaders supported Virginia’s progressive goals. Virginians were not seriously concerned with a “search for order” as it was understood in many large cities that wanted to end municipal corruption, but they did believe they needed to restore the order that had been disrupted in almost every aspect of community, economic, and political life during the Civil War and Reconstruction.

William Link, in *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880–1930*, describes attitudes of Southerners who adopted Progressive ideas. In Winchester and Frederick County, the same leaders who led economic growth and diversification initiated progressive reforms and viewed progressive improvements as selling points to attract industry. Some of the Progressive impetus for reform in the South came from

⁵⁶ Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored*, 21.

⁵⁷ Rand Dotson, “Progressive Movement in Virginia,” in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, ed. Brendan Wolfe (Charlottesville: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, June 17, 2009), accessed April 26, 2010, http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Progressive_Movement.

Northerners, and Southern support was not wholehearted. For example, Link described opposition by rural families who resented the loss of local control in education.⁵⁸

According to James Cobb, to achieve New South goals, Southern business leaders promoted the region's abundant natural resources and "unskilled but dirt-cheap labor." There was little threat of "labor militance." Cobb observed, "Industrial development became the consuming passion of regional, state, and local leaders in the Post-Reconstruction South." The South needed capital and skilled labor and wanted to develop a "balanced industrial-urban complex" as a foundation for a "prosperous farm economy."⁵⁹ Another Cobb study, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990*, provides insight into the impact of the Depression and World War II on the South's search for new business after 1945.⁶⁰

IV. APPROACH

Chapter I, this chapter, provides an overview of the dissertation and describes community leaders and their goals and attitudes as they sought to improve the economy of Winchester and Frederick County. The chapter briefly discusses the region in the years before 1870 when the economy was largely based on agriculture and commerce and summarizes the devastating impact of the Civil War. This chapter addresses the historiographical context of the dissertation and surveys related literature and in the next paragraphs this chapter describes the approach for the remainder of the dissertation.

⁵⁸ William Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

⁵⁹ James Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society 1877-1984* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 16-17. See also Gaston, *The New South Creed*, 89; Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored*, 24.

⁶⁰ James Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.

Chapter II discusses actions of Winchester and Frederick County leaders, including Holmes Conrad, who agreed with New South advocates who urged change to the Southern economy. During this era, an economic boom in Roanoke, Virginia, raised hopes of prosperity throughout the Shenandoah Valley and local citizens participated in a scheme initiated by John Handley of Pennsylvania to organize the Winchester Equity Company to promote economic growth and attract industry. The Winchester City Council offered incentives to railroads as they tried to improve the region's transportation capability. However, local leaders were unable to make substantial improvements to the economy and infrastructure between 1870 and 1900 and faced difficulties trying to improve railroad transportation and attract industry. In the last few years of the nineteenth century, the pace of change for Winchester and Frederick County accelerated. Public schools were established and philanthropists provided funds for infrastructure improvements. Farmers began to diversify and raise apples as a commercial crop to compete with grain production in the western United States.

Chapter III addresses the years between 1900 and 1950 as business, agricultural, and civic leaders adopted the attitudes and ideals of progressive businessmen. Local business leaders established the Virginia Woolen Mill. Apple production increased, and leaders cooperated to open apple processing facilities. Farmers like Lucien Lupton became progressive businessmen and adopted new technology, and pressed for government standards, regulations, inspections, and research. Farmers began to advertise and joined in cooperative efforts and societies to promote their interests and enhance their market position. Agricultural and business leaders initiated the Apple Blossom Festival to

boost the community and its products. To diversify the economy, a group of investors organized the Virginia Woolen Mill. Winchester and Frederick County leaders formed service clubs and organizations that helped to build consensus and boost the community.

Chapter IV describes efforts of business and agricultural leaders to support progressive changes in government, education, health and welfare, infrastructure, and transportation between 1900 and 1950. Leaders recognized these areas played a role in attracting new industry and they worked to boost the image of the community and its products. Despite concerns about costs, leaders felt economic gain would be enhanced by improvements in the quality of life and community resources. The community built new schools to improve education and opened a hospital. Winchester leaders hired a city manager to bring professional expertise to government administration. Farmers' organizations advocated education and improvements in transportation. During the Depression of the 1930s, leaders organized welfare and public works programs and accepted federal programs and funding.

Chapter V focuses on 1950 to 1980 when Winchester and Frederick County did not decline as did many agricultural areas, but grew substantially in population and became more urban. Leaders encouraged growth because a larger population meant more consumers, more business profits, higher property values, and a larger tax base. Like the rest of the United States, the number of farms and the agricultural population in Frederick County declined. At the same time, there was an increase in agricultural production. William Battaile and other leaders established the Industrial Development Corporation to attract and diversify industry and provide jobs for the growing population. The region

faced labor issues in industry and interacted with the federal government to obtain temporary agricultural labor. Changing shopping habits and the development of suburban shopping malls led to loss of business for Winchester's commercial downtown. Winchester merchants led efforts to make improvements and revitalize the downtown "Main Street" in conjunction with a renewed interest in historic preservation. Although leaders were not able to revive downtown, shopping areas around the city proliferated and the region survived as a commercial center. In addition, a growing tourist business benefited the community's economy.

Chapter VI describes efforts of leaders to achieve a competitive edge by improving the community to attract prospective new businesses in areas that had been a focus of progressive reform including education, medical care, transportation, infrastructure, and government services between 1950 and 1980. Local boosters believed they would increase their chance of success if the region met, or better still, exceeded expectations of potential industries. Companies planning to relocate, especially large corporations, needed reliable power, water, and sewer capabilities as well as trained workers. Industry needed access to highways and valued cooperative local government. Adequate medical care and hospital services were essential, as were low crime rates and dependable urban services. Furthermore, civic leaders wanted to provide good schools, technical training, and higher education facilities to improve the workforce. Leaders dealt with the impact of integration in schools and businesses. Leaders joined together to attract and support two institutions of higher learning. The community expanded the hospital and made infrastructure improvements. Two new highways, Interstates 66 and

81, which intersect in the region, provided high-speed access for businesses, travelers, and commuters. Commuting to the northern Virginia suburbs and Washington, DC, became a viable option for residents. To support Frederick County's unusual growth, leaders worked to provide services to the growing population. Winchester leaders tried to overcome space limitations that hampered the city's potential to benefit from growth. Despite differences over annexation of Frederick County land by Winchester, leaders of both jurisdictions continued to cooperate to attract industry.

This dissertation claims that between 1870 and 1980, Winchester and Frederick County leaders initiated efforts to grow and diversify the economy and strengthen the community's institutions, services, and infrastructure to improve its appeal to business. Business and agricultural leaders valued progressive business qualities of efficiency, expertise, and organization. They adjusted to change and coped with outside forces. Leaders enlisted local government participation to support their goals, and fostered community support with the promise of jobs. Winchester and Frederick County leaders successfully challenged the decline of a small community and the decline of "Main Street" as its population became more urban and agriculture became a less dominant part of the economy. Leaders mitigated that transition because they acquired the knowledge, developed the skills, and joined together to diversify the economy. Leaders of Winchester and Frederick County positively affected the future of their region by their determination and willingness to remake their community.

CHAPTER II: WHERE ARE THE MONEYED MEN? 1870–1900

I. INTRODUCTION

In March 1888, the *Winchester News* urged citizens of Winchester and Frederick County to move “toward better fortunes.” “Why not wake up and make the old town a place of business, enterprise, and wealth?” Local timber went elsewhere to produce “furniture, machinery, and agricultural implements” that were brought back and sold locally. These products “should be manufactured in our midst.” “If Winchester was today a thriving and go-ahead city...and all work and business brisk, the farmers of Frederick County would be in far better circumstances.”⁶¹ A month later, the *Winchester News* again expressed dissatisfaction with local leadership: “Skilled, energetic, and intelligent mechanics” were driven away from the community because they could find no work and “moneyed men of the community have no push or enterprise and have forgotten this is a new era—an era of push and enterprise.” Railroads were not enough: “What good will all the railroads in Christiandom [sic] do if our capitalists do not take advantage of the

⁶¹ *Winchester News*, March 2, 1888. In a similar exhortation to obtain support for Southern manufacturing, Henry Grady bemoaned that lack of industry in his region caused a fellow Southerner to be buried in a “New York coat, Boston shoes, Chicago trousers, and a Cincinnati shirt” with a “Pittsburgh shovel.” John Ezell, *The South Since 1865* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1963), 139; Henry Grady, “Speech to Boston’s Bay Street Club,” December 1889, accessed May 9, 2011, http://www.sewanee.edu/reconstruction/html/docs/Grady_Bay_Street_Club.html.

situation?”⁶² The *News* was correct. Winchester and Frederick County “moneyed men” were not creating manufacturing jobs.

Between 1870 and 1900, leaders of Winchester and Frederick County faced serious obstacles to improvement and diversification of the economy. Leaders lacked experience with large industry; there was a “scarcity of liquid capital, technical ability, and skilled labor” and the community faced the “handicap of a late start in industrialization.”⁶³ External factors were important considerations and the destruction and havoc of the Civil War in Winchester and Frederick County demonstrated the potency of external forces. Post-War recovery and restoration were necessary before substantial progress could be made. During Reconstruction, when the federal government was a dominating factor in Winchester and Frederick County, local initiative was limited. The state mandated public education, a worthy policy, but one that required additional local expenditures and administrative structure. Civic leaders believed the national economy and the railroad were principal external factors that would be the key to future prosperity. Western competition for agricultural products, particularly wheat, threatened Frederick County farmers’ profits. Railroad connections were reestablished but the community never became a leading railroad center. Virginia policies encouraged east–west rail transportation, but Winchester and Frederick County citizens preferred a direct route to traditional markets northward. The financial crises of the national economy

⁶² *Winchester News*, April 13, 1888.

⁶³ C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 317.

affected local growth; in particular, the 1893 financial crisis ended the Valley land boom and a local economic development project that leaders hoped would bring prosperity.

Winchester and Frederick County's geographic location and past history as an agricultural and commercial center influenced economic strategy between 1870 and 1900. It was not easy to abandon long-standing agricultural traditions. Unlike the lower South, where cotton and tobacco markets could not be quickly reestablished, Winchester and Frederick County business leaders began almost immediately to restore relationships and commercial and financial ties with Maryland and Pennsylvania. As a consequence, business leaders focused their efforts on the restoration of commerce that was essential to agriculture and the development of industry lacked urgency.

Citizens who wanted to diversify the economy hoped to emulate the phenomenal growth of Roanoke. Roanoke, the hub of the most successful region in Virginia, attracted scores of investors, businessmen, and speculators along with workers from the former Union to exploit the mineral resources of the region. In Winchester, leaders made a serious effort to develop industry under the leadership of John Handley of Pennsylvania, and promoted incentives to railroads. Progress was made in diversification of agriculture as farmers began to grow apples as a commercial crop and leaders supported improvements to the community's infrastructure and education system, primarily with funding from philanthropists.

Chapter II argues that, by 1900, the Winchester and Frederick County economy was not far removed from where it had been in 1870 and claims that leaders did not achieve a "place of business, enterprise, and wealth." Unlike Roanoke in the Shenandoah

Valley, Winchester and Frederick County did not share in the “Valley boom.” This chapter claims the region retained an agricultural base, population grew slowly, and no major expansion occurred in transportation or manufacturing. Efforts to attract investments and railroads and foster industry had little success.⁶⁴ The chapter argues that leaders accepted but were not able to implement all the ideas of New South advocates and claims that important problems were failure to improve railroad connectivity and failure to attract outside investors to implement plans for the Winchester Equity Corporation. The chapter discusses the impact of external forces, the importance of historical commercial relationships, the agricultural tradition, the lack of industrial and technical expertise, the support the community received from philanthropists and the inability to obtain outside investment and entrepreneurial talent.

II. THE NEW SOUTH AND THE VALLEY BOOM

Winchester and Frederick County adopted ideas of New South proponents to rebuild the economy after the Civil War and to restore pre-War northern business relationships. The New South message emphasized industrialization and economic diversification. Proponents supported Northern investment, incentives to industry, and agricultural changes. Henry Grady, chief proponent of the “New South”⁶⁵ recognized reconciliation with the North was critical. Grady “professed his region’s desire to let

⁶⁴ Historian Lawrence Larsen observed, “Ambitious northern capital went where the action was—to Chicago and San Francisco, rather than Nashville and Atlanta.” Larsen, *The Urban South*, 83.

⁶⁵ Grady waxed eloquent about the South’s aspirations. Speaking to a New England club in New York in 1889, Grady said, “The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.” “Henry Grady Sells the ‘New South,’” accessed February 9, 2011, History Matters, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5745/>.

bygones be bygones” and believed the South’s “best hope for industrial capital lay with Northern financiers.”⁶⁶ To attract industry, New South proponents supported tax exemptions and the provision of building sites for industry. To attract both labor and capital, New South advocates supported public education. They supported agricultural diversification, scientific farming, and improved management and efficiency by farmers. They urged the small farmer to be “thoroughly scientific in his application of new agricultural implements and knowledge” and “thoroughly businesslike in his planning.”⁶⁷ Support for immigration had serious limitations. Southern leaders were willing to accept Anglo-Saxon immigrants but wary of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. On the other hand, immigrants did not view the South as a land of opportunity and most preferred to remain in the North. Only a few areas fulfilled New South ambitions. Communities such as Atlanta, Birmingham, and Roanoke witnessed explosive population growth, often supercharged by railroads. In these communities, the leadership of ambitious local boosters and aggressive opportunists from outside the community created new enterprises.⁶⁸

To attract Northern capitalists, New South supporters believed the South must minimize race and class conflict. Racial issues were a disincentive to settlement and

⁶⁶ James Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society 1877–1984* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 12.

⁶⁷ Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 67.

⁶⁸ Harold Platt, *City Building in the New South: The Growth of Public Services in Houston, Texas, 1830–1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983); James M. Russell, *Atlanta, 1847–1890: City Building in the Old South and the New* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); Mark V. Wetherington, *New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia, 1860–1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994); Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Michael Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City: Culture and Social Change in a Southern Community* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

northern investment in the South. If conflict did occur, they urged the press to downplay problems.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the South remained concerned about northern interference and coercion in issues of race. New South advocates supported southern self-determination in racial matters, arguing that when the South took charge, Negroes were peaceful. Implicit in this mindset were notions of white supremacy and insistence on maintaining local control. Winchester historian Thomas Cartmell concurred, “If left alone...the two races will work out their own destiny to their own satisfaction.”⁷⁰ What Cartmell did not say, but firmly believed, was that “satisfaction” was only possible for whites if they retained complete control.

Leaders hoped Winchester and Frederick County at the northern end of the Shenandoah Valley could achieve the same success as Roanoke at the southern end of the Valley. Roanoke’s growth was astounding, from fewer than 1,000 residents in 1880 to 34,874 by 1910. Roanoke was a true boomtown and grew so rapidly after the arrival of the Norfolk and Western Railroad that it was dubbed the “Magic City.” Rail alone did not achieve the miracle. The “rich coal veins of the Appalachian Plateau” were the basis for Roanoke’s success.⁷¹ The Norfolk and Western Railroad provided cheap access to iron and coal and set the stage for investment by Northerners and Europeans in southwest Virginia. In addition, Roanoke boosters “campaign heavily for investments, courted financiers, and eventually began their own manufacturing enterprises.” The community

⁶⁹ Gaston, *The New South Creed*, 73.

⁷⁰ Thomas Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants: A History of Frederick County, Virginia from Its Formation in 1738 to 1908* (1909, repr., Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007), 520.

⁷¹ Railroads were not a guarantee of growth. Manassas, Virginia, got a railroad connection about the same time as Roanoke but did not have significant industry or natural resources and did not grow substantially. Charles Grymes, “Railroad Cities,” accessed May 30, 2014, <http://www.virginiaplaces.org/vacities/24railroad.html>.

encouraged entrepreneurs with a fifteen-year exemption from taxes for new industries, free land, and municipal stock subscriptions. Along with industry and new jobs, Roanoke had a real estate boom. At one point, there were as many as 132 land companies. Eventually, the community suffered from problems characterized as a “boom town [sic] syndrome” which included revenue shortfalls, poor sanitation, housing shortages, crime, and vice.⁷² In addition, by the 1890s, over 4,000 newly arrived residents were African Americans, nearly a third of the population, and racial tensions exploded in a riot and a lynching in 1893.⁷³

In Roanoke and many other boom areas in the Shenandoah Valley, one of the first steps was the acquisition of land. Historian Alan Moger contends “the economic activity which most resembled the ideas of the New South Gospel” was a speculative boom in Virginia.⁷⁴ Real estate speculation was part of this boom as communities advertised their natural resources and plentiful labor supply. Typically a boom began with the arrival of the railroad (or the possibility of the railroad), erection of a hotel to attract visitors and investors, and involvement of a group of community leaders along with outside speculators, often from Pennsylvania. Land companies were formed throughout the region. In many cases, land improvement schemes “were developed by northern capitalists allied with old Virginia families who lent the prestige of their names.”⁷⁵ Land

⁷² Rand Dotson, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882–1912: Magic City of the New South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 29, 59-75.

⁷³ Ann Field Alexander, “‘Like an Evil Wind’ The Roanoke Riot of 1893 and the Lynching of Thomas Smith,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 100, no. 2 (April, 1992): 178-180, accessed April 27, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4249275>.

⁷⁴ Allen Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd 1870–1925* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 12.

⁷⁵ Raymond Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930*, 26.

company brochures touted the unique advantages of a locality, often in an exaggerated fashion, describing schemes for growth and development.⁷⁶

Roanoke's boom was phenomenal, and other Shenandoah Valley communities shared the economic exuberance on a lesser scale. In 1887, the *New York Times* reported, "Change is epidemic below Mason and Dixon's line just now; progress comes bustling into every township, and nowhere is there a community so destitute of ambition that hasn't at least half dozen well developed plans in view for development toward better fortunes."⁷⁷ In Luray, Virginia, caverns were discovered in 1881 and purchased by the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, which built a hotel and provided excursion trains. Eventually the Caverns attracted 3,000 visitors monthly. A newly formed Valley Land and Improvement Company purchased 10,000 acres of land in the Luray area in 1890. "A Northern based land-speculating firm with most of its investors from Pennsylvania and Maryland" began buying land. The Luray newspaper reported plans for "a glove factory, steel plant, furniture factory, and pulp mill."⁷⁸ However, the land company failed in a year. Big Stone Gap, in Southwest Virginia, was another boom town. Coal was the attraction. Developers from Virginia and Pennsylvania formed the Virginia Coal and Iron Company to buy land in the 1880s. Railroads joined the venture followed by speculators

⁷⁶ Stuart Seely Sprague, "Investing in Appalachia: The Virginia Valley Boom of 1889–1893," *Virginia Cavalcade* 24, no. 3 (Winter 1975): 134–143.

⁷⁷ *New York Times*, January 21, 1887, accessed April 27, 2010, <http://proquest.umi.com.mutex.gmu.edu/pqdweb?index=1&did=104007009&SrchMode=1&sid=6&Fmt=10&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=HNP&TS=1272387807&clientId=31810>.

⁷⁸ Elizabeth Atwood, "'Saratoga of the South' Tourism in Luray, Virginia, 1878-1905," *The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth Century Virginia*, eds. Edward L. Ayers and John C. Willis (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 166–167.

and investors. The depression of the 1890s reduced the boom to a bust in Roanoke, Luray, and Big Stone Gap.⁷⁹

Winchester could not achieve the same success as Roanoke. The rapid growth of Roanoke resulted from a variety of factors, none of which were present in Winchester and Frederick County. Winchester and Frederick County did not have a natural resource to attract northern investment, the policies of state and railroads did not converge to allow expansion of transportation facilities, and local boosters were unable to encourage substantial outside investment or entrepreneurship.

III. RECOVERY, RESTORATION, RECONCILIATION

Winchester and Frederick County citizens who hoped for prosperity and a more balanced economy after the Civil War had high hopes indeed since the economy was in shambles. After the War, the community moved toward recovery, restoration, and reconciliation. Recovery was a massive task that included rebuilding homes, businesses, churches, barns, and fences; restoring railroad and road networks; and opening schools. Restoring agriculture, finance, business, and commerce were vital if the community was to survive. Reconciliation was especially important since ties with the North were critical to the economy. Winchester civic leaders advocated interaction with the North and supported incentives for industry even before Henry Grady publicized the New South gospel. In 1872, Winchester Mayor Lewis Huck called a public meeting to take “action on advancing the interest and general prosperity of Winchester.” The attendees discussed immunity from taxation for those who established manufacturing enterprises and resolved

⁷⁹ Robert Weise, “Big Stone Gap and the New South, 1880–1900” in *The Edge of the South*, 180–185.

that a committee be appointed “to induce immigration, encourage the establishment of manufacturers, and consider and facilitate our railroad connections.”⁸⁰ The resolution invited those wishing to engage in business to the community. The willingness of civic leaders to make concessions reflects the realization that recovery from the Civil War was neither satisfactory nor complete.

Former Confederate citizens in Winchester and Frederick County faced coming to terms with defeat and were consoled by the myth of the Lost Cause even as they pursued New South goals and Northern investment. Southerners developed the Lost Cause myth to rationalize and assuage humiliation, loss, and even guilt. This myth idealized the Old South as a world of prosperous beautiful plantations, where master and worker lived in affection and harmony. The Old South myth avoided discussing the evils of slavery. Thomas Cartmell of Winchester expressed these views when he wrote that, “no two races ever lived in such harmony as the White and Black races enjoyed in *ye olden times*, before the Negro was taught by the fanatics that slavery was a yoke that must be removed and he must do his part.”⁸¹ No former slaveholder recalled injustice. The Mississippi-born daughter-in-law of Robert Conrad wrote “Reminiscences of a Southern Woman” to tell her children about the “relations between master and slave in her girlhood.” Mrs. Conrad declared that “many a front door was never even closed, until emancipation came alienating the races and changing trust into suspicion.”⁸² No survivor was willing to

⁸⁰ Frederic Morton, *The Story of Winchester in Virginia* (Strasburg: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), 193–194, 254.

⁸¹ Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, 520.

⁸² Georgia Conrad’s essay was published in the *Southern Workman*, a publication from the Hampden Institute for African Americans that promoted understanding and respect between races. Georgia Bryan

believe the struggle had been for naught or the deaths of loved ones were less than noble.⁸³ The Lost Cause mythologized a way of life in whose defense great suffering occurred. A critic of the Old South myth called it “stifling sentimentality about the old order that forever seemed to obstruct the road to progress.”⁸⁴ Nevertheless, an important aspect of the Old South message was that slavery was gone forever. Ironically, the Lost Cause myth with its portrayal of an idyllic Old South and the New South advocacy of industrialization seem diametrically opposed. Yet implicit in both mindsets was that change must occur in the economy.

Robert Conrad, a prominent Winchester attorney, expressed the realistic viewpoint of those citizens who recognized the exigencies of economic survival and had no lingering hopes about beautiful plantations and happy slaves. “The people of Virginia have accepted the situation in good faith. They have abandoned all right of property to slaves and no one but a madman has ever dreamed of the restoration of the institution.”⁸⁵ In other words, it would be insanity to restore slavery. Conrad recognized slavery trapped both blacks and whites in madness. Perhaps like later proponents of a New South who urged economic change and growth, Conrad “accepted the defeat of the Old South as a

Conrad, “Reminiscences of a Southern Woman,” booklet reprinted from *The Southern Workman* in Holmes Conrad Collection 893 THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁸³ The United States government dedicated Winchester National Cemetery for Union dead in 1866. More than 5,000 men are buried there. After learning a farmer had plowed up bodies of Confederates, a group of Winchester women organized to gather and bury the dead. After the War, the community erected a cemetery for Southern dead and established Confederate Memorial Day. In the 1890s, veterans created a chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and a chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was organized. Like many Southern towns, the community erected a statue of a Confederate soldier in front of the Court House. “Winchester National Cemetery,” accessed May 19, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/virginia/Winchester_National_Cemetery.html; Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, 221.

⁸⁴ Ronald Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2007), 267.

⁸⁵ *Winchester Times*, January 23, 1869.

blessing in disguise; it meant the emancipation of the New South, now free to fulfill its destiny unburdened by slavery.”⁸⁶

Uncertainty and pessimism prevailed during Reconstruction when some former leaders like Robert Conrad were unable to resume their roles because of Civil War activities. Robert Conrad was the father of Holmes Conrad and four other sons who served in the Confederate military.⁸⁷ Robert Conrad ran for Congress in 1865 but could not take his seat because of the rule of exclusion imposed by the Reconstruction government on former officials of Confederate states. Conrad was elected Mayor of Winchester but forbidden to serve by Federal officials. As leaders sought to restore the devastated economy, obstacles seemed insurmountable because initiative and activities of former leaders were limited. Conrad voiced the opinion of many residents that the demands of Reconstruction were “not anticipated or included in the surrender of their armies.” “Bureau [the Freedman’s Bureau] agents have been quartered in their territory who have produced ill feeling and distrust among the emancipated slaves and their former owners. Hordes of northern men of the worst type, without property or character have been turned loose upon us to prey upon our substance and to fill our offices.”⁸⁸ Although he may have intensified his qualms for rhetorical effect, Conrad appeared reconciled to defeat, but stunned, humiliated, and outraged by Reconstruction requirements and opportunistic carpetbaggers.

⁸⁶ Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 314.

⁸⁷ Garland Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives* (Winchester: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 1988), 74–75.

⁸⁸ *Winchester Times*, January 23, 1869.

Returning to the Union was not without difficulties and whether Virginians liked it or not (and most white citizens did not), the United States Congress required a new state Constitution for readmission to the Union. A Virginia Constitutional Convention convened in 1867–1868. Only 33 delegates “represented the views of the old ruling oligarchy,” while the remaining 72 delegates were “Negroes, carpetbaggers, and native Republicans.”⁸⁹ When the Convention finished its task, the new Constitution reflected the influence of Reconstruction officials. According to historian Raymond Pulley, the Underwood Constitution⁹⁰ was the “most democratic instrument of government the Old Dominion has ever known.” The Constitution provided for “universal manhood suffrage (including African Americans), a more democratic form of local government, a public school system, and taxation based upon property evaluation.”⁹¹ It also called for a written secret ballot and “included controversial clauses that required an oath by officeholders that they had never supported the Confederacy and disfranchised those who had held civilian or military office under the Confederacy.”⁹²

Thomas Cartmell (1838–1920) described the views of many Winchester and Frederick County citizens who did not appreciate the more “democratic instrument of government.” Cartmell was from an old Frederick County family and served in the Confederate army. For many years he was Clerk of Frederick County and developed an extensive knowledge of the region. In 1909, he published a massive history of the community, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants, A History of Frederick*

⁸⁹ Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored*, 7.

⁹⁰ The Constitution was known as the Underwood Constitution, a reference to Convention leader John Underwood.

⁹¹ Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored*, 6–7.

⁹² Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, 248.

County, Virginia. Cartmell characterized the Underwood Constitution as “illegally fastening a yoke on the necks of Virginians.”⁹³ Most whites opposed suffrage for African Americans and, not surprisingly, opposed the clauses restricting the roles of former Confederates.

A newly formed Conservative Party strenuously pushed for and obtained an agreement to vote separately on the Underwood Constitution and the controversial clauses. Through the influence of Robert Conrad and others like him, the Constitution was approved and the clauses were defeated. The defeat of the two clauses opened the way for the return to power of former white leaders. A Republican was elected Governor, but Conservatives won more than a two-thirds majority in the legislature.⁹⁴

Winchester and Frederick County did not need exhortations of New South evangelists to understand future economic success required interaction with former enemies. The openness of Winchester citizens to northern business and influence predated the New South movement. From its inception, Winchester and Frederick County had maintained significant ties with their northern neighbors. Many families who settled there immigrated to Virginia from above the Mason–Dixon Line. The region actively carried on external commerce with Maryland and Pennsylvania. Moreover, social and cultural relationships linked the region to the outside world. Most of the churches participated in regional convocations and many local ministers came to Winchester from elsewhere. Private schools of Winchester, such as the Winchester Academy and the

⁹³ Cartmell witnessed local events between 1870 and 1900. He included genealogical material about many local families. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, 223.

⁹⁴ Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, 248–250.

Winchester Medical College, attracted students from outside the community before the Civil War.

Baltimore, Maryland, was especially important to the Winchester area. In 1865, General Sheridan agreed to let Mrs. J. Harmon Brown of Baltimore, mother of a Winchester resident, send food to Frederick County. Mrs. Brown organized several boxcars of food. After the War, the Baltimore Agricultural Society provided seed, livestock, and other substantial assistance to Virginia farmers.⁹⁵ The Union Relief Association of Baltimore sent supplies and Maryland citizens provided financial aid.⁹⁶ The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, a key connection to markets and resources, soon restored service after the Civil War. When Jacob Baker, a successful Winchester merchant, prepared to rebuild his destroyed business, he took advantage of his good credit in Baltimore to become prosperous once again.⁹⁷ With post-War investments in Winchester banks, Maryland business leaders demonstrated their relationship with Winchester and Frederick County served their best interests as well.

The Winchester City Council adopted a resolution in 1870 affirming “it is vital to the future interests and prosperity of the City of Winchester and of the whole Valley of Virginia, that the capital and enterprise of Pennsylvania and New York should be brought to bear upon the natural resources of the Valley.”⁹⁸ In the 1870s, the Council made various efforts to improve rail transportation and foster industry. The Council responded favorably to a petition for immunity from taxation by an individual who planned to

⁹⁵ “Report of the Secretary of the Baltimore Agricultural Aid Society [December 23, 1865]”: 17, accessed June 10, 2011, <http://www.archive.org/stream/reportdecember00baltiala#page/n5/mode/2up>.

⁹⁶ Roger Delauter, *Winchester in the Civil War* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard Inc., 1992), 93.

⁹⁷ Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, 433.

⁹⁸ Winchester City Council Minutes, May 27, 1870.

establish a boot and shoe factory employing over 100 people.⁹⁹ On the other hand, Council's support for industry was not always unanimous and in February 1873, the Council vote split, resulting in a defeat for "An Ordinance to Encourage Manufacturing and Enterprise within the Corporation."¹⁰⁰ As a rule, both local governments operated with minimal budgets and seldom acted proactively or invested resources in encouraging industry. The City Council avoided expensive initiatives and often called for a vote of the citizens before making large unbudgeted expenditures. There was no formal plan or budget for industrial development.

IV. SLOW PROGRESS

Winchester and Frederick County lagged behind Virginia in population growth and leaders were unable to achieve significant growth in agriculture and industry between 1870 and 1900. Since the region was virtually a battleground for the first half of the 1860s, it is surprising that any progress was made. Unlike Virginia which lost 23 percent of its population in the 1860s (much of it to West Virginia), Winchester and Frederick County population changed very little. The region's population in 1870 was 16,596; by 1900, there were 18,400 residents, an increase of 10.9 percent compared to Virginia's increase of 51.3 percent. Much of the state's growth was in urban areas, particularly Richmond, the Hampton Roads area, and the Lynchburg and Roanoke regions.

Loss of African Americans contributed to slow population growth. Winchester and Frederick County had a number of freed blacks in 1860, indicating the community might be willing to accept manumission and provide opportunities for African

⁹⁹ Winchester City Council Minutes, January 12, 1872.

¹⁰⁰ Winchester City Council Minutes, February 4, 1873.

Americans. However, as a consequence of the Civil War and emancipation, many African Americans chose to leave the region. By 1870, an increase in white residents was offset by a reduction in the number of African Americans. Between 1870 and 1900, the white population grew by 19.3 percent, while the African American population declined by 32 percent from 2,733 to 1,858 and represented 10.1 percent of the population. Winchester and Frederick County's location made it relatively easy for African Americans to move to find greater opportunity for work and education. The old free states were close enough that those who left could maintain Winchester and Frederick County ties. The loss of African Americans did not cause consternation as it did in the deep South where blacks were a principle source of labor. The overall labor pool remained the same since population remained steady.

Winchester and Frederick County boosters made little effort to attract foreign immigrants. Most foreign immigrants preferred northern urban areas with accessible job opportunities. In the South, wages were lower and immigrants faced wage competition from African Americans. Foreign-born residents were an insignificant portion of the population in Winchester and Frederick County. In 1870, only 256 foreign-born lived in the community. Of those, 195 were from Ireland. According to historian Don Doyle, "the impact of foreign migration remained negligible within Dixie after the Civil War."¹⁰¹ Furthermore, as historian Lawrence Larson points out, "the cities of the south failed to attract many outsiders even from "more than a Southern state away."¹⁰² Only 1,191 of the Winchester and Frederick County residents were born outside of Virginia or West

¹⁰¹ Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 11.

¹⁰² Larsen, *The Urban South*, 45.

Virginia and 75 percent of those were born in either Maryland or Pennsylvania.¹⁰³ During this period, the frontier West, not the South, was attracting ambitious young men.¹⁰⁴

Since entrepreneurs with capital went elsewhere, there were no prospects of abundant jobs to attract new citizens. Although Winchester and Frederick County had several small industries, it was only after 1900 that jobs significantly increased with the opening of woolen mills and development of industries related to apple production. Outsiders found little to be gained economically since industrialization had not occurred to provide new wages. It was not until the 1920s that there was a substantial increase in the region's population.¹⁰⁵ Slow growth was both cause and effect of gradual transition in the community. With a relatively stable citizenry, old ideas, institutions, and ways of life were modified over time, not drastically changed by the impact of new citizens.

Winchester and Frederick County had little experience with manufacturing prior to the Civil War; agriculture formed the basis of the economy and commerce played a supporting role. Just as many farmers of Frederick County were owner–operators, most business owners had small independent enterprises. Professionals such as lawyers and doctors were always part of small firms. Retail stores, groceries, construction, repair, and service businesses were independently owned and operated. Small business owners were

¹⁰³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the United States, 1870*, Table VII.

¹⁰⁴ Larsen, *The Urban South*, 47.

¹⁰⁵ Although population growth might be viewed as a sign of success in regional development, rapid population growth can have disadvantages. Roanoke grew by 5,113 percent between 1880 and 1910. Rapid growth strained the community's institutions and resources, particularly as an influx of newcomers arrived to compete for low paying jobs. Historian Rand Dotson reports that by the turn of the century, Roanoke had "numerous dirt streets, hundreds of free-ranging cattle, a polluted farmer's market, few enforced health regulations, a rowdy saloon and brothel district, overcrowded and dingy schools, and no public parks or library." Furthermore, racial conflict was a serious cause for anxiety. Rand Dotson, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882–1912*, 199. Winchester had infrastructure deficiencies, but in a less crowded urban environment, issues like free-ranging cattle and lack of parks were not critical.

not experienced with organizing and marshalling capital and resources or hiring and managing a large work force. One notable exception was the Graichen Glove Manufactory founded in 1852 by Frederick A. Graichen, a German immigrant. The firm employed as many as 300 workers. The factory made 225 different styles of gloves and mittens.¹⁰⁶ Graichen's acumen was recognized by the community and he served on the City Council and became Mayor in 1886. The success of immigrant Frederick Graichen demonstrates the value of new ideas to the community.

Most manufacturing enterprises in Winchester and Frederick County were relatively small and served a regional market. The 1880 census lists a number of enterprises in Frederick County. Among these are twenty-three flour mills, eight glove factories, a paper factory, three boot and shoe factories, six woolen mills, six manufacturers of cigars and cigarettes, and three confectionaries.¹⁰⁷ Sanborn maps provide information about the more important businesses. The 1885 Sanborn map for Winchester shows three tanneries and three livery stables, and a gas works.¹⁰⁸ The map also lists as "specials" two flour mills, two foundries, two breweries, a glove

¹⁰⁶ Frederick Graichen's son, William, continued management of the firm and also served on City Council and as Mayor. William Graichen was an innovative manufacturer. In 1904, he received a patent for a "glove gauntlet" intended to provide protection for workers. The Graichen family also operated a glove factory in Gloversville, New York. Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives*, 109; Jedediah Hotchkiss, *The Virginias, A Mining, Industrial and Scientific Journal, Devoted to the Development of Virginia and West Virginia* IV, no. 11 (November 1883): 166, Google Books; accessed June 30, 2014, <http://books.google.com/books?id=OEQAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>; "Patent US752769," Google Patents; accessed June 30, 2014, <http://www.google.com/patents/US752769>; Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed. *Men of Mark in Virginia: Ideals of American Life; a Collection of Biographies of the Leading Men in the State* vol. I (Washington: Men of Mark Publishing Co., 1906), 294, Google Books; accessed June 30, 2014, http://books.google.com/books/about/Men_of_Mark_in_Virginia.html?id=rzgUAAAAYAAJ.

¹⁰⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the United States, 1880*.

¹⁰⁸ The criteria for the designation "specials" on the Sanborn maps were not rigid. In general, "specials" included "churches, factories, hotels, hospitals, government buildings, educational institutions and other places of particular interest to a fire insurance company." "Specials" did not include shops or groceries. "Digital Sanborn Maps 1867, 1900," accessed May 30, 2014, <http://www.uic.edu/depts/lib/resources/sanbornsearchguide.pdf>, 4.

manufacturer, a paper company, a carriage factory, a sumac mill, a saw mill, and a furniture factory.¹⁰⁹

Winchester and Frederick County did not keep pace with Virginia in the manufacturing sector between 1870 and 1900. The number of manufacturing establishments increased in Virginia and declined slightly in Winchester and Frederick County. Virginia's increase in capital was more than 10 times that of Winchester and Frederick County between 1870 and 1900. Capital in Virginia increased by 462 percent from 18.5 million to 103.6 million dollars while capital in Winchester and Frederick County went from half a million to three-quarters of a million dollars, an increase of 42 percent. A decline after 1890 was undoubtedly due to effects of the depression of the early 1890s and a decline in the market for wheat, a principal crop of Frederick County farmers. Cost of Materials refers to direct charges for materials, fuel, transportation, and other costs of manufacturing and usually rises as industry expands. The Cost of Materials reported by Virginia in 1900 showed that the percent increase for the state was more than four times that of Winchester and Frederick County. Virginia increased from 23.8 million to 74.8 million dollars, a 214 percent increase, while Winchester and Frederick County increased from half a million to three-quarters of a million, an increase of 52 percent. The Value of Manufactured Products increased by 244 percent in Virginia and by 56 percent in Winchester and Frederick County. The number of production workers more than doubled in both Virginia and Winchester and Frederick County in the 1870s but grew very slowly after that. The increase of 335 percent in wages in Winchester and Frederick

¹⁰⁹ Sumac is used in leather tanning. "Sanborn Map, 1885," accessed March 10, 2011, <http://sanborn.umi.com/mutex.gmu.edu/va/9093/dateid-000006.htm?CCSI=8901n>.

County lagged behind the 420 percent increase in the state. Over the period as a whole, production workers in both Virginia and Frederick County increased by approximately 160 percent.¹¹⁰

By 1900, Winchester and Frederick County had only small gains in the manufacturing sector. Northern entrepreneurs were not attracted by the industrial potential of the region. Labor for mills was cheaper farther south where raw materials were closer. Winchester did not have significant nearby mineral resources as did Roanoke. On the other hand, the region did not face labor unrest or the issues that might occur when a single large company dominated the economy. Winchester and Frederick County avoided problems of business ownership by external employers. The community also avoided the “boom syndrome” that affected Roanoke and other fast-growing regions. On balance, while the community did not boom, it did not decline. The economic base remained primarily agricultural. Winchester remained the largest town and commercial center west of the District of Columbia at the northern end of the Shenandoah Valley.

Leaders in Winchester and Frederick County, like most Americans, considered the railroad a *sine qua non* of economic success even before the Civil War. Their views were not without basis. Railroads accelerated the growth of many Southern cities. Historian Don Doyle identified four southern cities that grew by more than 4,000 percent between 1880 and 1910: Birmingham, El Paso, Tampa, and Roanoke.¹¹¹ All substantially benefited from railroads. Prior to the development of the railroad, the Valley Pike had been the principal north–south road and several east–west roads intersected with the Pike

¹¹⁰ *United States Census*, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900.

¹¹¹ Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 15, 314.

at Winchester. Because it was a transportation hub, Winchester had served as market center for Frederick County and the surrounding area. In the 1830s, the Winchester and Potomac Railroad had been developed to connect Winchester with the Baltimore and Ohio at Harpers Ferry. The Civil War destroyed that road and disrupted railroads throughout the South. Rebuilding began almost immediately but did not make substantial progress in the South until the 1880s when 180 new companies opened lines in the Southeast.¹¹² The Baltimore and Ohio restored service to Winchester in 1866.

Civic leaders were interested in rail links to Baltimore and Cumberland, but political leaders from eastern Virginia feared Baltimore would “siphon off Valley trade” from Virginia.¹¹³ As a consequence, state policy favored rail connections to eastern Virginia from the Shenandoah Valley. Virginia’s politics diminished Winchester and Frederick County’s chances of becoming a railroad hub. Because of the Blue Ridge Mountains on the eastern side of the Valley, the traditional line of commerce for Winchester and Frederick County had been north toward markets in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. Transportation via rail to the north had advantages of cost and speed. In 1867, the General Assembly granted a charter for the Winchester and Strasburg Railroad to connect to the Manassas Gap Railroad that provided transportation between Alexandria, Virginia, and the Shenandoah Valley south of Winchester.¹¹⁴

Winchester and Frederick County preferred a more northern route directly to Winchester

¹¹² By 1900, Northern men and money controlled nearly 90 percent of the mileage of major southern railroads. Ezell, *The South Since 1865*, 151; John Stover, *The Railroads of the South 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), xviii.

¹¹³ Gabrielle Lanier, “An Early Road to the Old West 1780–1837,” in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present*, eds. Warren Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 121.

¹¹⁴ Morton, *The Story of Winchester in Virginia*, 30.

over the Blue Ridge. However, no east–west railroad line was built that conveniently served the northern end of the Valley. To improve rail transportation, in June 1870 Winchester City Council requested that Virginia’s General Assembly enact a Charter for the Martinsburg and Potomac Railroad because the railroad would support developing mineral wealth and enhancing land values “which cannot be obtained unless we have direct communications with central Pennsylvania and New York¹¹⁵ According to local historian Thomas Cartmell, it “meant cheaper coal,” which was particularly important for developing industry.¹¹⁶

Efforts of Winchester City Council to encourage railroad business did not have great success. On March 7, 1871, the City Council passed a resolution to strengthen the ties with the Washington and Ohio Railroad. The generous resolution offered four acres of land for workshops, a tax exemption until a dividend was declared, and assistance in obtaining land for a depot. They offered a right of way on prime downtown streets, “by condemnation” if necessary. These benefits depended on completing a line from Hampton (probably Hamilton) in Loudoun County to Winchester in two years.¹¹⁷ In February 1872, Council considered exempting the Baltimore and Ohio from city taxes for twenty years and providing water if they established a workshop in Winchester. These facilities were never built, however the generous offers demonstrate leaders’ convictions

¹¹⁵ Winchester City Council Minutes, June 16, 1870.

¹¹⁶ Thomas B. Kennedy, president of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, had strong economic and social connections to Winchester. The *Winchester Evening Star* carried a front page report upon Kennedy’s death noting that a large contingent of prominent Winchester men would attend his funeral. *Winchester Evening Star*, June 20, 1905.

¹¹⁷ Winchester City Council Minutes, March 7, 1871.

that railroads were essential.¹¹⁸ On May 8, 1872, Council Minutes recorded that in the next election, citizens would vote on the question of a “subscription to the Luray Valley Railroad or the Martinsburg and Potomac Railroad.”¹¹⁹ By 1903, Winchester citizens found rail connections at the Strasburg junction to the South were unsatisfactory. The City Council instructed City Solicitor John Steck to travel to Woodstock to ask Circuit Court Judge Harrison to issue a rule against two railroads, “holding them in contempt of court, by reason of their failure to maintain prompt and adequate railway connection at Strasburg Junction.” Steck wanted imposition of a \$5,000 fine on each railroad and a \$500 fee for every day the connection was not made. Ironically, Steck missed his connection at Strasburg as he traveled to the Court.¹²⁰

Community leaders were not able to market Winchester as an advantageous location to state and railroad decision makers primarily because of outside forces, specifically the railroads’ profit-making interests and Virginia’s priorities. Winchester never became an important rail center. Developing a railroad is a complicated and expensive proposition, and Winchester and Frederick County citizens had neither the experience or financial resources to go it alone nor the influence to win railroad company or state support. In the late nineteenth century, politics, influence, and even corruption often played a role in railroad business decisions, and Winchester was unable to exert enough pressure to force changes. State and railroad company initiatives were not

¹¹⁸ Winchester City Council Minutes, February 21, 1872.

¹¹⁹ Winchester City Council Minutes, May 7, 1872.

¹²⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 30, 1903.

forthcoming. Railroad leaders were more interested in profits from transporting minerals from southwest Virginia than Valley agricultural products.

The Civil War also destroyed banks in Winchester and in 1866, a group of Baltimore investors helped remedy the situation by playing a prominent role in the establishment of the Shenandoah Valley National Bank. Of the original 99 shareholders, 76 were from Baltimore and 23 from Virginia.¹²¹ A second bank, the Union Bank, opened in 1870. In 1902, outside investors again supported Winchester banking. Ex-Maryland Governor Lloyd Lowndes and John Keating, officers of the Second National Bank of Cumberland, were “promoters and organizers” of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank.¹²² Keating served as Vice President of the new Winchester bank.

Although Winchester and Frederick County had not been highly dependent on slave labor, the defeat of the Confederacy caused some Frederick County farmers to rethink their way of life. During the Civil War, farmers suffered damage to buildings and equipment, and damage to crops, as well as the loss of labor and loss of northern markets. The outlook was grim as soldiers returned to farms. Edward Hillyard compared agricultural data in Winchester and Frederick County for 1860 and 1870 and concluded livestock and agricultural production was not wholly wiped out but was significantly reduced.¹²³

Between 1870 and 1900, both the number of farms and farm acreage increased in the region. In 1870, Winchester and Frederick County had 1,013 farms, increasing to

¹²¹ Edward Hillyard, “Life at the Crossroads, The Effect of the Civil War on the Civil Institutions of Winchester and Frederick County” (master’s thesis, George Mason University, 2002), 107.

¹²² *Winchester Evening Star*, January 3, 1905.

¹²³ Hillyard, “Life at the Crossroads,” passim.

1,603 by 1900. Total farm acreage increased by 84.8 percent to 247,886 acres in the same period. Improved land steadily increased. The average size of farms was larger than the state average, peaking at 155 acres in 1890 and 1900. Owners operated most farms in the area and tenants operated about 28 percent of farms. The majority of farmers had no mortgages; for example, in 1890, of 1,420 farm owners, 910 owned their farms free and clear. The value of farms in Virginia increased from 196 million in 1870 to 324 million dollars in 1900, an increase of 64 percent, while in Winchester and Frederick County, the value of farms rose from five million to six million dollars, an increase of eighteen percent. The County's agricultural system resembled that of Pennsylvania far more than the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont.¹²⁴

The value of local farm production declined during most of the late nineteenth century as local farmers faced increasing competition.¹²⁵ According to historian Warren Hofstra, wheat was the staple crop of the Valley throughout the nineteenth century, but it became less and less profitable. In Frederick County, wheat production increased between 1860 and 1900, while profits declined due to competition with the Midwest and Great Plains. In the 1890s, when wheat prices were the lowest of the century, farmers began the transition to apples as a cash crop.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Michael Joseph Gorman, "Political Culture in the Lower Shenandoah Valley: Frederick County, Virginia, 1836-1861" (PhD diss., University of California San Diego, 1997), 10.

¹²⁵ Hillyard, "Life at the Crossroads," 98.

¹²⁶ Warren Hofstra, "These Fine Prospects: Frederick County VA 1738-1840" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1985), 361.

Dr. John Lupton (1829–1908)¹²⁷ was the Frederick County farmer who planted the first commercial orchard in Virginia. In a eulogy for his son, Lucien Lupton, Herbert Larrick, also of Frederick County, recounted that Dr. John Lupton came out of the Civil War “with little left save honor.” Dr. Lupton tried a variety of projects to improve his finances and eventually decided growing apples might work. However, Lupton lacked capital and he could not get credit for his project. His son, Lucien, came to the rescue, providing funds that he had inherited from his grandfather. In later years, Lucien also became a prominent and successful apple grower.¹²⁸ The Luptons produced high quality fruit and Lucien Lupton won several medals for his apples in a 1900 Paris Exposition.¹²⁹ Because the Luptons succeeded, others from Frederick County decided to emulate the two orchardists and began to diversify and establish apple orchards.

The most important motivation for Frederick County farmers seeking new sources of income in apple production in the late nineteenth century was economic, that is, a response to competition from western grain producers. The times and circumstances were auspicious for fruit growing and some of the region’s farmers recognized the profit potential of apple production. Between 1870 and 1900, the American urban population more than tripled from 10 million to 30 million and the market for farmers increased at the same time. Many city dwellers, lacking space for gardens, depended on others to

¹²⁷ “Find a Grave,” accessed May 19, 2014, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=23962596>.

¹²⁸ “Report of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Session of the Virginia State Horticultural Society,” *Virginia Fruit* IX, no. 2 (March 1921): 47-48, http://books.google.com/books?id=XXo1AQAAMAAJ&dq=lucien+lupton+horticulture&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

¹²⁹ *Virginia Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Annual Report* (1900), 26, Google Books; accessed June 30, 2014, [http://books.google.com/books?id=x-9MAAAAYAAJ&dq=Virginia+Department+of+Agriculture+and+Commerce,+Annual+Report+\(1900\),&source=gbs_navlinks_s](http://books.google.com/books?id=x-9MAAAAYAAJ&dq=Virginia+Department+of+Agriculture+and+Commerce,+Annual+Report+(1900),&source=gbs_navlinks_s).

grow their food. The growth of urban population in the last decades of the nineteenth century was an important incentive for agricultural diversification. Furthermore, many Americans began to place more emphasis on fruits and vegetables in their diet.¹³⁰ New technology also had a positive impact on the marketplace for Virginia apples. The first patent for a refrigerated railcar was issued in 1875. In 1891, railroads operated 600 refrigerator cars. By 1907, more than 33,000 refrigerator cars were in use, evidence of the rapid acceptance of this technology by food producers and the railroads. Refrigerated railcars enabled shipment of apples over long distances and as a consequence, Frederick County producers could reach a wider market. However, competition increased because the refrigerator car enabled western apples growers to enter markets in the eastern United States.¹³¹ The value of farm production began to improve in Frederick County with conversion of acreage to apple orchards. Orchardists produced 158,000 bushels of apples in 1890 and doubled production to 306,000 bushels in 1900.

Progressive Frederick County farmers began to adopt the ideas of business progressives and advocated education, scientific farming, and improved methods and technology. These attitudes also aligned with New South ideas to foster efficiency. For example, Dr. John Lupton sought out scientific experts to learn best practices. Lupton discussed his “spraying apparatus” with entomologist Leland Howard at the Department of Agriculture, who commented that Lupton had the “best results of any fruit grower of

¹³⁰ Ezell, *The South Since 1865*, 130.

¹³¹ Carolyn Dimitri, “Contract Evolution and Institutional Innovation: Marketing Pacific-Grown Apples from 1890 to 1930,” *The Journal of Economic History* 62, no. 1 (March 2002): 189–212, accessed May 6, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2697977>.

our acquaintance.”¹³² In 1905, he worked with the Department of Agriculture to get rid of “canker-worms” which had infested one of his orchards.¹³³ Farmers like John Lupton and his son Lucien built relationships and learned from the experiences of neighbors through farm organizations. Agricultural reform in the New South usually involved some kind of farm organization or cooperation by farmers.¹³⁴ An agricultural society had existed in Frederick County before the Civil War.¹³⁵ After the War, the community established the Shenandoah Valley Agricultural Society which sponsored the Shenandoah Valley Agricultural Fair, a highlight of the fall in Winchester. The Fair boosted agriculture by displaying farm products and holding numerous competitions. Winchester businesses contributed to the Fair, and a 1903 brochure provided evidence of the civic boosterism that was part and parcel of the Fair.¹³⁶

V. WHERE ARE THE MONEYED MEN?

Winchester and Frederick County leaders lacked experienced with industry and had limited experience with large business enterprises and the community was not able to attract outside investors and entrepreneurs to provide expertise and bring resources to improve and diversify the economy. The careers of most of the region’s leading men (and

¹³² Leland Ossian Howard, “The Use of Steam Apparatus for Spraying,” U.S. Department of Agriculture, (1896), 78, Google Books; accessed June 30, 2014, http://books.google.com/books?id=NmwoAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

¹³³ A. L. Quaintance, “Deciduous Fruit Insects and Insecticides,” July 6, 1907, 20, *U.S. Dept of Agriculture, Bulletin* 68 (1909), Google Books; accessed July 2, 2014,

http://books.google.com/books?id=K9EpAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

¹³⁴ Dewey Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 321.

¹³⁵ Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers*, 434.

¹³⁶ The Fair attracted sufficient numbers that the City Council usually added extra policemen. *Premium List of Shenandoah Valley Agricultural Society* (Winchester: News Book and Job Print, 1903) accessed May 22, 2014, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/ea.A0248/pg.1/>.

in fact, almost every man) were interrupted by participation in the Civil War. During the years immediately after Reconstruction, leaders who rebuilt the community seemed unwilling and unable to take entrepreneurial risks. Lawyers and store owners appeared frequently in positions of civic and social leadership, but those careers did not provide the kind of experience that would lead to success as a manufacturing entrepreneur.

Furthermore, Winchester and Frederick County attracted few new citizens to bring new ideas and entrepreneurial know-how to the region. In other Southern cities, it was not established local men who took risks to foster industry but ambitious “new men” seeking profit. Historian Don Doyle studied Southern cities in the post-Civil War era and found that natives made up a relatively small part of business elites (Atlanta, 0 percent; Nashville, 11 percent; Mobile, 14 percent; Charleston, 57 percent). Men from the North and Europe were important in every one of the cities’ business elites (Atlanta, 36 percent; Nashville, 23 percent; Charleston, 24 percent; and Mobile, 40 percent). Doyle also observed that not many of Atlanta’s and Nashville’s leading men actually fought in the war.¹³⁷ Furthermore, in Doyle’s study, the economic leaders of the two most successful cities, Atlanta and Nashville, came from modest circumstances in the rural South. By contrast, Winchester and Frederick County leaders between 1870 and 1900 were almost all from families of long standing in the region and many were connected by kinship and religion.

Before the end of the nineteenth century, “moneyed men” did benefit Winchester and Frederick County. These “moneyed men” were philanthropists with close ties to the

¹³⁷ Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 89–91.

region. They did not build local industries but they generously contributed to major improvements to civic infrastructure. In the 1890s, citizens of Winchester and Frederick County, allied with wealthy Pennsylvanian John Handley, formed the Equity Improvement Company which they hoped would change the economy of Winchester and Frederick County.

John Handley (1835–1895), a former elected Democratic judge from Scranton, Pennsylvania,¹³⁸ was the prime mover behind the Equity Improvement Company. In visits to an acquaintance in Frederick County, Handley developed friendships with prominent local citizens and sought advice from Holmes Conrad (1840–1915). Holmes Conrad was a member of a prominent local family and an attorney like his father, Robert. He entered the Confederate military as a private and left the service as a major. In 1878, Holmes Conrad, who like most Virginia leaders was a Democrat, served in the Virginia House of Delegates. In 1895, Democratic President Grover Cleveland appointed Conrad Solicitor General of the United States. After he left that office, Conrad practiced law and taught at Georgetown University in Washington and “during the last 20 years of his life, he was almost constantly in cases before the Supreme Court.”¹³⁹ In 1888, Handley suggested to Conrad that he would like to purchase a public park for Winchester. Conrad said a park was not a vital need but the city might profit from a hotel to “serve as a

¹³⁸ *The Scranton Tribune*, September 2, 1897, accessed March 11, 2010, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026355/1897-09-02/ed-1/seq-6/>. Handley apparently established a similar organization in Scranton; the *Scranton Tribune* states that he “was also president and whole entire, four shares excepted, of the Equity Improvement Company, of Scranton. He paid his subscription to the Winchester company with certain real estate in Scranton.”

¹³⁹ Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives*, 73.

summer resort.”¹⁴⁰ The hotel, which might bring investors into the community, ultimately became part of the Equity Improvement Company project.

Handley devised a charter for the Equity Improvement Company as well as a “Plan of Organization,” and the Virginia General Assembly passed an act incorporating the Company in 1890. Handley assumed the presidency and Holmes Conrad became vice president. The Company had powers “to purchase, hold and sell property in Virginia or elsewhere; to sue and be sued; to erect houses, hotels, water works, manufactories [sic] etc.; to lease or let property; to mine coal and other minerals; to erect furnaces, forges, and mills to manufacture iron, steel and other metals.”¹⁴¹ The Plan of Organization suggested the following enterprises: Hotel, Steam Brick Factory, Steam Door, Sash and Blind Factory, Cotton Mill, Agricultural Implement Factory, Canning Factory, Tobacco Factory, Pork Packing Establishment, Ice Factory, Ladies Underwear Factory, and a Water Company. In a hopeful note, the Plan stated, “Should this Company be once fairly launched, no excuse will remain to any man, woman, or grown child in the county for being any longer idle. There will be remunerative work for all.”¹⁴²

To attract investors and capitalists who might be interested in initiating industry in Winchester and Frederick County, the Company prepared “The Equity Improvement Prospectus,” a brochure of about 50 pages with attractive sketches of Winchester and environs. The Prospectus had a refined and gentlemanly nineteenth century formality. The booklet was published in Scranton, home of John Handley. Readers were assured

¹⁴⁰ Garland Quarles, *John Handley and the Handley Bequests to Winchester, Virginia* (Winchester: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1969), 40.

¹⁴¹ Quarles, *John Handley*, 41, 81.

¹⁴² “Plan of Organization for Equity Improvement Company,” Equity Improvement Company Collection, 495 THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

lands owned by the Company were “ample and thoroughly adapted to the location of such works as the habituation of their employes [sic].” To forestall investor qualms, the brochure stated on the first page, “It is impossible to assign the common word ‘boom’ to an accelerated impulse newly given to an already prosperous, pleasant, and busy town. It is no question of a ‘paper city.’” The brochure described Health, Society and Education, Taxes, Banks, Business, Roads and Scenery, Watering Places, Transportation and Markets, Newspapers, and Benevolent Societies. If one could believe the brochure, every aspect of the region’s life and people were peerless or with minimal effort could be made so. The brochure emphasized the potential that iron might be found, apparently hoping to attract Pennsylvania investors who might respond to that possibility. The brochure reassuringly concluded, “Nothing in the shape of a boom has been attempted or is contemplated. There is no need of one; the only need is that the movement be brought to the eye of the capitalist.”¹⁴³

John Handley and Holmes Conrad boosted the Equity Improvement Company to attract people and industry to Winchester and Frederick County. Handley wrote Conrad on February 11, 1890, “If the good people of Winchester so will it, you will have 50,000 people inside the next 10 years.” Investment would improve property values: “The real estate owners of your City and County must be made to understand that the advance in their property alone will more than pay for the stock subscribed.” Two months later, in a letter to Conrad, Handley determined it necessary to seek investors outside the region: “If

¹⁴³ “Equity Improvement Company of Winchester Virginia,” Prospectus, (Scranton: Gerlock and Davis, 1890), Equity Improvement Company Collection, 495 THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

your people will not take this stock, we must try others that will.” The Company bought 1,500 acres of land, and began to erect the Winchester Inn.¹⁴⁴

Within fewer than two years, Handley was concerned about deteriorating prospects of success. Historian Kenneth Rose wrote, “Down payments for the land and payments to the hotel’s construction contractor soon exhausted the cash. Enthusiasm for the plan quickly faded, and subscribers’ payments toward stock purchases ceased. Handley took it upon himself to finish the hotel, and its construction was completed in 1891, but it remained empty until 1900, when it was occupied only briefly.”¹⁴⁵ Handley wrote Conrad, on December 12, 1891, The “want of money and the non-payment of the assessments by our stockholders warranted us” to ask builders of the Hotel to slow the project. By 1893, the situation was dire and Handley’s health had deteriorated. He wrote Conrad, “the vast majority of our stockholders” were not “paying their assessments.”¹⁴⁶ The Company ultimately failed, apparently because some subscribers did not meet their payments.¹⁴⁷

The people of Winchester and Frederick County did not have the will or the financial resources to support Handley’s enthusiasm and grandiose schemes. On the face of it, the Plan of Organization strained credulity. Handley may have misjudged the conservative and thrifty attitudes of Winchester citizens and their capacity and willingness to invest in such a scheme. Winchester historian Garland Quarles contended

¹⁴⁴ Quarles, *John Handley*, 46–47.

¹⁴⁵ Kenneth W. Rose, “The Problematic Legacy of Judge John Handley: R. Gray Williams, The General Education Board, and Progressive Education in Winchester, Virginia, 1895–1924,” *Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society Journal* 25 (2003): 7. Rose was assistant director of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

¹⁴⁶ Quarles, *John Handley*, 49.

¹⁴⁷ Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives*, 117.

Handley “was too prone to believe that what the new-rich city of Scranton could do, the war-poor Winchester town could also do.” Handley and Holmes Conrad were capable lawyers but not industrialists. The initial project, the Winchester Inn, was not calculated to make a lot of money at the outset; its purpose was to provide accommodations for potential investors. Handley died in 1895. Without Handley’s involvement, progress was halted and the stockholders voluntarily liquidated the Company in August 1899.¹⁴⁸

Although the Winchester Equity Company failed, it demonstrated the willingness of some citizens to boost economic opportunity to outside investors. Outside forces played a crucial role in the demise of the Winchester Equity Company, and the failure of the Winchester Equity Company coincided with the failure of other land companies in the Shenandoah Valley. The Winchester project—unlike those in Roanoke, Luray, and Big Stone Gap—did not have significant railroad involvement, and the financial crisis of the 1890s represented an external force that boosters throughout the Valley could not overcome.

VI. PHILANTHROPY

The New South gospel, although clothed in promises of mutual benefits for Northern investors and Southern workers, represented a plea for help and an admission of the inability of the South to prosper without assistance. After the Civil War, except for the Freedmen’s Bureau, there was no United States government aid to the defeated South. Religious organizations and philanthropists filled the gap with aid and reform projects for

¹⁴⁸ Quarles, *John Handley*, 46–52.

both Southern blacks and whites, particularly for medical care and education.¹⁴⁹

Industrial growth of America in the late nineteenth century generated great wealth, and in some cases enormous personal wealth, virtually unaffected by taxes. Many rich individuals found neither personal consumption nor miserly accumulation were satisfactory uses of their vast fortunes and turned to philanthropy. Libraries, museums, education, and health care were suitable objects for philanthropy. The rich wanted to manage their gifts.¹⁵⁰ Institutions such as the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm supported Southern health care. Northern aid to education included such efforts as the Peabody Educational Fund, the Slater Fund, and money from Anna Jeanes to improve African Americans' rural schools. Other organizations included the General Education Board endowed by John D. Rockefeller with \$53,000,000, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund for construction of schools for African Americans.

A significant part of a new financial burden for Winchester and Frederick County governments was the need to provide facilities for public schools mandated by the Underwood Constitution in 1869. For years, public education had received short shrift in Virginia. Winchester and Frederick County officials scrambled to respond to Virginia's mandate for public schools because they were reluctant to increase taxes. The County

¹⁴⁹ Historian John Ezell observed, "The twentieth century American concept that the victor must immediately go to the economic aid of his fallen foe was not practiced in the middle of the nineteenth century." Ezell, *The South Since 1865*, 43.

¹⁵⁰ Edward Kirkland examined the rich and successful in post-Civil War America and quotes Andrew Carnegie on the "laws of the economic order"—"Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth and the Law of Competition." Accumulation of capital and property were more likely if one practiced virtues of "thrift, postponement of immediate enjoyment, industriousness and being frank and honest with oneself about one's affairs." The business leaders personified the Protestant work ethic. Some believed they were working out a Divine plan. One businessman affirmed that God "has given his creatures knowledge and instincts which impels them to build greater steamships and immense railways." Edward Kirkland, *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860–1900* (Chicago: Ivan Dee Co., 1990), 12–21.

took over many existing “field schools.” They began “by paying a portion of teachers’ salaries” supplemented by state funds.¹⁵¹ By 1885, Frederick County had 75 schools. Most were one-room schoolhouses.¹⁵² Consolidation and larger schools were not feasible without bus transportation. In Winchester, City Council quickly established a Committee for Public Schools. Expenses steadily increased. In January 1871, the Council appropriated \$600 for classrooms and furniture. The following September, the School Board requested \$1,500. One of the most difficult problems was classrooms. In August 1871, school officials went so far as to ask the City Council if they could use the Council Chamber and Corporation Court room for classrooms for a boys’ school. The Council refused this request. In 1875, Council considered purchasing property for a school but deemed it was “inexpedient.”¹⁵³ As a result, the first public school facilities included former private school buildings supplemented by additional classrooms including classes in the Braddock Street Methodist Church.¹⁵⁴ A school for African American children opened in an abandoned Presbyterian Church building. In 1873, \$4,500 for education in Winchester was funded in equal amounts by the state, the city, and the Peabody fund (a Northern charitable institution). In the long run, without philanthropy, Winchester and Frederick County would have struggled to meet the public school needs of its children.

Winchester and Frederick County especially benefited from the generosity of philanthropists John Kerr, Charles Broadway Rouss, and John Handley. All were self-

¹⁵¹ Charlotte Eller, “Education,” in *The Story of Frederick County*, ed. Sam Lehman (Winchester: Wisecarver’s Print, 1989), Chapter 29.

¹⁵² Maral Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture* (Winchester: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society Rural Landmarks Publication Committee, 1999), 102.

¹⁵³ Minutes of Winchester City Council, December 20, 1870; January 3, 1871; September 5, 1871; August 21, 1875; August 25, 1871.

¹⁵⁴ Morton, *The Story of Winchester in Virginia*, 240–241.

made men firmly believing in the value of hard work. Both Handley and Kerr were Irish immigrants. Rouss was educated in Winchester. Their gifts were not open-ended but intended to benefit Winchester according to the wishes of the benefactors. They appeared to have been motivated by their fondness for the community. Kerr and Handley bequeathed funds to Winchester; neither had children to inherit their fortune. Winchester citizens supplemented, implemented, and managed the bequests.

John Kerr was a cabinetmaker and undertaker. Born in England in 1797, Kerr probably arrived in America in the 1830s and was naturalized in 1855. Kerr married a Winchester woman, and although together they had no children, his wife had a son. Kerr was not extraordinarily wealthy but over time accumulated several properties in the region. Little is known about John Kerr and there is no record he acted in a philanthropic manner during his lifetime. John Miller of Winchester, who knew Kerr, states Kerr was a “thrifty money-making man.”¹⁵⁵ In his will, Kerr left property or bequests to various individuals; one was his housekeeper, others were friends or business acquaintances. In a final gesture of civic philanthropy, in a bequest made when Kerr was on his deathbed in 1875, Kerr specified that some of his property be disposed of “for the education of the poor white children of Winchester.” In 1883, using funds from the John Kerr estate, and an appropriation by the City Council, the cornerstone of John Kerr School was laid.¹⁵⁶

Charles Broadway Rouss (1836–1902) grew up in Frederick County. His father, a farmer, sent Rouss to the Winchester Academy. Rouss dropped out of school at age 15

¹⁵⁵ John Miller, “John Kerr, Biographical Notes” (1912), Alfred D. Henkel Collection, 163 WFCHS/THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

¹⁵⁶ Garland Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives*, 35.

and immediately began his mercantile career. When he was 18, Rouss opened a store on Winchester's main street and quickly prospered. Rouss served in the Confederate Army. After the War, Rouss returned to his father's farm but eventually went to New York City to seek his fortune with virtually nothing, even sleeping in parks and going to prison for failure to pay his debts. Eventually Rouss grew wealthy as the owner of a mercantile business with branches throughout the world and a twelve-story headquarters and department store on Broadway.¹⁵⁷ To explain his New York success, Rouss claimed he was showing Yankees that a Southerner could succeed in the North. In a speech at the Winchester Fair Grounds, Rouss said, "I went where the Yankee [sic] were millions and fought him with brains instead of bullets." Rouss continued, "I believed I could do what the great giants of Gotham had done. I believed that I could win back the Appomattox that we had lost in our Southland."¹⁵⁸

Rouss considered Frederick William Mackey Holliday (1828–1899) responsible for his philanthropic projects in Winchester and corresponded frequently with him. Holliday, a Winchester lawyer, was from an old Frederick County family and, like Rouss, had attended the Winchester Academy. Holliday graduated from Yale in 1847 and then attended law school at the University of Virginia. He began his practice in Winchester and became Commonwealth Attorney for the region. Holliday was an ardent secessionist

¹⁵⁷ Rouss made Broadway his middle name as a sign of his success in New York. Christopher Gray, "Broadway: His Middle Name," *New York Times* Archives, August 11, 1996, accessed August 26, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/08/11/realestate/broadway-his-middle-name.html>.

¹⁵⁸ A. V. McCracken, "Life of Charles Broadway Rouss," 1896, Rouss, Charles Broadway Collection, 304 WFCBS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA, 18.

and joined the Confederate Army early in 1861.¹⁵⁹ Holliday was Governor of Virginia between 1878 and 1882.¹⁶⁰ Rouss's letters to Holliday are supremely courteous with a deferential tone. He assured Holliday of his affection and trust in almost every letter. On business issues, Rouss gave Holliday a free hand; at the same time, he insisted Holliday follow sound business practices, such as seeking the lowest costs in selecting a contractor. Only on one point was Rouss unusually firm: He did not want to send money to Winchester until it was needed for the waterworks project.

Rouss gave a number of gifts to Winchester. He generously donated to the fire department. For many years, he contributed money for the Winchester Fair which he frequently attended and where he was celebrated as the community's special benefactor. Rouss and Holliday worked on construction of an iron fence around Mount Hebron Cemetery and construction of a "water works." For his largest gift, a new City Hall, Rouss insisted Winchester share the cost. He wrote Holliday his proposal, "How would it do to make the offer to the city, that if she will put in \$5,000 and I know she can, and the county will put in the little vacant piece of ground which will never be worth anything to

¹⁵⁹ "Frederick William Holliday Family Collection," 1061 WFCBS/THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://www.handleyregional.org/Handley/Archives/Holliday%20F%20W%201061.htm>; James Tice Moore, "Of Cavaliers and Yankees: Frederick W. M. Holliday and the Sectional Crisis, 1845–1861," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 99, no. 3 (July, 1991): 387.

¹⁶⁰ Holliday garnered the nomination for Governor in a deadlocked Democratic Convention in 1877. The major issue concerned payment of Virginia's debts, as the war-torn state could little afford to establish debt payment as a priority. A group known as Readjusters wanted to reduce the debt. Holliday adamantly supported debt payment. He considered that was the honorable course of action and was concerned that nonpayment might put off later investors. As a consequence, Holliday put debt payment ahead of public education. After his term as Governor, Holliday returned to Winchester. Although a traditionalist and conservative, Holliday was not loathe to encouraging and accepting outside help for community improvement. Holliday lost his arm during the Civil War but apparently adapted to his disability; in later years, he was an inveterate traveler. Holliday married twice; both wives died young. Holliday also lost a child from the second marriage.

them and which pays them no returns, I will put in \$30,000.”¹⁶¹ Rouss’s generosity to Winchester and Frederick County was limited to his lifetime, and he extended his philanthropy to many other areas outside the community. When Rouss died in 1902, his family members were his chief heirs.

Judge John Handley amassed a fortune by interests in real estate, banking, and mining in the Scranton, Pennsylvania, area. Handley, a native of Ireland, was a Democrat, and served as an elected Judge in Pennsylvania. After the Civil War, he visited Frederick County and promoted the Equity Improvement Company project. Handley had no immediate family; his marriage ended in divorce in 1874. Handley, like Rouss, had great admiration for the Confederacy although he served briefly in the Union army. During the Civil War, as a lawyer Handley represented Union draftees seeking to avoid military service before “Draft Commissioners” in Pennsylvania. As his contemporary Holmes Conrad observed, Handley obtained “for a monied [sic] consideration, the discharge from military service in the field, of those enthusiastic patriots, who, while clamorous for war, were reluctant to personally participation [sic] in it. In this practice, he made great gains.”¹⁶²

Handley’s beneficence toward Winchester reflected his friendships with Winchester citizens, his affection for the South, and perhaps a sense of responsibility for the failure of the Winchester Equity Improvement Company.¹⁶³ Furthermore, Handley had a dispute with Scranton that may have caused him to conclude he did not want to

¹⁶¹ For readability, Rouss’s personal phonetic spelling was not used in this text. Charles B. Rouss to William Holliday, May 31, 1898, Frederick William Holliday Family Collection, 1061 WFCHS/THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

¹⁶² Quarles, *John Handley*, 31.

¹⁶³ Quarles, *John Handley*, 55–56.

leave his money to that city. Charles Rouss believed Handley imitated him. Rouss wrote to Holliday, “I believe my little gifts won from Judge Handley the big pile for Winchester.”¹⁶⁴

Handley directed his bequest should be used for a “public library for the free use of the people of the City of Winchester” and “the creation of School Houses for the education of the poor.”¹⁶⁵ In the period immediately after Handley’s death, legal proceedings ensured the estate benefited lawyers more than the heirs. School construction was deferred until after World War I since the will specified the funds should be invested and not immediately available.¹⁶⁶ When Handley’s money was available 20 years later, local leaders realized the gift could have complications. Since the amount was more than sufficient, some feared the community might actually commit to more than it could afford to maintain. The Fund was therefore used for construction of several schools as well as other educational purposes, and ultimately benefited not only the poor of Winchester but the whole community.

¹⁶⁴ Charles B. Rouss to William Holliday, March 30, 1895, Frederick William Holliday Family Collection, 1061 WFCHS/THL.

¹⁶⁵ Quarles, *John Handley*, 65–66.

¹⁶⁶ Much of the estate represented real estate investments in the Scranton area. The appraisal for the estate tax levied by Pennsylvania was even contested by the executors. A set of alleged American and Irish heirs contested the will in a case initiated by New York attorney John H. Hubbell, who “apparently specialized in discovering fallacies in the wills of wealthy persons.” The claims were eventually found wanting. Some property belonging to the estate was destroyed by a gas explosion. Disputes between Winchester Mayor Robert Barton and the Board of Trustees led to a case in the Frederick County Circuit Court. In 1902, Winchester City Solicitor Robert Wood filed suit to obtain \$12,500 for legal services to the City. This suit was dismissed, but in 1905, Wood filed against the City and the Handley Board, assigning his interest to the Winchester Memorial Hospital—and the Hospital proceeded to sue. The Hospital won the case and received \$2,000. Quarles, *John Handley*, 80–89.

VII. CONCLUSION

Between 1870 and 1900, external factors slowed economic improvement, although overwhelming national and regional forces did not have the destabilizing effect on the community that had occurred during the Civil War. The Civil War left the community in ruins and contributed to slow expansion and the loss of the grain market for farmers. During Reconstruction, the national government was an important and unpopular factor in community life that limited initiative of local leaders. State actions affected Winchester and Frederick County, particularly the state's lack of support for railroads in the region and state actions mandating public schools which required significant funding. The decisions of outside entities, particularly railroads, did not lead to a boom in Winchester and Frederick County. The region also felt an adverse impact from the severe financial crises of the national economy in the late nineteenth century.

If the Winchester Equity Company had succeeded, it might have fostered the kind of economic boom New South advocates hoped to achieve. The scheme promised money and jobs. Unfortunately, the Equity Company and the boom it promised failed. Leaders were not able to complete the project in the face of a national economic downturn. The planners had not constructed a sound financial hedge against disaster. As a consequence of slow growth between 1870 and 1900, the region did not incur the disruption of a boom economy or face the need to deal with potentially debilitating negative impacts of rapid and dramatic growth. Successful booms are few, and cities that achieved the ambitions of New South proponents were the exception rather than the rule. Most of the former Confederacy retained an agricultural economy. By 1900, economic indicators in most of

the South were well below those of the rest of the country. For example, the estimated per capita wealth of the United States in 1900 was \$1,165; for the South it was \$509—less than half that of the nation.¹⁶⁷ In 1900, Winchester and Frederick County were more illustrative of the larger South that remained agricultural with only the beginnings of an industrial evolution rather than a revolution.

The philanthropic gifts of Kerr, Rouss, and Handley enabled Winchester to create a civic infrastructure that went far beyond the resources Winchester citizens were willing or able to fund through taxation. The school buildings, library, and city hall are still functional today. However, money from philanthropy may have reduced options and diminished community control in so far as there were requirements attached to the use of the money. Thus when Rouss donated money for City Hall, he insisted on a specific site in the center of town. Handley stated the bulk of his estate must be invested for years before it could be used. Nevertheless, the benefactors are still honored today by the community. It was the philanthropy of such “moneyed men” strongly allied with local leaders who provided a significant boost to Winchester that set the stage for improvements in the early twentieth century.

During this period, there was an increase in bureaucracy and complexity in civic affairs. To administer philanthropic bequests in the nineteenth century, civic leaders established unofficial oversight structures that presaged the bureaucracy that would later deal with state- and federally funded progressive programs. When the community accepted a bequest, citizens agreed to abide, to a reasonable extent, by the parameters of

¹⁶⁷ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 259.

the bequest. With each bequest, Winchester established a group of citizens with responsibility for the funds. Similarly, when Virginia mandated “reforms” such as expanded public education, the community had no choice but to comply with the reforms and create positions of responsibility (some of which were mandated) to implement the change. Eventually the community created formal structures and bureaucracy to deal with education, health, welfare, roads, and prohibition. This need for formal management was a break with the past when, as historian Robert Wiebe observed, “The heart of American democracy was local autonomy.... Almost all of a community’s affairs were still arranged informally.”¹⁶⁸ The trend was away from localism, grass roots democracy, and community control toward central standards, regulation and oversight, bureaucracy, and consolidation—particularly when state funding accompanied the mandate.

By 1900, Winchester and Frederick County agricultural, business, and civic leaders had made some progress in diversifying agriculture and establishing public education, but they had not been able to expand or diversify the local economy. The community did not achieve the astounding growth rate of a few Virginia cities and accomplished little toward reaching the goals of the New South advocates. Significant improvement in rail transportation did not occur; manufacturing enterprises were few and relatively small. The economy remained largely agricultural, the land boom came to naught, and the community grew slowly. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the pace of change for Winchester and Frederick County accelerated with the movement to apple production along with adoption of technological improvements in power,

¹⁶⁸ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), xiii, 2-3.

communications, and transportation. The early years of the twentieth century would see greater change.

CHAPTER III: WIDE AWAKE AND PROGRESSIVE 1900–1950

I. INTRODUCTION

Winchester and Frederick County leaders adopted the attitudes and ideas of progressive businessmen as they initiated changes to expand and diversify the region's economy between 1900 and 1950. The community had not met the goals of New South advocates before 1900, but after the turn of the century, leaders were able to achieve success in both agriculture and industry.

In November 1914, a Supplement to the *Winchester Evening Star* described local business leaders as *modern, enterprising, wide awake, and progressive* and extolled Winchester “in the present pre-eminent and exalted position she holds in the sisterhood of American cities.”¹⁶⁹ Russell and Green's store was “strictly up-to-date” and “abreast of the times with its splendid line of goods.” The Northern Virginia Power Company had a “plant operated along the most liberal and progressive lines and equipped with every modern improvement.” Beck's Steam Bakery was superior because “modern machinery has almost taken the place of handwork in high-class bakeries.” Even the pool hall was lauded. In the rear of C. A. Bahlman's cigar factory were “pocket billiard rooms.” These were a “favorite resort of all lovers of this scientific game...a game of skill, not of chance,

¹⁶⁹ Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, November 24, 1914, 1.

and one that is highly commended by physicians for those leading sedentary lives.”¹⁷⁰ In sketches of local leaders and descriptions of businessmen, the Supplement emphasized ties to the community were advantageous and a point of pride. Mr. Gardner Hillyard, who owned a firm that did house painting, paper hanging, and decorating was “a native of this city and has always been actively identified with the city’s business and social life.” He was “wide awake and progressive.” Attorney T. Russell Cather came from “an old Frederick County family.” He was “full of vim and public spirit and is truly of the progressive class.”¹⁷¹

Civic and business leadership remained in the hands of local citizens between 1900 and 1950, and there was no significant influx of outside entrepreneurs. Wealth, family, tradition, and established connections played an important role in leadership. The McGuire family included generations of physicians who were community leaders. The Byrd, Conrad, and Williams’ families provided lawyers who were often members of local government or elected to state office. The Luptons were leading apple growers. The Baker and Glaize families were prominent in business. Existing connections formed the basis for influence and relationships that leaders cultivated to guide and influence the community.

Most leaders who promoted economic development can be characterized as “business progressives.” Yet “business progressivism” in the early twentieth century should not be equated with social and reform “progressivism” of that era. Many business

¹⁷⁰ Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, November 24, 1914, 14, 16, 21.

¹⁷¹ If a leading businessman was not a native, pedigree and attitude could be helpful. Dr. Charles J. J. Von Witt, an antique dealer, was “German by birth” but he was “progressive in all his ideas and comes of the German nobility.” Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, November 24, 1914, 10, 12.

progressives were not particularly concerned about social reforms per se, that is, improvements in education, health, welfare, and prohibition. They varied in their attitudes regarding the less fortunate and the need for solutions to social problems. This is not to suggest that “business progressives” never supported “progressive” initiatives, but only to point out that for most “business progressives” there were other important considerations besides the humanitarian or religious ideals of social reformers. “Business progressives” included profit in their motives. However, business progressives often endorsed the agenda of social progressives when they believed that agenda enhanced the community’s reputation and thus enhanced the reputation of their enterprises and their products.

This chapter claims business, agricultural, and civic leaders successfully expanded and diversified the economy of Winchester and Frederick County between 1900 and 1950 as they adopted attitudes and ideas of progressive businessmen. By 1926, Frederick County ranked tenth among Virginia counties in per capita wealth.¹⁷² As case studies of local business and agricultural leadership, this chapter discusses the apple industry and the Virginia Woolen Company. Apples became an important commercial crop and the Supplement to the *Winchester Evening Star* asserted that by 1914, apple growing was “by far the most important industry.”¹⁷³ Apple processing, cold storage facilities, and related industries integrated the town and country economically. Manufacturing made gains and the economy became more diversified. One notable effort

¹⁷² J. Julian Pickeral and Gordon Fogg, *An Economic and Social Survey of Frederick County* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Record Extension Series, 1930), 113.

¹⁷³ Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, November 24, 1914, 1.

was the establishment of the Virginia Woolen Company in 1901; by 1939, the Company employed 530 workers. Leaders believed in the importance of economic growth, organized approaches to problems, and supported improvement in business and civic activities. This chapter addresses the impact of World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II and examines the growing involvement of state and national government in local affairs.

II. THE FARM “WON’T LAST LONG IF YOU AREN’T A BUSINESS MANAGER”

In the first half of the twentieth century, many Frederick County farmers reinvented themselves as progressive businessmen in order to reap greater profits. Some transformed fields into apple orchards as they sought to cope with competition. Frederick County farmers’ interest in orchards accelerated in the early twentieth century and the bushels of apples produced in the community increased by 264 percent between 1900 and 1920. In 1920, production exceeded one million bushels. Besides diversification, farmers and orchardists adopted modern business practices, favored scientific farming, research and education, and adopted new technology. They organized to share knowledge, support research, obtain training, and lobby for government support. Orchardists like S. Lucien Lupton sought government involvement in setting standards, disease control, packaging, and highway improvement. Through their efforts, agricultural production increased between 1900 and 1950, especially apple production.

Silas Lucien Lupton (1856–1920) was one of the most successful progressive apple growers in Frederick County. The son of Dr. John S. Lupton, Lucien Lupton attended Virginia Military Institute, the University of Virginia, and Johns Hopkins

University. He read law in the office of Holmes Conrad although he never practiced law. During the first term of Democratic President Cleveland, Lupton was appointed a law clerk in the US Treasury. While in Washington, he visited the Agriculture Department to study commercial agriculture. In 1894, Lupton left the federal government and entered the orchard business. Lupton was a strong believer in organizations and was active in the Virginia State Horticultural Society. As a member of that group, he used his bureaucratic skills to lobby for regulations at both the state and federal levels. He believed standards and regulations could benefit Virginia apples and ensure consistent packaging and quality. Lupton testified at congressional hearings several times in favor of government standards and regulations for apple producers. After Lupton's death, Herbert Larrick, a Winchester lawyer, spoke of his life at a Virginia Horticultural Society meeting in December 1920 and observed Lupton's "causes were good roads and proper protection and development of the great apple industry of the state—the most righteous causes, worthy of the best efforts of a man."¹⁷⁴

Along with Lucien Lupton, other Frederick County farmers became progressive businessmen in their efforts to improve their income. Robert Wiebe characterized the attitude of Frederick County farmers as they adopted the approaches of the business world, "The firm business values, the new vocabulary of marketing and chemistry...

¹⁷⁴ Memorial by Herbert Larrick, "Report of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Session of the Virginia State Horticultural Society, November 30 – December 1 and 2 1920," in *Virginia Fruit* IX, no. 2 (March 1921): 45–55, accessed June 30, 2014, Google Books http://books.google.com/books?id=XXo1AQAAAJ&dq=lucien+lupton+horticulture&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

emerged most clearly, an official declaration of these farmers as agricultural businessmen.”¹⁷⁵

Between 1870 and 1980, in Winchester and Frederick County and throughout the United States, agriculture was in transition—a transition resulting in both increases in productivity and farm valuation coupled with a decline in the number of farms and farm acreage. At the root of the change were significant technological and scientific advancements that resulted in improved pesticides, fertilizers, power sources, and mechanization. The impact of these changes was essentially an agricultural revolution.

Farmers introduced new crops, bought labor-saving machinery, applied more fertilizer, and adopted better management practices. One important change was the rapid “expansion in the use of the tractor.”¹⁷⁶ For example, the development of tractors, trucks, and other vehicles meant a reduction in the need for farm labor and work horses, and along with that, less need for grazing land. With less need for grazing land, more land could become productive. New vehicles resulted in time savings, facilitated marketing, and expanded the marketplaces a farmer could reach. Mechanization indicated commercial success and Frederick County was above the state average in number of tractors.¹⁷⁷ Farmers like Lucien Lupton organized and lobbied for better roads to take advantage of the new mode of transportation. Automobiles and trucks transformed life not only for the farmer but for his family. Frederick County could build larger schools

¹⁷⁵ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 127.

¹⁷⁶ Gilbert Fite, “The Farmers’ Dilemma, 1919–1929,” in *Change and Continuity in Twentieth Century America: The 1920s*, eds. John Braeman, Robert Bremner, and David Brady (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), 74.

¹⁷⁷ Wilson Gee and John Corson, *A Statistical Study of Virginia* (Charlottesville: Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1927), 171–186.

because of the availability of school buses. Farm families used cars to socialize.

However, keeping up with improvements which had a relatively high initial cost as well as long-term maintenance and replacement costs was difficult for smaller farmers.¹⁷⁸ One of the long-term consequences in Frederick County was an increase in the average size of farms from 105 acres in 1870 to 218 acres in 1978.

Apple growers learned running an orchard was expensive and required managerial skills. Farmers faced significant costs when establishing an orchard and needed funds for land, labor, and equipment for cultivating, spraying, and packing. In 1933, Frederick County apple grower Wilbur Cather wrote that planting a new orchard meant “tying up of capital in land from ten to fifteen years before the income from the land and capital approaches the interest on the investment.”¹⁷⁹ Frederick County orchardist Frank Brumback observed,

Farming is so capital intensive that it is hard to get in except by inheritance or by marriage, but the farm won't last long if you aren't a business manager... you have to know risk management, chemistry, finance, farm mechanics, and current world events.... If you do make a profit, you realize you never had a vacation, holidays or a pension. I'm not sure why we do it, but few of us ever willingly quit farming—it's our way of life.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ F. D. Cornell, *Power on West Virginia Farms, Bulletin 267* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1935), passim, accessed April 23, 2014, <https://ia600508.us.archive.org/13/items/poweronwestvirgi267corn/poweronwestvirgi267corn.pdf>.

¹⁷⁹ Pickeral and Fogg, *Survey of Frederick County*, 88.

¹⁸⁰ Frank Brumback, “Agriculture,” in *The Story of Frederick County* (Winchester: Wisecarver's Print, 1989), Chapter 24.

Operating costs were significant. Harry Byrd meticulously listed expenses for his 1922 and 1923 crops. Growing costs included spraying, cultivating, fertilizer, pruning, planting cover crops, thinning, and miscellaneous expenses. Harvesting costs included picking, packing, hauling in orchards and to railroad cars, cooks, provisions, and costs for supplies and inspections. Expenses were incurred for taxes, insurance, interest, depreciation, and equipment.¹⁸¹

Apple growers coped with a variety of risk factors and had to adjust to external forces that caused volatility in the market place. A killing frost in 1921 caused nearly a total loss for Frederick County growers. The drought in 1930 was disastrous. Heavy rain correlated positively with fungus diseases and light rainfall with insect pests.¹⁸² Hail could cause serious damage although insurance alleviated the threat. Rodents girdled and killed apple trees. Insects and fungus were continuous problems and spraying was done for aphids, scab, codling moths, and leaf roller.¹⁸³ Spraying was not without risk. In the 1930s, after spraying, a “considerable amount of arsenic” might remain on the fruit and required removal by washing.¹⁸⁴ In addition to natural risks, external factors affected risk. External factors could be beneficial, as the increased demand during World War I proved, or they could be debilitating as demonstrated by reduced demand during the early 1920s

¹⁸¹ Harry F. Byrd, “The Future of Apple Growing in Virginia” (speech, Virginia State Horticultural Society, Winchester, VA, January 28, 1928), 4, Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

¹⁸² F. J. Schneiderhan, *Apple Disease Studies in Northern Virginia, Bulletin 245* (Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, February 1926), 26, 28.

¹⁸³ Byrd, “The Future of Apple Growing in Virginia,” 9.

¹⁸⁴ Wilbur E. Cather, “Orchard Values for Establishment of Shenandoah National Park” (affidavit, May 9, 1933), Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

and during the Depression, when the region suffered from a depressed foreign market in the early 1930s.

To face competition, orchardists improved every step of apple production. Picking, packing, and cleanup made harvest time the busiest and most physically taxing period of the year.¹⁸⁵ Determining when to pick apples was critical to successfully marketing them. If apples were picked too soon, they were more susceptible to diseases later. If not picked soon enough, they would not stand up well in storage and would be subject to diseases that often caused serious losses.¹⁸⁶ In the early twentieth century, apples were packed in the open orchard over cheaply constructed grading tables.¹⁸⁷ There were no color requirements and there was a liberal tolerance of defects. Over time, packing sheds became more common and growers purchased washing and grading machines.¹⁸⁸ Mechanized high-pressure sprayers replaced hand-powered sprayers. Glass mouse stations were developed to trap the pests. Harry Byrd investigated heaters to protect the crop from early spring freezes. To assure quality, apples were sorted and graded. The fruit was inspected by a spotter, the crew leader, then by the picking foreman, the hauling foreman, and lastly by a quality control manager.

Growers of large orchards managed hundreds of people who performed diverse tasks. For laborers, orchards represented hard work but low pay. During winter, workers performed a variety of tasks including cultivating, fertilizing, pruning, and orchard

¹⁸⁵ Ronald Heinemann, *Harry Byrd of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1996), 129.

¹⁸⁶ *Handling Apples from Tree to Table, DOA Circular 659* (U.S. Department of Agriculture, August, 1942), 2, Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

¹⁸⁷ A crew of twelve to fifteen men and women could sort and pack about 150 barrels of apples a day.

¹⁸⁸ The grader might have an elevator to move apples from the ground to the top of the grader. Rejects passed through a "cull" chute. Grading and sizing machinery moved the fruit gently on belts or rollers to reduce bruising. *DOA Circular 659*, 16; Cather, "Orchard Values," 8.

maintenance. Workers pruned to enhance size, color, and quality. After the apples bloomed, workers introduced bees into the orchard or pollinated artificially.¹⁸⁹ Workers sprayed several times a season. They thinned branches to prevent trees from producing too heavily, improve quality and color, and increase the size of the fruit.¹⁹⁰ The harvest season required a temporary labor force. Care had to be taken in harvesting because bruising affected marketability. Moving from tree to tree as they picked apples, workers carried large sacks up and down twelve-foot ladders.¹⁹¹ Labor in Harry Byrd's orchards was capable of picking 50,000 bushels of apples during the season.¹⁹²

Obtaining extra harvest labor was a serious problem during World War I and World War II. Before World War I and in the 1920s and 1930s, most pickers came from rural areas in the region surrounding the orchards. In 1918, the apple crop in Frederick County was in danger of being entirely lost because of a labor shortage. The Winchester School Board delayed school opening until late September so students could work in the orchards. Winchester resident Vernon Eddy recalled both women and soldiers in the orchards:

Hundreds of women, from all classes of society, volunteered to help save the apples. They donned knickers and went to work in the orchards, asking no quarter and no consideration of their sex, but every morning at daylight they went into the

¹⁸⁹ Roy Marshall, *Pruning Fruit Trees, Bulletin No. 38* (Blacksburg, VA: Agricultural and Mechanical College and Polytechnic Institute, November 1919), 12-13, Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCBS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

¹⁹⁰ *The Story of Byrd Apples* (Winchester, VA: Harry F. Byrd Company), Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCBS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

¹⁹¹ Jodi Sokolowski, "Apple Season Draws Influx of Migrants to the Orchards," *The Winchester Star*, September 4, 2002, accessed April 30, 2005,

http://www.winchesterstar.com/TheWinchesterStar/020904/Area_migrant.asp.

¹⁹² *The Story of Byrd Apples*.

orchards in frost and wet and worked throughout the day, just the same as the men. At many places, pretentious quarters had been erected for them. Here they slept and ate, but every detail of military discipline was enforced with regard to their daily life, and every safeguard and protection were thrown around them...there was an orchard unit of 43 girls and two cooks; another of 75 soldiers. In the barracks there were no fatalities from influenza. Women were paid 25 cents an hour for ten hours a day in the orchard—the same as men—and they did excellent work.... The apple crop was saved.¹⁹³

During World War II, the market improved but growers faced a labor shortage because of the draft and loss of workers to industry. Harry Byrd and other orchardists used Boy Scouts and German prisoners of war as pickers. After the War, in 1946, the prisoner of war camp in Winchester was converted to a housing facility for migrant labor.¹⁹⁴ By 1955, Harry Byrd maintained five camp houses that accommodated 500 transient workers and employed as many as 1,800 men, women, and children in the orchards with a daily payroll of \$20,000.¹⁹⁵

Harry Flood Byrd, Sr. (1877–1966) was a leading figure in the development of the apple industry and active as a progressive businessman in agriculture, business, and local, state, and national politics. Byrd was the son of Richard E. Byrd, a Winchester

¹⁹³ Eddy continues, “There were 25 girls from outside of the community in the industrial army, some of them coming from New England. One of the girls was from Honduras. Another was the daughter of a major general, and still another was the daughter of an attaché at Vienna.” Vernon Eddy, ed., *Virginia Communities in War Time*, accessed June 18, 2014,

http://www.newrivernotes.com/topical_history_ww1_virginia_communities_inwartime.htm.

¹⁹⁴ Micah N. Bump, “From Temporary Picking to Permanent Plucking: Hispanic Newcomers, Integration, and Change in the Shenandoah Valley,” in *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America*, eds. Elzbieta M. Goździak and Susan Forbes Martin (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), 139.

¹⁹⁵ They worked in teams of eight to ten, going over a tree three times with ten days between each picking. The average worker picked 80 bushels a day. Heinemann, *Harry Byrd*, 138.

attorney, who later became Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates.¹⁹⁶ As a teenager Harry Byrd took over the operation of the *Winchester Evening Star* from his father and the newspaper has remained in the family since that time. His biographer, Ronald Heinemann, calls Byrd the “Apple King” of America.¹⁹⁷ Byrd’s orchard operation was a forerunner of today’s agribusinesses; in 1948 he added a cannery to process the apples. Byrd monitored every aspect of apple production. For example, he found that the same number of men “did exactly twice as much work picking by the crate as they did by the day.”¹⁹⁸ By 1930, Byrd exported 75 percent of his apples to Britain, Germany, Argentina, and Cuba.¹⁹⁹ By the mid-1950s, Byrd owned eleven orchards with 200,000 trees on 5,000 acres. In 1958, his operation produced two million bushels of apples. Byrd actively promoted associations, exchange of information, scientific research, advertising, and a whole range of best practices. He seemed not only willing but eager to share information with fellow orchardists. Like many progressive businessmen, he fostered the success of the community to enhance his own success. Byrd later lived in Clarke County, but maintained business interests in Winchester.

Byrd’s long political career was influenced by his views as a progressive businessman and both influenced and reflected the views of many in his community.²⁰⁰ In 1915, Byrd became a Virginia Senator and in 1922, he became Virginia Democratic Party

¹⁹⁶ Byrd’s mother was the sister of Congressman Henry “Hal” Flood, an influential member of the Martin political machine that dominated Virginia politics in the early twentieth century. Harry’s brothers were explorer Richard E. Byrd, and Thomas Byrd, an orchardist.

¹⁹⁷ Heinemann, *Harry Byrd*, 125.

¹⁹⁸ Byrd, “The Future of Apple Growing in Virginia,” 12.

¹⁹⁹ Heinemann, *Harry Byrd*, 133–139.

²⁰⁰ Winchester and Frederick County citizens did not vote for Democrat Al Smith in 1928 as Byrd wished. Smith was a Catholic and supported the end of Prohibition. The combination was too much for local voters.

chairman where he promoted a pay-as-you-go highway program. In 1925, Virginians elected Byrd governor. Byrd's governorship reflected business progressivism in the South—emphasizing economy and efficiency. He reorganized state government, reduced the number of elected state officers, and instituted the “short ballot.” He abolished many state agencies, consolidated the remainder into eleven departments, and instituted a new accounting system. Byrd revised the state tax system. Byrd's “Program of Progress” boosted Virginia as a location for industrial development and tourism by promoting roads, airports, and historical sites. He supported creation of Shenandoah National Park and restoration of Colonial Williamsburg.²⁰¹ Yet Byrd's administration did little for education, welfare, agriculture, or the structure of county government. Historian Harvie Wilkerson pointed out this meant “inadequate services for many.”²⁰² When he left office, Virginia had a sizable surplus.²⁰³

Like Harry Byrd, other Frederick County farmers went beyond their individual businesses to improve their chances of success. Farmers shared knowledge through the institute movement that made “rapid headway in the South between 1900 and 1914.”²⁰⁴ Several institutes were held in Winchester. Farmers usually met in February and listened to speakers from both within and outside the community. Topics included discussions of

²⁰¹ “Harry F. Byrd,” Encyclopedia Virginia, accessed July 20, 2011, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Byrd_Harry_Flood_Sr_1887-1966.

²⁰² J. Harvie Wilkinson, *Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945–1966* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 39.

²⁰³ In 1933, Byrd received an appointment to fill a vacant Virginia seat in the United States Senate where he served until 1965. In Congress, Byrd was known for his fiscal conservatism and he opposed much of the New Deal legislation. He continued to dominate Virginia politics as leader of the Byrd machine. Under his influence, Virginia never matched Federal Emergency Relief Funds and the state was the last to join the Social Security program.

²⁰⁴ Dewey Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 334.

agricultural techniques, relevant research, the role of the farm wife, and education. Some lectures aimed at building consensus on issues that might be solved by government intervention such as good roads.²⁰⁵ To further educate farmers, the county agent conducted demonstrations and training sessions and provided information. Progressive farmers in Frederick County also cooperated to improve education for their children. In 1908, the Virginia legislature provided \$20,000 for a high school with departments of agriculture, domestic economy, and manual training in each congressional district. Some components of a traditional curriculum were retained: English, Latin, Algebra, Geometry, and Chemistry.²⁰⁶ Frederick County supporters formed a Citizens Agriculture and High School Committee to raise additional funds, secure land in Middletown, and obtain bids for construction.

Winchester and Frederick County orchardists sought to promote their interests through participation and leadership in organizations such as the Virginia State Horticultural Society. As historian Dewey Grantham observed, agricultural reform in the South often involved “some type of farm organization or cooperation.”²⁰⁷ The Society was organized around the turn of the twentieth century with involvement by scientists at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute in response to a need for state legislation to deal with

²⁰⁵ Topics in 1905 included: Does it pay to use commercial fertilizer on the corn crop? The best method of improving county schools. Are fruit growers in the Valley sufficiently alive to the importance of spraying for fungus diseases and insects? What part of the success of the farmer is due to the help of his wife? In what does scientific investigation affect the practical farmer? Some better method of keeping our county roads in repair. Should the Board of Supervisors make an appropriation for orchard inspection? *Winchester Evening Star*, February 16, 1905.

²⁰⁶ Cathy McNeely Sutphin, “History of Virginia Congressional District Agricultural High Schools” (PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1999), passim, accessed October 13, 2010, <http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/theses/available/etd-051299-134910/unrestricted/cmsfd.pdf>.

²⁰⁷ Grantham, *Southern Progressivism*, 321.

pest control.²⁰⁸ The move to organize and join associations was an important development in business practices.²⁰⁹ Orchardists in the Virginia State Horticultural Society used the impact of their numbers to influence government, deal with market variations, and investigate and solve problems. They sought to lower costs, increase production, and improve sales. As president of the Virginia State Horticultural Society, Harry Byrd initiated an effort to finance advertising on a voluntary basis and in the mid-1930s, the Appalachian Apple Service, under the guidance of apple industry leaders, obtained voluntary contributions from apple growers to advertise apples.²¹⁰

Progressive farmers believed in the value of research to achieve a competitive edge. In 1922, the Frederick County Fruit Grower's Association along with the Shenandoah Valley Vinegar Corporation donated funds for the Winchester Research Laboratory to study various aspects of apple production. The Laboratory expanded several times and in 1949, construction began on a new and larger facility.²¹¹ Byrd allowed Virginia Experimental Station personnel to conduct tests with fertilizer and spray on his land and exchanged information with the Department of Agriculture.²¹² At meetings of the Horticulture Society, growers listened to presentations from scientists and other experts. The Society encouraged fruit extension specialists to test sprays and

²⁰⁸ The problem was the San Jose scale, an insect pest that threatened the apple industry. "Virginia Tech Pesticide Programs," Virginia Tech Pesticide Programs, accessed June 9, 2014, <http://vtp.p.ext.vt.edu/museum-of-pest-management/pioneers-of-pest-management/w.-b.-alwood/virginia-state-horticultural-society>.

²⁰⁹ Ellis Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for the Modern Order* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 7.

²¹⁰ John F. Watson, "The Virginia Apple Industry," updated by C. Purcell McCue (May 1974), 9, Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

²¹¹ "Alson H. Smith Jr. Agricultural Research and Extension Center," Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.ares.vaes.vt.edu/alson-h-smith/about/history.html>.

²¹² Heinemann, *Harry Byrd*, 126.

develop a spray calendar and lobbied for substations to study insect and disease control in Northern Virginia.²¹³

Frederick County farmers lobbied for better roads in the early years of the twentieth century. In 1894, the Young Business Men's League of Roanoke formed a Virginia Good Road Association. Throughout the United States, the Good Roads movement reflected great interest in road improvement to meet the needs of vehicle drivers and bicyclists. Businessmen and farmers realized vehicular transportation could supplement and perhaps be cheaper than railcars. Harry Byrd and Lucien Lupton were particularly strong supporters of Virginia highways. In a move that would help farmers, the Virginia State Horticultural Society lobbied for a refund of the road tax on non-highway use of motor fuel.²¹⁴ Nevertheless, even as late as 1926, the Valley Turnpike near Winchester was the only "hard-surfaced road of much distance" in the state.²¹⁵

Orchardists paid attention to every detail of their business and cooperated to improve color, quality, and packaging. Consumers preferred red apples. As a consequence, orchardists began to grow new varieties and abandoned others. Customers were unwilling to pay good prices for packs with poor quality apples. In response, many growers attended packing schools, held in cooperation with the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, to learn about good practices. Progressive farmers began to realize regulations could work to their advantage and they did not hesitate to seek government involvement

²¹³ E. M. Jones and John F. Watson, *Seventy-Five Years of Fruit Growing Progress in Virginia* (report, Annual Meeting of Virginia State Horticultural Society, January 1971), 26, 28, Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCBS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

²¹⁴ Watson, "The Virginia Apple Industry," 9.

²¹⁵ "A History of Roads in Virginia," Virginia Department of Transportation, 2006, 17, 27, accessed June 8, 2014, <http://www.virginiadot.org/about/resources/historyofrds.pdf>.

in packing and standards, as well as disease control and highway improvement. Virginia growers pressed the government to establish standard apple grades and their petition to the General Assembly led to the Virginia Apple Standardization Act. The state regulated grading and marketing of apples in closed packages and established various standards of packs. The law required inspection of packs and proper labeling. The authors of a University of Virginia study wrote, “The establishment of a standard pack does much to bring Virginia apples into high favor on the market due to the fact that the consumer is relieved of the risk of buying a poor pack.”²¹⁶

As the commercial apple market expanded in the US and abroad, the need for standards grew more acute and members of the Virginia State Horticultural Society determined they needed to have a greater voice on the issue. On April 10, 1912, S. Lucien Lupton testified before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the US House of Representatives on a bill to establish standard packages. The Committee was considering grading and packaging of apples. The issues were complicated because there are thousands of varieties of apples, each with unique combinations of attributes. Apples vary in taste, size, weight, and color among species and within species. Virginia growers commonly used barrels in the early twentieth century and there were difficult issues with that container as the “Virginia barrel” was an inch in circumference larger than the barrel that was widely used in the nation. Lupton recommended that the count of apples not be on the barrel label because apples vary in size and weight. A barrel might hold a number of small apples and weigh more than a similar barrel with large apples. For buyers, it was

²¹⁶ Pickeral and Fogg, *Survey of Frederick County*, 88.

nearly impossible to assess the contents of the barrel beyond the top layers of apples, which were carefully packed with the best apples. Lupton himself admitted at the hearing, “Unless you take each apple in your hand and examine it, which would make the cost excessive; it is absolutely impossible to get a barrel of apples without a limit of tolerance [for problems of wormholes, bruises, scab, and other defects].” Virginia growers proposed a 10 percent tolerance. Related issues included labeling and inspections. In February 1914, Lupton again appeared before the same Committee; the topic was standard boxes for apples.²¹⁷

Virginia orchardists eventually moved away from barrels to baskets and then to cartons, and moved closer to packaging standardization. Growers favored grading and inspections of apples²¹⁸ and changed the packing process as consumers became more discriminating.²¹⁹ Growers worked to establish the Crop Reporting Service and fruit tree surveys. Despite these efforts, several European and South American countries barred American apples in the early 1930s and claimed quality issues with American imports, particularly “barreled apples.”²²⁰

²¹⁷ *Hearings Before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, House of Representatives* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1912), 62, accessed July 2, 2014, Google Books, accessed July 2, 2014,

http://books.google.com/books?id=4h0yAQAAMAAJ&dq=sulzer+bill+apples&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

²¹⁸ Cather, “Orchard Values,” May 9, 1933, 6.

²¹⁹ Apples were formerly packed in barrels. A handwritten anonymous memoir described the process. A worker placed a layer of apples on the bottom or “face” of the barrel. This job “required stand[ing] with your head down in the barrel.” A round board was put on top and the barrel was shaken to make it level. A layer of apples, the “ring tail,” was placed around the top. The author observed, “You had to have perfect apples for the face and ringtail for the barrel.” Anonymous, “Hand Written Description of the Packing Process, C and S Fruit Company,” Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

²²⁰ Heinemann, *Harry Byrd*, 133.

Besides standards for packing, Lupton and other Virginia growers sought relief through legislation to deal with the cedar rust problem. Cedar rust was a plant disease that affected apple trees and resulted from a parasite on cedar trees. In 1914, Virginia passed the Cedar Rust Law allowing the State Entomologist to order cutting of cedar trees. The law was challenged and in 1928, the case of *Miller v. Schoene* made its way to the United States Supreme Court. The Court upheld the law, stating “the state does not exceed its constitutional powers by deciding upon the destruction of one class of property in order to save another, which, in the judgment of the legislature, is of greater value to the public.”²²¹

Frederick County farmers’ progressive business approach and willingness to seek government help did not eliminate risks nor did it remove the difficulties caused by external market forces and their interactions with the United States’ and world economy. However, their increasingly sophisticated business skills helped them to cope with these difficulties. By converting acreage to orchards, progressive farmers demonstrated the ability to evaluate and plan for the cost/benefits and risks of diversification. Growers who established cold storage and processing facilities in Winchester were able to sell more of their crop and enlarge their market share. When farmers as progressive businessmen went beyond everyday routines to learn about research, seek education, develop expertise, and

²²¹ William A. Fischel, *The Law and Economics of Cedar-Apple Rust: State Action and Just Compensation in Miller v. Schoene* (Dartmouth: Economics Working Paper, February 2005), accessed September 6, 2011, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=524982; “Constitutional Law—Police Powers of the State—Virginia’s ‘Cedar Rust Law,’” *Virginia Law Review* 14, no. 7 (May 1928): 585–587, accessed September 6, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1065921>; *Miller V. Schoene*, 276 U.S. 272 (1928), accessed September 6, 2011, <http://supreme.justia.com/us/276/272/case.html#279>.

organize to share knowledge and lobby the government, they enhanced their ability to deal with external forces and cope with the vagaries of the marketplace.

National trends affected Frederick County agriculture, especially the decline in number of farms and acreage and increase in the productivity and value of farms. Nevertheless, agriculture remained at the heart of economic activity in Winchester and Frederick County between 1900 and 1950 even though there was a 4.6 percent decline in the number of farms from 1,622 to 1,548. With growing urbanization, there was also a decline in acres per farm and the average size of farms decreased from 154.5 acres to 129 acres. Offsetting the decline in the number of farms and acreage, the value per acre rose from \$15.65 to \$82.61. In the mid-1920s, Frederick County farmers raised cattle and pigs; grew apples, corn, and white potatoes; produced eggs and dairy products; and ranked thirteenth in the state in wheat production. Farm tenancy at 18.9 percent was below the state average. Approximately 20 percent of farms were mortgaged. Frederick County was below the state average in the use of cooperative marketing organizations.²²² Throughout this period, most farms in Winchester and Frederick County were operated by owners. At midcentury, 89 percent of operators ran their own farms. In 1950, 56 percent of the farms were less than 100 acres and only 3.3 percent were greater than 500 acres. Over the long term, the value of farms and value of farm production increased in Virginia and Winchester and Frederick County despite declines in the 1930s and 1940s. The loss of value in the 1930s and 1940s resulted from a decline in values inflated by World War I and the impact of the Great Depression. The post-World War I and World

²²² Gee and Corson, *A Statistical Study of Virginia*, 171–186.

War II census figures reflected the positive economic impact of these national crises for farmers. For Winchester and Frederick County, the most important change for this period was the extraordinary increase in apple production from 300,000 bushels in 1900 to 1.6 million bushels in 1950.²²³

III. MANUFACTURING—ENERGETIC AND PROGRESSIVE MEN

Local business leaders who established new industries emphasized organization, systemization, and efficiency to meet the requirements of large-scale production and a larger marketplace. For Winchester and Frederick County leaders, as for others in the nation, successes of large corporations in the United States, technological advancements, Darwinian notions of progress, and evidence of American manifest destiny fostered an optimistic belief in the values and potential of capitalism and the modern world. Leaders saw the qualities of large corporations as keys to success as the twentieth century began and the corporate business model influenced those who founded the Virginia Woolen Mill in Winchester.

As experienced businessmen—progressive or not—Winchester’s entrepreneurs of this era understood the importance of diversification. The businessmen who founded the Virginia Woolen Mill had diverse personal interests. One leader, Scott Hansborough, was president of the Winchester Building and Loan Association and on the boards of the Valley Turnpike Company, the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, and the Frederick and Clarke County Telephone Company. Hansborough was organizer and president of the Winchester City Electric Railway Company which planned to erect a power plant on the

²²³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census, 1900–1950*.

Shenandoah River.²²⁴ Among Hansborough's outside business interests were his role as secretary and treasurer of the San Juan Sugar Corporation and membership on the board of the Front Royal National Bank. Another proponent of diversification was William Baker, head of his Winchester family's wholesale grocery firm. Baker became interested in chocolate and established a plant in Red Hook, New York. In this venture, he eventually encountered legal problems because he had emulated a Massachusetts chocolate manufacturer with a slightly different name.²²⁵ Baker was President of the Shenandoah Valley Bank.²²⁶ He served on the City Council and as mayor. He was vice-president of the Northern Virginia Power Company, director of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company, and owned the Empire Theater. Baker's land holdings included six farms, orchards, and substantial stock investments.²²⁷ The business interests of most of the other founders were equally as varied. A number of business leaders were directors or officers of financial institutions; several owned farms and orchards. Although most leaders had a significant economic stake in the community, several of them—

²²⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 6, 1905. Eventually the idea of an electric railway was abandoned and investors concentrated on developing electric light and power for Winchester and other nearby towns.

²²⁵ A successful chocolate company in Dorchester, Massachusetts, bore the name Walter H. Baker & Co. "Using practically identical designs and color schemes," the Winchester Baker's New York plant "practically reproduced the original Baker's Chocolate products." In 1894, the Winchester William H. Baker was sued for "committing fraud on Walter H. Baker & Co." One question the court wrestled with was the power of the court "to enjoin a man from using his own name in connection with any business." The court eventually instructed the Winchester William Baker to change the packaging, which he did. At least six court cases occurred because of name usage issues involving at least two other individuals named Baker. "William H. Baker," Hudson Valley Mercantile, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.hvmercantile.com/tag/william-h-baker/>; *Decisions of the Commissioner of Patents and of the United States Courts in Patent Cases, 55th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Document 566*, accessed July 2, 2014, Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=OiBHAQAIAAJ&dq=joseph+griffing+chocolate&source=gsb_navlinks.

²²⁶ Garland Quarles, *John Handley and the Handley Bequests to Winchester, Virginia*, 119.

²²⁷ Wilbur Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread, A History of the Woolen Industry in the Top of the Shenandoah Valley* (Winchester, VA: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 1990), 145-147.

perhaps all, through stock holdings or external investments—hedged their bets on the future of Winchester and Frederick County.

The Virginia Woolen Mill was a welcome addition to the local economy since prior to 1900, Winchester’s industry was diverse but small and largely aimed at a regional market. The Sanborn Map for 1897 lists a strawboard company, three glove factories, a flour mill, two tanneries, two grist mills, a sumac mill, a foundry, two flour mills, a creamery, a canning factory, a knitting company, and a sash and blind factory.²²⁸ There were no large department stores but there were numerous small grocers and shops. In 1900, the region had 147 manufacturing establishments that employed 815 production workers; the average workforce was six workers. By 1947, there were 46 manufacturing establishments that employed 2,426 workers, an average of 53 workers.

The establishment of apple-related businesses and the Virginia Woolen Mill demonstrates the qualities and leadership of local entrepreneurs who worked to diversify the economy. Even in the middle of the Depression, the 1935 Apple Blossom Festival Program boasted there could be “no question that the rapid development and present prosperity of the City is the direct consequence of the men behind them.”²²⁹

The success of apple orchards fostered related enterprises in the city of Winchester. As the apple crop grew in volume, entrepreneurs established ancillary enterprises to process apples not suitable for sale as produce. Orchardists welcomed the new operations which accepted apples that were less than perfect. The National Fruit

²²⁸ “Winchester, February 1897,” Digital Sanborn Maps, accessed February 4, 2014, <http://sanborn.umi.com.mutex.gmu.edu/image/view?state=va&reelid=reel18&lcid=9093&imagenam=00015&mapname=Winchester%20Feb.%201897,%20Sheet%201&CCSI=8901n>.

²²⁹ *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1935*, 6.

Product Company built a cider vinegar plant in Winchester in 1915. National Fruit started canning applesauce in the early 1920s. By 1929, National Fruit had six plants in the eastern United States. In the 1930s, the Company added a preserving plant and produced apple butter and apple jelly. During the 1940s, National Fruit used German prisoners of war for labor.²³⁰ The Shenandoah Valley Apple Cider and Vinegar Company produced approximately 250,000 gallons of vinegar and about 2,000 barrels of sweet cider by 1914.²³¹ A branch of the H. J. Heinz Company also processed apples. Peripheral businesses in 1935 included the Virginia Barrel Company, Lupton Orchard Service Company, and Pomell, Incorporated, a producer of apple brandy.

Cold storage companies provided greater marketing flexibility²³² since cold storage of apples allowed slow ripening.²³³ Ideally, apples should be packed and stored or shipped immediately after picking.²³⁴ Consumer demand was not limited to harvest time and cold storage provided freedom from the seasonal market. A group of businessmen, including Harry Byrd, organized the largest cold storage facility in the world in 1916 with a capacity of 250,000 bushels.²³⁵ Another company, the C. L. Robinson Ice and Cold Storage Corporation, had a capacity of 500,000 bushels in 1929 and established three plants by 1935. Other cold storage firms were the Zeropack Company and Winchester Apple Storage.

²³⁰ The company used "White House" as a trade name. Watson, "The Virginia Apple Industry," 9; *A Brief History of the National Fruit Product Company, Inc.* (pamphlet, Winchester, VA), Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCBS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

²³¹ Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, November 24, 1914, 1, 12, 15, 21.

²³² Heinemann, *Harry Byrd*, 127.

²³³ The length of time apples can be held in storage depends on maturity at harvest, storage temperature, and the presence of diseases. Apples are well adapted to refrigerated storage at 31 or 32 degrees. Watson, "The Virginia Apple Industry," 8.

²³⁴ "Handling Apples from Tree to Table," 5.

²³⁵ Brumback, "Agriculture."

In 1900, a group of men founded the Virginia Woolen Company in Winchester. Most of these leaders were already active as business leaders. The 1914 Supplement to the *Winchester Star* praised the Company as a “monument to energetic and progressive men whose initiative made it a success.”²³⁶ The founders of the Virginia Woolen Company were men with financial skills and resources, business experience, local knowledge, and government and personal influence. Two men, George Crawford and William Dunn, had substantial experience with Frederick County and Martinsburg, West Virginia mills. Of the founders, only Crawford from New York was not a long-term resident of the region. It is possible that without the involvement of George Crawford, the Virginia Woolen Company might not have been formed and he was elected president of the Company. However, there was group consensus in the establishment and organization of the business and group involvement in the leadership, financing, and decision making. William H. Baker appears to be the most important local investor and was elected vice-president of the Company.

The men who formed the Virginia Woolen Company were similar in many ways to the business class in several Southern cities discussed by Don Doyle, who described a “distinct southern urban business class” that began to appear in the 1880s. Their identity was defined not simply in economic terms by occupation, wealth, and interest, but also by the social marks of a shared way of life, a common view of the world and a thick network of exclusive associations. Business associations like chambers of commerce and other booster organizations advanced the

²³⁶ Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, November 24, 1914, 15.

businessmen's shared interests by promoting urban growth and economic development.²³⁷

Most of the leaders in Winchester and Frederick County had strong personal ties to the city based on family, education, and religion. All were men and most came to maturity after the Civil War and were not veterans. Most attended college. All were Protestants. Like leaders of the larger cities, Winchester's leaders accepted civic responsibility; several were on the City Council, two served as mayor, and most were on boards of directors of businesses and civic organizations. They actively supported education and the hospital, and participated in social and civic organizations like the Masons and the Rotary Club. Like the New South leaders, Winchester leaders boosted and supported the community and its economic development—which helped to advance their own interests. Winchester's development success came later than the 1880s' expansion of the larger cities identified by Doyle. The leaders in Winchester and Frederick County differed from the majority of "New Men" identified by Doyle in other ways. They had not risen from modest circumstances, although there is evidence that several lived through periods of financial strain in their formative years. They were younger. They did not come from outside the community and their families were well established in the community.

In the early years of the Virginia Woolen Company, its leaders faced a variety of challenges and they used their influence to get concessions from the Winchester government. Many leaders had served in local offices and understood the city government procedures and processes. As a first order of business, the founders requested

²³⁷ Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 314.

and received a tax exemption and free water from the city. The mill opened in 1901 and suffered a devastating fire in 1904. Undaunted, the directors rebuilt and doubled its capacity.²³⁸ By 1914, the Company had 280 employees, 80 looms, and 4,520 spindles. During World War I, the company manufactured cloth for military uniforms. Profits were so high that an excess profits tax was eventually imposed by the United States government. After the War, with the loss of wartime demand, the Company retrenched but recovered quickly with help from a large order by the Ford Motor Company. By 1935, the Virginia Woolen Company employed 450 workers²³⁹ and by 1939, the mill had 530 employees. Production again peaked during World War II. The Virginia Woolen Company remained in business until 1958.²⁴⁰

The Virginia Woolen Company was modeled on the structure and methods of a large corporation. Owners were stockholders represented by a Board of Directors. Manufacturing was organized by function and efforts were made to maintain good employee relations (by the standards of the day). The Company went so far as to purchase property convenient to the mill that could be sold to employees for homes. The development had fifty-four lots on four blocks around a central area intended for a park and was known as Virginia City. Houses sold slowly and eventually many were sold to investors to construct rental property. During the Great Depression, which had an adverse but not devastating effect on production, the mill remained open. At one point, however, top management under progressive businessman H. B. McCormac found it necessary to

²³⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 7, 1905.

²³⁹ *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program*, 1935, 6.

²⁴⁰ Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread*, 82ff.

give workers a choice between shutting down or a two-day work week. Workers chose to remain open. To build morale, employees published a company newspaper, *The Virginia All-Wool*, and during World War II, joined together in patriotic efforts including building and manning an Aircraft Warning Service tower.²⁴¹ Hollie McCormac was general manager from 1916 until 1937. McCormac was a Frederick County native and attended the Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Like other local progressive business leaders, he had wide-ranging interests and was president of the Berkeley Woolen Company, the Colonial Brick Corporation, and headed the Virginia Milling Corporation. McCormac served as president of the Union Bank and Mount Crawford Orchards. A Republican, he was asked to run for the United States Senate. He was a Mason and involved with the Winchester Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, and the Winchester Hospital. McCormac was well respected in Virginia and served as president of the Virginia Manufacturers Association.²⁴²

By 1947, Winchester and Frederick County, as well as Virginia, had significant gains in manufacturing.²⁴³ The number of manufacturing establishments declined but the number of production workers nearly tripled in both the state and Winchester area. Wages increased by more than 190 percent. Other indicators of growth in manufacturing—that is, cost of materials, value of products, and value added—show substantial increases. The increase in these figures indicates larger manufacturers replaced smaller enterprises. Cost of materials and value of manufactured products are

²⁴¹ Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread*, 118, 130.

²⁴² Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives*, 148.

²⁴³ Figures for 1947 are used since there are no figures for 1950.

not available for 1947; however, for the period between 1900 and 1939 there was significant growth in the value of manufactured products in both Virginia and Winchester and Frederick County. Cost of materials increased by 714 percent in Virginia and 516 percent in the region. The value of manufactured products increased by 648 percent in the state and 984 percent in the region. The increase in wages for workers was enormous over the time period and the local region's percent increase exceeded that of Virginia. Important factors contributing to these changes included inflation and the impact of two World Wars.²⁴⁴

Between 1900 and 1950, Winchester and Frederick County progressive business leaders successfully expanded and diversified the manufacturing sector of the economy. Historian Ronald Heinemann observed the spirit of southern progressivism "sought to reconcile progress with tradition, believed economic growth remedied all problems, relished the application of efficiency, and equated action with substance." Their brand of progressivism "emphasized efficiency and expanded governmental services for the purpose of economic development."²⁴⁵

IV. APPLE BLOSSOM FESTIVAL

Winchester and Frederick County boosters organized the Apple Blossom Festival to regain the economic advantage present during World War I. Integration into national and international markets exposed the community to business cycles, and the apple industry suffered in the early 1920s after wartime overexpansion. In a speech to the Virginia State Horticultural Society in 1932, Virginia Polytechnic Institute professor S.

²⁴⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census, 1900, 1939, 1947*.

²⁴⁵ Heinemann, *Harry Byrd*, 102–103.

W. Fletcher characterized the years from 1897 to 1920 as “boom days” for Virginia apples. World War I brought “exceedingly high prices.” Unfortunately, in the postwar period, “the bottom dropped out of the inflated market.”²⁴⁶ The farmers’ main problem was a surplus resulting from failure to reduce production levels that rose during World War I to meet wartime demand.²⁴⁷

Early in 1924, a group of Winchester citizens attended a meeting in Harrisonburg, Virginia to promote the Shenandoah Valley and the apple industry. Frank L. Sublett of Harrisonburg organized the meeting of civic leaders from Valley counties. The group discussed the possibility of a public activity that featured the blooming of apple trees. Shortly thereafter, Winchester Mayor William Glass called a meeting of civic and fraternal organization members. They adopted the idea to promote a festival and quickly organized the celebration. Within two weeks, the first Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival was underway. In the 1924 *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program*, Mayor Glass stated, “We desire to give full credit to Mr. Frank L. Sublett, President of Shenandoah Valley, Inc., for the suggestion which has ripened into this Festival.”²⁴⁸

Boosters organized the Apple Blossom Festival as a public relations effort to face competition, increase revenue, attract outsiders, and boost the region and its products.

Harry Byrd declared in the program for the first Festival, “the Valley of Virginia offers

²⁴⁶ S. W. Fletcher, *A History of Fruit Growing in Virginia* (reprint from *The Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Virginia State Horticultural Society*, December 6, 7, and 8, 1932), 34-37, Old Time Apple Growers Collection, 239 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA. According to historian Arthur Link, “The most important domestic economic problem of the 1920s was the agricultural depression that began in 1920 and continued to 1925.” Arthur Link, *American Epoch: A History of the United States since the 1890s* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1955), 283.

²⁴⁷ Fite, “The Farmers’ Dilemma,” 73.

²⁴⁸ *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1924*; Helen Lee Fletcher, *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival, Images of America* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 1999), 7, accessed July 2, 2014, Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=LxHEVwdI7x4C&dq=frank+l+sublett&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

attractions and opportunities which if advertised to the outside world, would bring thousands of people to visit us and possibly to come to live with us.” Winchester leaders emphasized the region’s beauty, history, and bounty—especially the bounty of the orchards. Mayor William Glass stated the purpose of the Festival was to tell the world the “best apples grow in Shenandoah.”²⁴⁹ The community claimed its apples were superior in flavor and dubbed Winchester the Apple Capital.²⁵⁰ In terms that might be considered politically incorrect today, Mayor Glass touted the region’s blessings:

A wealth of nation-making history, an unsurpassed fertility of soil, educational facilities of the highest order, a scenic beauty proclaimed by many visitors to be beyond compare, an equable and healthful climate, a ninety-eight per cent [sic] American-born people, a holy respect for our Government, and a deeply religious consciousness of our accountability to a bountiful Providence.²⁵¹

The *New York Times* observed in 1936, the Festival “was a celebration in honor of the fruit that nature presented to this community for its chief means of livelihood.”²⁵²

Using progressive business approaches, leaders organized community participation in the Apple Blossom Festival and the organization resembled a corporate structure functionally compartmentalized into committees and departments. Top management rested with a Director General and Executive Committee. There were departments for Finance, Publicity, Distinguished Guests, and the Queen and her Court.

²⁴⁹ *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1924*, 1-2; Fletcher, *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival*. Harry Byrd was the state Democratic chairman and it is unlikely he attended the Harrisonburg meeting, although Byrd was a strong supporter of the Festival.

²⁵⁰ Winchester and Frederick County shared this self-proclaimed title with other locations in the country.

²⁵¹ *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1924*, 1-2.

²⁵² *New York Times*, April 30, 1936.

Departments existed for Railway Transportation, Reception, Information, Parking, Concessions, Traffic, Street Decorations, Parades, Music, Dances, Judges, Orchard Tours, Admissions and Tickets, Firemen's Participation, the Program, and School Participation. There were Committees for Housing, Transportation, Entertainment, Design, and "On Dates for the Festival." These committees organized hundreds of volunteers who devoted hours to the community project.²⁵³

Leaders took advantage of volunteer experience and enlisted widespread community participation, transforming many citizens into active boosters. Previously, the community had hosted an annual Shenandoah Valley Fair and various events to commemorate the Civil War. During World War I, local citizens were enthusiastic volunteers. Besides experienced community volunteers, organizations were in place to take on projects to boost the community. In Winchester, as throughout the United States, the clarion calls of boosterism, service, and civic improvement during the years around World War I led to the formation of a local Chamber of Commerce, and Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Exchange Clubs. The aims of these clubs fit with notions of business progressives that enhancing their community carried an economic benefit,²⁵⁴ and service club members in Winchester and Frederick County eagerly participated in the Apple Blossom Festival.

²⁵³ *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1935, 5.*

²⁵⁴ The service clubs as well as the Chamber of Commerce were formed in the United States between 1905 and 1917. Kiwanis, accessed July 27, 2014, <http://www.kiwanis.org/kiwanis/about-kiwanis/ourhistory>; Rotary, accessed July 27, 2014, <https://www.rotary.org/en/about-rotary>; Lions, accessed July 27, 2014 <http://www.lionsclubs.org/EN/about-lions/mission-and-history/index.php>; U.S. Chamber of Commerce, accessed July 27, 2014, <https://www.uschamber.com/about/history>

As the Festival expanded, preparations began months in advance and took longer. Organizers held open meetings and encouraged all citizens to “boost forward the great affair which plays such an important part in advertising the Shenandoah Valley, [and] its great apple industry.”²⁵⁵ The Apple Blossom Festival developed into two days of entertainment with tours of orchards, several parades, a pageant, carnival rides, luncheons, balls, concerts, and an air show. In the 1930s, the first event on Thursday was the “Parade of the Blossoms” with “ten thousand beautifully costumed school children from Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland.” The Firemen’s Parade entertained thousands of spectators in the evening. On Friday, visitors enjoyed a Grand Feature Parade of bands, floats, horses, clowns, cadets from surrounding military schools, and dignitaries along the 3-mile “Trail of the Pink Petals.”²⁵⁶

To add to the enthusiasm, hundreds of children performed in an outdoor pageant in front of the new Handley School following the coronation of the Queen. Organizers hired the John B. Rogers Production Company from Ohio to produce the first three Apple Blossom Pageants.²⁵⁷ Pageants were a “popular form of civic celebration” in the United States.²⁵⁸ The Apple Blossom Pageant mixed invented legends with a small and sometimes distorted dose of history and a large component of patriotism.²⁵⁹ By 1930,

²⁵⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 12, 1935.

²⁵⁶ The number of children who participated was undoubtedly exaggerated. *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1930*, passim.

²⁵⁷ “History,” Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival, accessed April 11, 2012, <http://www.thebloom.com/history.html>.

²⁵⁸ David Glassberg, “American Civic Pageantry and the Image of the Community, 1900–30,” abstract (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1982), accessed October 14, 2011, ProQuest, <http://proquest.umi.com.mutex.gmu.edu/pqdweb?index=9&did=749306281&SrchMode=1&sid=4&Fmt=2&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1318645369&clientId=31810>.

²⁵⁹ The central narrative recounted white settlement and began with the exploratory trip to the Shenandoah Valley by colonial Virginia Governor Spotswood and his companions, the Knights of the Golden

Garland Quarles, Superintendent of Schools, directed the Pageant and enlisted school staff to teach dance routines. The cast consisted of as many as 1,200 school children. Choreographed numbers evoked the history of the area, the life cycle of the apple, religious faith, and patriotism. The first part of the 1930 pageant was a tribute to spring with dancing raindrops, sunbeams, and flowers. In later years, this segment alone included 200 to 300 children. In 1930, the last two parts of the Pageant recalled the region's history with scenes about Shawnee Indians, Civil War soldiers, World War I, and a square dance. For school children and their elders, the Pageant was an object lesson in community spirit.

Lack of active participation by African Americans was an unfortunate aspect of the early years of the Festival. In 1929, the Winchester School Board considered a request from the African American Douglas School to participate in the first day's parade. The Board took no action, effectively denying the request, but the Board's sentiment was that it would not be "discreet."²⁶⁰ The request to participate in the Apple Blossom Festival demonstrated the pride of the black community in their school and their children's accomplishments. The Board's sentiment that it would not be "discreet" may demonstrate concern about violence or overt hectoring of African American participants,

Horseshoe. The explorers reported to Virginians in Tidewater "wonderful tales of the richness and beauty" of the Shenandoah Valley. Prince Tidewater, symbolizing invading white men, went to the Valley and met beautiful Indian Princess Shenandoah. However, racial prejudice existed in fables. At first Tidewater was unwilling to "possess himself of the Princess of his dreams" because he was white and she was an Indian. Eventually true love prevailed. Tidewater returned to the Valley. After a fight with Princess Shenandoah's body guards, the Prince finally married the Indian maiden. All was resolved with the arrival of "Quakers and Quakeresses" from Pennsylvania who were known for peaceful ways. The Indians "will never molest these kindly people who have in their hearts no enemy." *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1924, 22-26.*

²⁶⁰ "Winchester School Board Minutes 1929," passim, Winchester City School Records, 581 THL, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

but it also demonstrated the strong hold of past attitudes on Board members and reluctance to take even a very small risk for the sake of fairness. Board members were conscious of white citizen attitudes and may not have wanted to risk disapproval. The safest approach from their point of view was to do nothing. The Board reflected the views of many progressives, especially in the South, who advocated separateness in their reforms, as school segregation demonstrates. Fortunately, this overt discrimination has vanished. African Americans have had prominent roles in recent Festivals including an African American Queen in 2012.²⁶¹

Festival leaders encouraged a “wide awake and progressive” spirit of civic boosterism. Pageants and festivals placed the community on display and thousands of visitors (many visiting local friends) caused citizens to focus on cooperative effort, hospitality, and civic improvement. In 1927, the *Washington Post* reported the Apple Blossom Festival attracted thousands. At parades, pageants, and parties, “Music and gayety [sic] are everywhere in the air.”²⁶²

In addition to profit and boosting the community, attorney and civic leader R. Gray Williams recognized less tangible benefits for the region. The Festival might develop “solidarity” in the community since people of all ages and from all walks of life participated. Participation of children transmitted a sense of identity, cooperation, and community responsibility. In the first program, Williams commented, “Community spirit

²⁶¹ Among many African Americans with prominent roles, the Grand Marshal in 1998 was *Today Show* weatherman Al Roker. “Celebrity Grand Marshals of the Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival,” *Winchester Star*, accessed June 10, 2014, http://specials.winchesterstar.com/Apple_Blossom_2013/Marshals/Past_Marshals.html.

²⁶² The *Washington Post* mentioned that Harry K. Thaw marched with the volunteer firemen. Thaw lived near Winchester after his trial for the murder of Stanford White. *Washington Post*, April 29, 1927.

and community comradeship are fostered by gatherings of this sort where political divisions are forgotten and everyone rejoices.”²⁶³ Williams was particularly conscious of disunity in Winchester because of his involvement in a controversy over the location of a new high school.

Pageants and festivals fit well with the progressive mentality and promoted community solidarity.²⁶⁴ Historian David Glassberg observed pageants “grew through the efforts of fine artists and dramatists who saw it as a precursor of aesthetic reforms, and recreation workers who saw it as a form of wholesome, expressive play.” Pageants also fit well with the views of progressive business leaders who, although not exceptionally interested in progressive reform for its own sake, advocated reforms and improvements that enhanced the region’s prosperity. The Apple Blossom Festival was an “invented tradition” that contributed to a sense of pride and a shared identity. Inventors of traditions use history to “legitimate action and cement group cohesion.”²⁶⁵ As historian Catherine Cameron observed, there can be a “relationship between business interests and the creation of “cultural traditions” and the “marketing of tradition.” The value of cultural invention can be “social as well as economic” since traditions unified the community and created “a sense of continuity with the past and a sense of stability through time.”²⁶⁶

²⁶³ *Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival Program, 1924, 2.*

²⁶⁴ David Glassberg, “American Civic Pageantry.”

²⁶⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12.

²⁶⁶ Catherine Cameron observed traditions gave people a “benchmark against which to measure change and, perhaps more important, it provides a sense of security and connection with an earlier time. Acting out traditions or constructing a history creates powerful moods of attachment in participants.” Catherine M. Cameron, “The Marketing of Tradition: The Value of Culture in American Life,” *City & Society* 1, no. 2 (December 1987): 166, 173.

The Festival created a strong bond of mutual purpose between ordinary citizens and business and agricultural leaders, and the efforts of the community to establish the Apple Blossom Festival were eminently successful. The Apple Blossom Festival promoted the community not only to outsiders but to its own residents. The Festival fostered community spirit, volunteerism, democratic participation, and pride and deepened the community's sense of a shared identity. The Festival continues to the present time and remains a project with more than a thousand community volunteers and more than 250,000 attendees.²⁶⁷

V. COMMUNITY GROWTH

As Winchester and Frederick County leaders made progress in agricultural and manufacturing production and diversified the economy, their success (perhaps fortunately not a boom) made for stability and steady growth. Roanoke had boomed in the late nineteenth century and was not always able to meet the demands of its growing population. In contrast, Winchester and Frederick County developed gradually and the relative homogeneity of the region as well as the lack of a significant rapid influx of immigrants made for community stability and strengthened the community's ability to retain a strong agricultural component. Between 1900 and 1950, Winchester and Frederick County did not make drastic changes but steadily developed new strategies, adapted to external forces, and moved toward a more diversified and balanced economy.

The region's population increased by more than 70 percent between 1900 and 1950, slightly less than the 79 percent increase in Virginia, as Winchester and Frederick

²⁶⁷ "Old Town Winchester," accessed January 28, 2014, <http://www.oldtownwinchesterva.com/business-directory/services/professional-services/shenandoah-apple-blossom-festival-headquarters/>.

County's economy expanded. Winchester's growth was greater than 10 percent per decade. Part of Winchester's growth may be attributed to annexations from Frederick County in 1901 and 1921. Frederick County showed a slight population loss in the 1910 and 1920 censuses, but had a 25 percent gain between 1940 and 1950. Loss of land to Winchester and the declining need for farm labor brought about by greater mechanization slowed Frederick County's growth until after World War II. For the entire period, growth in manufacturing jobs attracted employees, and the combined Winchester and Frederick County growth was 71 percent.

The percentage of minority population declined in Virginia, Winchester, and Frederick County during this period. There were no non-African American minorities in Winchester and Frederick County and very few in the state. Minority population in Virginia increased by 11.5 percent between 1900 and 1950. However, the ratio of minority population to total population steadily decreased from 36 percent to 22 percent. Frederick County and Winchester had always had a substantially lower percentage of minorities than the state and this continued between 1900 and 1950. Frederick County's population declined from 5.7 percent minority to 2.2 percent minority with only 390 African Americans by 1950. Winchester saw a small increase in the number of African Americans by 1950 but also saw a decline in the percentage of minorities from 21 percent in 1900 to 8 percent in 1950.

The principal causes for the decline in African American population were limited opportunity and discrimination. Of employed black women in Winchester, 96 percent were listed under domestic and personal services. Of employed black men, 76 percent

were laborers. The community's location close to Northern states and the District of Columbia made it relatively easy for African Americans to go elsewhere for work.

In conjunction with the construction of Handley School in Winchester, the General Education Board of New York surveyed Winchester in 1918 and provided a breakdown of occupations. Among 2,405 women, 22 percent were employed (Table 1).²⁶⁸

Table 1. Occupations by Category in Winchester, Virginia, in 1918

Category	Count	Description
Agriculture	105	
Skilled	387	Blacksmiths, Masons, Building Contractors, Cabinetmakers, Carpenters, Coopers, Dressmakers, Dyers, Electricians, Engineers, Firemen, Mechanics, Milliners, Painters and Paperhangers, Plasters, Plumbers, Printers, Shoemakers, Stonecutters, Tailors, Tinsmiths and others. There are 42 Foreman and Managers in this category.
Semi-skilled	250	200 in Textile Industry
Laborers	252	General or Common or in Industry
Transportation	166	Railroadmen, Expressmen, Hackmen, Liverymen, Chauffeurs, etc.
Trade	394	Bankers, Brokers, Retail Dealers, Salespeople
Public Service	36	
Professional Services	156	Clergymen, Dentists, Doctors, Lawyers and Others (including Teachers)
Domestic and Personal Services	360	204 were African American.
Clerical	118	Bookkeepers, Clerks, Messengers, Office Boys, Stenographers and Typewriters
Occupation not Specified	36	
Home	1,954	All but 97 were women.
School	26	
Army	61	

²⁶⁸ *The Handley Fund, Winchester, Va.; A Report to the Board of Handley Trustees* (New York, General Education Board, 1918) accessed February 6, 2014, <https://archive.org/details/handleyfundwinch00gene>. Some occupations have all but vanished: blacksmith, cooper, dressmaker, milliner, and tinsmith. The report does not appear to include seasonal workers in orchards and apple processing plants, many of whom were women. Women's occupations included dressmakers, milliners, textile workers, saleswomen, teachers, nurses, domestic service, and clerical jobs.

Most farmers of Frederick County were independent owner–operators and many Winchester citizens were independent small proprietors. Professionals, such as lawyers and doctors, were always part of small firms as were retail stores, grocers, construction and repair workers, and service providers. Except for transportation, automobiles, and related industries, only a few outside corporations and chain stores operated businesses in the region before 1950. Main Street was a viable retail center and big box stores were unknown. The 1903–1904 city directory lists fourteen lawyers, eleven doctors, six blacksmiths, four dealers in millinery goods, nine butchers, forty-one grocers, and ten dealers in wines and liquors.²⁶⁹ As late as 1959, there were 56 independent grocers in Winchester.²⁷⁰ The majority of citizens were not wealthy. Tax returns provide an indication of personal income. In 1924, there were 570 federal tax returns from Frederick County and 540 from Winchester.²⁷¹ Incomes below \$2,000 were not taxed. Less than 6 percent of the population paid federal taxes in 1924. In the state, roughly 3 percent²⁷² of the population filed tax returns.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ *Randall's Business Directory of Winchester, Martinsburg, Charles Town, Berryville, Shepherdstown 1903–1904* (Hagerstown, MD: Enterprise Printing Office), 19-38.

²⁷⁰ *Miller's Winchester, VA City Directory 1959-1969*, XVI (Asheville: Southern Directory Company, 1959), 427-428.

²⁷¹ Gee and Corson, *A Statistical Study of Virginia*, 197.

²⁷² "Table 16, Individual Returns by State and Territories for the Years 1916 to 1924" (Federal Reserve Archival System for Economic Research, FRASER), accessed October 13, 2011, <http://fraser.stlouisfed.org/publications/income/page/11792/2440/download/11792.pdf>, 5.

²⁷³ In the years before withholding tax, it was difficult for individuals to report incomes accurately if they were not salaried. American political leaders recognized tax avoidance was widespread. Even allowing for non-compliance, these figures indicate most people in the region were not wealthy. Gene Smiley and Richard Keehn, "Federal Personal Income Tax Policy in the 1920s," *The Journal of Economic History* 55, no. 2 (June 1995): 287, accessed April 13, 2008, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2123554>.

VI. CONCLUSION

Between 1900 and 1950, Winchester and Frederick County progressive business and agricultural leaders improved and diversified the region's economy. The community developed orchards, apple-related businesses, and manufacturing operations. Orchardists like Byrd and Lupton and the founders of the Virginia Woolen Mill operated their enterprises with skill and efficiency. They exemplified the mindset of the "wide awake and progressive" businessmen. Like other businessmen of their era, they valued organization, expertise, and technology. They encouraged research and education. They lobbied for government legislation and support for their endeavors. They understood the benefits of advertising and associations. Business leaders became increasingly sophisticated and attuned to the national and international markets. They understood that the community could be a factor in their personal success.

The economy of county and town were tightly coupled; agriculture affected not only farmers but those in town who worked in allied industries that stored, processed, and transported agricultural products. The success of apple orchards in Frederick County led to the creation of jobs through the establishment of peripheral businesses such as apple processing and cold storage in Winchester. The Apple Blossom Festival, a joint effort of city and county, demonstrated shared interests and encouraged wide citizen participation. County residents worked in city businesses, most shopped at downtown stores, and County government was based in Winchester. Close cooperation based on the mutual interests of Winchester and Frederick County worked to the advantage of both.

Why did local citizens assume business leadership in Winchester and Frederick County rather than “new men” as in Atlanta, Nashville, and to some extent, Roanoke? Outside entrepreneurs found nothing unique in Winchester and Frederick County to differentiate the community from many others or raise hopes of quick profits. In Roanoke, outsiders had been attracted by mineral resources during the boom years. Winchester and Frederick County had no similar resource. Furthermore, external factors did not play an important role in changing the economy as they did in many regions. The railroad was a key external factor in the success of Atlanta, Nashville, and Roanoke in the late nineteenth century. Opportunities created by railroads attracted “new men,” some of whom provided capital and ideas. As the importance of the railroad declined with the rise of the motor vehicle, the chances for success improved in regions like Winchester and Frederick County which had not become railroad centers but had a geographical advantage that served them well as highway transportation grew in importance. As a crossroads, the balance for achieving success shifted in Winchester and Frederick County’s favor in the early twentieth century.

During this period, citizens of Winchester and Frederick County reacted to, but almost never resisted, the impact of external forces. The major events of the first half of the century—World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II—affected every important aspect of life in the community. During both Wars, the economy flourished even as war efforts including military service, security, and volunteer service to aid those caught in the war-torn areas pushed more local and mundane concerns to the background. During the Great Depression, caution and conservatism slowed change but did not

devastate the region because of the diversity of the economy and aid from the federal government during the 1930s.

Between 1900 and 1950, the community accepted and adjusted to the impact of industrialization, progressive attitudes, the consumer economy, technological changes, increased bureaucratization, urbanization, and a decline in local control. Winchester and Frederick County farmers and business leaders quickly realized urbanization, consumerism, and international trade benefited business. Industrialization and urbanization increased consumer demand for Frederick County products. Technological changes improved production. Highway improvements helped product distribution and reduced dependence on railroads. Government support had been beneficial, especially during the Depression. By 1950, only a few believed local control and an economy of independent small farmers and entrepreneurs without federal and state support was preferable to successful accommodation to the larger world. Thus in Winchester and Frederick County, there was little resistance to “national and nationalizing trends”²⁷⁴ and the resulting decline in local control. Instead, business leaders of the community took advantage of those trends. Progressive business leaders and farmers accepted and even urged support, regulations, involvement, and funding from the state and federal governments. The community often benefited from the action of these outside entities. For example, the state enacted legislation that benefited orchardists and the federal government’s orders for fabric benefited the Virginia Woolen Mill. Depression programs benefited farmers and the unemployed.

²⁷⁴ Hal S. Barron, *Mixed Harvest: The Second Great Transformation in the Rural North, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 10.

Business and agricultural leaders supported progressive programs in other areas besides their enterprises. Chapter IV describes improvements in government administration, education, health and welfare, and the infrastructure in Winchester and Frederick County that leaders believed would improve the community's image and benefit the community and its economy.

CHAPTER IV: WE BELIEVE IN PROGRESSIVENESS 1900–1950

I. INTRODUCTION

Between 1900 and 1950, business, agricultural, and civic leaders of Winchester and Frederick County advocated progressive changes in government, education, health, and welfare, infrastructure, and transportation. They worked to enhance the region's quality of life and image by modernizing the infrastructure and improving the appearance, capabilities, and resources of the community. As agents of change, leaders took an active role in initiating improvements. They were influenced by the progressive mindset with its emphasis on organization, efficiency, and expertise. They advocated changes that would improve the reputation of the community and its products and thereby benefit the economy and their enterprises.

“Progressiveness” had broad support in the community. In November 1928, the Rouss Fire Company in Winchester prepared a solicitation for donations from the C. L. Robinson Cold Storage Company and the Winchester Cold Storage Company in which the firemen assured business owners that “We believe in progressiveness.” Fire Department membership represented every segment of society. If any organization was in touch with the attitudes of both ordinary citizens and the leadership, it was the volunteer fire company. Like the business and agricultural leaders, firemen were ardent boosters of Winchester and Frederick County. At a recent convention, Winchester firemen had

spread the word about “the Golden Apples of Frederick County and the great Handley School System.” The firemen assured business donors their gifts would support “an organization which has helped in the progressive movements for the betterment of our City and County” and which would boost Winchester products at every opportunity.²⁷⁵

Progressive attitudes that influenced Winchester and Frederick County citizens flourished in the United States as the twentieth century began. Americans believed they could overcome the ills of society just as they had mastered the expansion of the nation. Many espoused an “agenda for social progress.” In the South, business and civic leaders supported progressive programs in government, education, health, welfare, temperance, and other areas partly from “a combination of genuine humanitarian sentiment, often grounded in religious faith, and partly from a calculating grasp of the necessity of upgrading the South’s human capital as a prerequisite to economic development.” Historian Don Doyle called this attitude of leaders a “new paternalism.”²⁷⁶ Throughout the South, reformers worked “on restructuring the electorate; improving public education; modifying cities in ways that made them more healthful, efficient, and orderly; upgrading roads; and enacting prohibition of alcohol.” Goals included “sanitation improvements; segregation ordinances; health and food regulations; the construction of parks, playgrounds, and libraries; urban planning; and professional city management.”²⁷⁷ In progressive efforts in the South, the racial divide persisted. Although reformers seldom

²⁷⁵ Rouss Fire Department to C. L. Robinson Cold Storage Company and the Winchester Cold Storage Company (letter, November 12, 1928), Rouss Fire Company Records Collection, 239 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

²⁷⁶ Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 260ff.

²⁷⁷ Rand Dotson, “Progressive Movement in Virginia,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed April 26, 2010, http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Progressive_Movement.

neglected or ignored African Americans, they maintained social and racial hierarchies and segregation.²⁷⁸ In Virginia, voting restrictions in the Constitution of 1902 made it more difficult for African Americans to achieve equitable solutions.

In Winchester and Frederick County, the progressive spirit had little to do with problems of industrialization, urbanization, labor, or immigration as it did in urban areas. To the contrary, local leaders believed industrialization benefited the community and urbanization increased the market for agricultural products. Winchester and Frederick County citizens, like other Virginians, supported reform because of significant changes in society. Virginia was dealing with a new and different population, not immigrants as in the North, but freed blacks. Increased urbanization required adjustments to institutions because of greater complexities and closer contacts in populated areas. “Social control” was an aspect of the progressive spirit of the early twentieth century. Temperance supporters incorporated the idealism of social reformers in efforts to “banish crime, poverty, and disease” and “improve the status of the lower classes”²⁷⁹ whether they liked it or not. Most of those in Winchester and Frederick County who supported Prohibition did so for religious or moral reasons.²⁸⁰ After a public demonstration in 1908, a vote on local Prohibition was won by temperance forces.²⁸¹ In 1916, statewide Prohibition went

²⁷⁸ Dotson, “Progressive Movement in Virginia.”

²⁷⁹ James Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 2.

²⁸⁰ In general, evangelical Christians and women supported Prohibition throughout the South, as did many rural and small town residents, “arguing that saloons corrupted boys, led to spousal abuse, and threatened the family.” Dotson, “Progressive Movement in Virginia.”

²⁸¹ Prohibition was an area of reform where Winchester citizens of all economic classes desired to pursue change. The Winchester chapter of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union was established in 1884 in response to an appearance at a revival at the Market Street Methodist Church by Miss Jennie Smith, the Railroad Evangelist. Methodist minister James Cannon, leader of the Anti-Saloon League in Virginia, visited Winchester in March 1908 to urge support of Prohibition. The efforts of temperance supporters bore

into effect.²⁸² Prohibition did not deter Winchester and Frederick County imbibers.

Alcohol was available in nearby West Virginia, and stills and home brews filled any gaps.

During this period, Winchester and Frederick County leaders were concerned about the costs of improvements. Philanthropists provided some funding for infrastructure and education. The region also received funding from the state and national governments. Despite some reluctance to lose total local control, civic and political leaders not only accepted but pressed for perceived benefits. State initiatives often reduced options and imposed bureaucratic and reporting requirements. For example, Virginia set standards for teacher education and school attendance and required reports on health inspections. Except for prohibition, acceptance of state initiatives was often cautious, with a wary eye on local traditions and cost. Moreover, the federal government's impact on local government increased during the World Wars and the Great Depression.

This chapter argues that although Winchester and Frederick County were largely agricultural before 1900, the region's leaders adopted programs and attitudes of progressives. Unlike most American progressives, Winchester and Frederick County did

fruit. The Anti-Saloon League petitioned for a local option referendum to "save their sons from saloons and their daughters from drunken husbands." The vote on local Prohibition occurred on April 15, 1908. The day began with a parade of hundreds of women and children led by cadets from the Shenandoah Valley Military Academy. The parade ended with a songfest at the Court House. To celebrate the victory of the temperance forces, the famous Carrie Nation visited Winchester, passing out gold rhinestone hatchets and barging into saloons to convey her message. *Winchester Evening Star*, March 30, 1908; Linda Thomas, "Prohibition in Winchester and the Surrounding Area," Warren Hofstra Collection, 559 WFCHS, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

²⁸² One Winchester resident recalled that as a child of six, when Nation saw her in a saloon with a relative, she shouted, "Get that child out of here." Helen Sullivan, interviews by author, Winchester VA, various dates.

not seek solutions to problems of urbanization and industrialization but instead, they adopted the progressive mindset to develop industry and improve the economy. Boosters believed the quality of life and image of the community affected the potential for economic success and leaders supported changes in government, education, health and welfare, infrastructure, and transportation in order to improve the community. During the period, the community reacted to outside forces, including national and international economic trends, state and local government requirements, technological changes, two World Wars, and the Great Depression.

II. PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT

Governing the region became more complex between 1900 and 1950 as Winchester and Frederick County expanded government to deal with a growing population and respond to state and federal requirements. At the beginning of this period, grassroots democracy still played out in local governments and bureaucracy was minimal. There were increasing demands for urban services and civic leaders found ways to cope with state and federal requirements such as rationing during the World Wars, and an expanding need for welfare assistance during the Depression. Progressives in the United States favored proactive government and persuaded legislatures to create laws, regulations, and agencies to support their goals. Progressives encouraged governments to develop expertise and build bureaucracies to focus on improvements. Governments made efforts to improve sanitation and medical care, strengthen education systems, and even improve the government itself by reducing graft and corruption.

In 1900, government was minimal in Winchester and Frederick County. The Winchester City Council as well as the Frederick County Board of Supervisors acted as if satisfactory were good enough, and maybe in some instances too good. Major initiatives, such as annexation of county land by Winchester, were few and far between. Fortunately private money, such as the Handley and Rouss bequests and contributions for the hospital, supported improvements Winchester would have been unwilling and unable to fund. To some extent, the caretaker mentality may have been the result of one-party politics in Winchester and Frederick County (as well as in Virginia) which fostered little controversy or activism. To a greater extent, this mentality was traditional, an extension of the old government that adequately served a smaller, less complicated agricultural community.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, government was nonintrusive in Frederick County. The Board of Supervisors were the elected officials who managed the County. A report of County Receipts and Expenses in 1905 revealed issues addressed by the Supervisors. Administrative expenditures covered maintenance, supplies, and insurance.²⁸³ The statement covered salaries of employees, election officials, and grand jury members. The budget showed medical and welfare costs for indigents along with an unusual disbursement reflecting the importance of the apple economy: payment to the “Inspector of Orchards, Crop Pests.”²⁸⁴ The Frederick County Report of 1913 further

²⁸³ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 28, 1905. The report is difficult to understand. It is divided into three parts. One part is for the five month’s disbursements ending January 1, 1904. Another part is for the five months ending January 5, 1905. A third part is for the six months ending July 31, 1905. This total of 16 months, including part of 1903 and 1904, is not explained. Furthermore, if the 1904 data should not have been included, then the report only covers eleven months.

²⁸⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 28, 1905.

illuminates County government. Income was principally from the “county levy,” similar to a real estate tax. Total income was \$12,970.55, slightly over \$1.00 per capita. Expenditures included salaries for the Board of Supervisors, Commonwealth Attorney, Treasurer, Commissioner of Revenue, and the Sheriff and expenses for the courthouse, jail, and poor farm. There were no fire departments, water, or sewer costs.²⁸⁵ The city paid the county for jail and poor farm use. Small amounts were spent on health care for the poor. The County received income from use of a hitching yard. Disbursements for turnpikes were posted at the courthouse and tollgates. The report included an expense for “road viewers,” who were citizens chosen to review plans for each road. If they decided the road was necessary, they would try to determine the route that would do the least injury to private property.²⁸⁶

Winchester, with a more concentrated population, required a larger government.²⁸⁷ Water works and sewerage systems required monitoring and maintenance, and citizens demanded electric street lights. Health regulations had to be enforced, and fees for city services necessitated administrative work. In June 1905, Winchester annexed land from Frederick County for the first time.²⁸⁸ This annexation of .68 square miles more than doubled the size of the town to 1.05 square miles. The

²⁸⁵ The first fire department in Frederick County was established in 1939. Jeff Shell, “Fire Companies,” in *The Story of Frederick County*, ed. Sam Lehman (Winchester: Wisecarver’s Print, 1989), Chapter 27.

²⁸⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 19, 1914.

²⁸⁷ The 1902 State Constitution authorized two classes of independent cities in Virginia and in July 1902, Winchester became an “independent city, second class.” The state used the designation “second class” for cities with populations less than 10,000. Second-class cities operated like counties except they did not have a court system. One consequence of the change was that the Census reported Winchester data separately from Frederick County. “Virginia and West Virginia, Commentary” (The Newberry Library, 2003), accessed November 1, 2011, http://historical-county.newberry.org/website/virginia/documents/VA_Commentary.htm.

²⁸⁸ Atlas of Historical County Boundaries, accessed July 15, 2010, <http://www.newberry.org/ahcbp>.

annexation added about \$70,000 in property value and 200 citizens to Winchester. Most of the annexed area was west or southwest of the town. Those who lived on the annexed land favored annexation.²⁸⁹ Ironically, Frederick County, which had strongly resisted use of a small part of the hitching yard for Winchester's City Hall, did not resist the annexation. In December 1921, Winchester again annexed land from Frederick County.

The expansion of government in Winchester and Frederick County was part of state and national trends driven by the attitudes of progressives. In Virginia, the Constitution of 1902 marked the beginning of progressive change. Before 1902, Virginia operated under the Reconstruction Underwood Constitution which had a universal male suffrage clause. The 1902 revision reduced the electorate, particularly the black electorate. However; by imposing voter qualifications, the revision also affected whites.²⁹⁰ Virginia's constitutional revision was no exception to the Southern norm and ensured Democratic Party dominance of state politics for more than sixty years. To modern eyes, the changes might seem regressive rather than progressive, but to many contemporary middle and upper class white Virginians, the changes represented reform. Social control played a role in the virtual disenfranchisement of African Americans (and coincidentally of poor whites) in Virginia. One rationale for disenfranchisement was the belief that African Americans were political pawns and a factor in political and electoral corruption. Some white Virginia leaders felt the expanded electorate fostered by the old

²⁸⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, June 5, 1905.

²⁹⁰ This was one of a number of constitutional revisions throughout the South. In 1904, even stricter regulations went into effect, including a poll tax and literacy test. The 1902 Constitution initially offered voting rights only to Civil War veterans and their sons, those who paid a dollar or more in property taxes, and those who could explain portions of the new constitution. Dotson, "Progressive Movement in Virginia."

Underwood Constitution had “upset traditional patterns of political power and control,” that is, white control. For these leaders, the Constitution of 1902 was part of a Southern “search for order.”²⁹¹

Once they established white control, Virginia leaders were open to further progressive initiatives. Social control played a role in the “campaign for a more effective and humane penal system” and restrictions on corporations, especially railroads.²⁹² The Constitution of 1902 included progressive measures such as party primaries for Senate seats, replacement of county courts with a circuit court system, and increased funding for schools, prisons, roads, public welfare, and creation of the State Corporation Commission.²⁹³ Lucien Lupton of Frederick County served on the State Corporation Commission between 1918 and 1919.²⁹⁴

To provide efficient services and meet state requirements, Winchester civic leaders recognized the need to expand and professionalize government. The successes of

²⁹¹ Peter H. Argersinger, review of *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910*, Morgan Kousser, *Reviews in American History* 3, no. 2 (June 1975): 236-241, accessed September 9, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2701228>.

²⁹² Dewey Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 112.

²⁹³ Allen Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd 1870–1925* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 181-202. Before the Virginia Constitutional Convention, the state legislature had passed an act requiring the constitution be ratified by the voters. Since the new constitution aimed at reducing the electorate, the Convention decided to proclaim it rather than submit it to voters, some of whom were adversely affected by suffrage changes. Many citizens of Winchester and Frederick County were displeased with this arbitrary action which was of dubious legality and certainly not in accordance with American tradition. Local political leaders including Richard E. Byrd (father of Harry Byrd) and Holmes Conrad, former Solicitor General of the United States, were outspoken in their criticism. More than 500 citizens met in Winchester and adopted a resolution instructing Judge T. W. Harrison, the delegate from the region, to vote to refer the constitution to the people for ratification. Despite the objections, the 1902 Constitution was not put to a vote. *The Richmond Times*, January 19, 1902, 16, no. 296, accessed July 5, 2014, <http://virginiachronicle.com/cgi-bin/virginia?a=d&d=T19020119.1.19&srpos=1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-conrad+byrd+constitution+1902----->.

²⁹⁴ “Members of the Virginia State Corporation Commission,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed July 7, 2014, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Members_of_the_Virginia_State_Corporation_Commission#start_entry.

large corporations that valued these qualities influenced this mindset. For elected leaders, running the local government became increasingly difficult without a professional staff. Leadership was time-consuming and required sacrifice and commitment. In Winchester, citizens elected the mayor, councilmen from each ward, the commonwealth's attorney, city sergeant, city treasurer, and commissioner of revenue.²⁹⁵ The number of wards and Council members varied.²⁹⁶ In addition to routine monthly meetings, there were many additional sessions. Each Council member served on multiple committees and virtually every issue was referred to committee. Citizen requests to the City Council, often called "memorials," were taken seriously. Citizens requested street improvements, street lighting, and presented claims for payments or refunds. When groups or organizations appeared before the Council, especially groups representing business or religious organizations, a positive response was probable.²⁹⁷ Winchester was small enough that it is likely most citizens were known by at least one Council member. As a result, Council members were sensitive to hot issues and occasionally placed an issue on the ballot rather than decide it themselves. Like their constituents, Council members favored minimal taxes. They made almost no effort to expand their power. To demonstrate civic concern,

²⁹⁵ *Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, 1874* (Richmond: James E. Good, Printer, 1874), 163–172, Google Books, accessed October 1, 2010, http://books.google.com/books?id=jRQSAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

²⁹⁶ In 1870, there were four wards with three council members each. In 1917, there were two wards with six members each. The Council elected its own president and if a member resigned, elected a replacement from the ward that was missing a member.

²⁹⁷ In 1905, City Council members received a report on the city's "splendid financial condition." Out of total receipts of \$16,699.31, the city had a balance on hand of \$11,108.59. The biggest expenditure was lighting at \$1,295.59. The smallest expenditures were for the poor (\$15.10) and to fight the mosquito problem (\$25.00). Ever cautious, Council member Dr. Boyd warned against "reckless and unnecessary expenditure of money." Winchester City Council Minutes, October 4, 1905.

they frequently participated in civic events such as the Agricultural Fair and the annual Rouss banquet. Most Council members were businessmen or attorneys.

Most civic leaders believed in the progressive values of expertise and professionalism, and the City Council decided to appoint a civil engineer as city manager. An observer of the Progressive Movement, Benjamin Parke De Witt, described the city manager plan. The city council “hires an expert called the city manager.... This plan makes the council... a board of directors and the head of the city a business manager.” The first city manager plan was in Staunton, Virginia, in 1908.²⁹⁸ (Staunton and Winchester were the first two county seats in the Shenandoah Valley.) Staunton’s city government was considered inefficient. Delays in providing services were common and finances were in poor shape.²⁹⁹ Staunton hired a city manager to relieve elected officials of operational responsibilities. The concept worked in Staunton, and other localities, including Winchester, followed suit. In urban areas, improvement of local government had been a top priority of progressive reformers mainly because of abuse by some government officials. This was not the case in Winchester, but the appointment of the city manager was consistent with progressive reforms that emphasized professionals and expertise.

Arthur M. Field became the first city manager of Winchester. Field was born in 1891 in Seattle, Washington. He graduated from Cornell University with a degree in

²⁹⁸ Staunton, like Winchester, previously ran the government with committees of elected officials. Many of those officials did not have the time or expertise to satisfactorily administer the operations of a city. Benjamin Parke De Witt, *The Progressive Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 309, Google Books, accessed October 3, 2010, http://books.google.com/books?id=IhFJAAAIAAJ&dq=staunton+city+manager&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

²⁹⁹ “About Staunton,” Staunton Virginia, accessed September 26, 2010, <http://www.staunton.va.us/about-staunton/about-staunton>.

Civil Engineering. As an administrator, the city manager could make recommendations to the Council. The “First Annual Report of the City Manager” covered July 1, 1916 to June 30, 1917 and provides insight into the operations of a small city.³⁰⁰ Income included taxes on real estate and property licenses (mostly from businesses), a water tax, and a loan from the Handley Fund. The city’s major expenses were schools, streets, lighting, water, police, fire, salaries, and interest on loans. According to the Report, the city had lower tax and assessment rates than many Virginia cities. The budget for the coming year included a small surplus that could be used for emergencies.

Field’s reported accomplishments revealed inadequacies and gaps before his much closer management. Street cleaning improved, garbage was collected more quickly, and snow was removed promptly from the business area. New equipment was purchased. Field reduced the cost of paving and the cost of stone by opening a quarry and purchasing a “rock drill.” A barn was built for storage needs. A “Pitometer Survey” enabled reduction of water waste. A discount on bank taxes reduced borrowing costs.³⁰¹ Charitable costs increased mainly because the long winter required purchase of more fuel. Field planned to lower welfare costs by buying provisions wholesale rather than giving “food orders” to spend with a local grocer. Field stopped “promiscuous ordering of supplies” and required purchase orders. Bills had to be approved by the manager, and

³⁰⁰ The Report identifies various City officials including the mayor and Council members. The Council appointed the thirteen-member School Board, plus the Superintendent and the school principal. The city had a Health Department, a largely volunteer Fire Department, a paid six-man Police Department, and a Department of Charities with a nurse and physician. Under a new Budget System, income exceeded expenditures during the year. Income for 1916–1917 was \$90,826.55. Total expenditures were \$88,081.19. “First Annual Report of the City Manager to the City Council for the Year July 1st 1916–June 30th 1917 Winchester VA,” Winchester City Records, 519 THL, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

³⁰¹ Local banks refused to bid on the interest rate “as is done in many other cities, some of which obtain rates as low as three percent.” “First Annual Report of the City Manager.”

wholesale purchasing saved money. The offices of Street Cleaner, Water and Sewer Superintendents, and Garbage Hauler were abolished and “city teams” did the work. Field assumed the tasks of the auditor and clerk of the Council. The assistant manager replaced the street and water superintendents.

Field’s report included recommendations to improve city government. First and foremost, he suggested improving the accounting system. He also suggested a larger water main, a water meter system, an additional fire hydrant and valve, and changing the disposal system to the “activated sludge” process. Virginia Woolen Company waste had caused a serious problem at the disposal plant. Fortunately the Woolen Company had “been induced to build a treatment plant.” With regard to charity, Field recommended the “Associated Charities” because a number of cases had occurred where several institutions were supporting the same person.³⁰² Field’s management reveals his efficient and systematic approach. Field was apparently well accepted in the community and married the daughter of a former mayor.³⁰³ Field went into the Army in June 1918³⁰⁴ and later worked in Rochester, New York.³⁰⁵ He returned to Winchester as city manager in 1935.

³⁰² “First Annual Report of the City Manager.”

³⁰³ Field’s father-in-law, Robert Barton, was a Civil War veteran, attorney, legal writer, former mayor, delegate to the Virginia legislature, and president of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank. Revealing both his sympathies with the Confederate cause and his admiration for Arthur Field, Robert Barton wrote to his son, “I never thought that I would cheerfully give my daughter to a man born and raised in the northern part of New York. But the over fifty years since have elapsed since 1865 have made many great changes in our way of looking at things.” Margaretta Barton Colt, *Defend the Valley: A Shenandoah Family in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 400.

³⁰⁴ Field became a Second Lieutenant in September. He did not go overseas. He commented on his service that its “Only apparent effect was to satisfy my peace of mind at having gone in.” “WWI Questionnaire for Field, Arthur Maxwell,” Library of Virginia, accessed September 26, 2010, <http://image.lva.virginia.gov/WWI/pages/060/0051.html>.

³⁰⁵ “Personals,” *Municipal Journal and Public Works* 47, no. 8, (August 23, 1919): 130. Google Books, accessed September 26, 2010, http://books.google.com/books?id=RJfmAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

Until after World War II, Frederick County provided minimal urban services. Residents provided their own water and sewer capabilities. There were no public trash services, street lighting, library, or recreation facilities. Fire companies were volunteer and were supported by residents of a section of the county. Frederick County did have a sheriff and operated the jail and poor farm for welfare recipients.

Paradoxically, there was both expansion and diminution in local government responsibility and control between 1900 and 1950. Part of the expansion can be attributed to population growth and the necessity for larger school systems, and expansion of other services. The number of government employees increased. Technological changes affected government. For example, Winchester city government imposed a tax for car ownership and cars increased the need for road and street maintenance. Some increases in responsibility were not the result of local initiatives but tied to state or national government activity and requirements. During World War I, local draft boards administered the draft. During the Depression, local citizens recommended projects to get federal funds (funneled through the state) for jobs. These projects were not always related to local needs; for example, Winchester City Council discussed building an armory which was surely not for the defense of the region but a way to obtain federal funds for jobs.³⁰⁶ During World War II, federal government initiatives increased. The draft, rationing, and civil defense required local citizen effort. Citizens responded to emergency demands and hundreds volunteered in the interests of civil defense.³⁰⁷ The War also brought economic

³⁰⁶ Winchester City Council Minutes, November 13, 1934.

³⁰⁷ Interestingly, in 1942, it was not the constraints of gas rationing or the limitations on tire purchases that raised the hackles of the community. The restriction that raised public concern involved the shortage of

benefits. O’Sullivan received an order from the Marines for work that required hiring sixty workers.³⁰⁸

As Winchester and Frederick County government expanded, state and federal requirements reduced the need for local initiatives. Local governments faced increasing involvement with state and federal authorities, characterized by regulations, need for compliance, complexity in bureaucratic requirements, and availability of state and federal funds. Both Winchester and Frederick County leaders supported the government expansion. To some extent, the expansion was born of necessity, especially during the Depression and World Wars. For Frederick County, which was still largely agricultural, the expansion of government was relatively small and not driven by a progressive mindset. In Winchester, the creation of the city manager function added an administrative, nonelected component to government and signaled a new approach that was consistent with the progressive business emphasis on professionalism and expertise.

III. EDUCATION

In the early years of the century, progressive business leaders in Winchester and Frederick County recognized education needed improvement. Some agreed with educational reformers in Virginia that public education was inadequate and underfunded and had the potential to “leave the state with an uneducated electorate and impede economic development.”³⁰⁹

sugar to make apple butter for home use. *Winchester Evening Star*, March 19, 1932; May 6, 1932; May 9, 1932; May 29, 1932; June 3, 1932; September 17, 1932.

³⁰⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, December 21, 1932.

³⁰⁹ Dotson, “Progressive Movement in Virginia.”

Before the Civil War, Virginia did not have a public school system and it was not until 1900 that the state began to make progress in education. Formerly, “charity” schools existed for those who could not afford to educate their children. According to J. E. Norris, Shenandoah Valley historian, “there was a certain stigma attached to these lower schools, not alone from the contact with poor children whose rude manners may have been entailed upon them by a drunken father or worthless mother, but from the innate Virginian idea of independence: that sense of not being dependent upon their fellow men for material support.” Arguments against reform cited cost and increased taxes, and that parents could not educate children as they wished.

An attempt to mandate a public school system during the post-War occupation of Reconstruction created intense resentment in Winchester and Frederick County. As a consequence, the community had not been receptive to the public school system mandated by the Underwood Constitution in 1869. Members of the Conservative Party that formed after the War viewed the Underwood Constitution as an instrument foisted upon the state by carpetbaggers, scalawags, and blacks. Former Confederate loyalists particularly resented carpetbaggers from the north and scalawags from the south. They were considered opportunists who wanted to exploit the defeated region. Norris asserted there had been “bitter opposition” in Virginia to public schools that many considered a carpetbagger innovation imposed by Reconstruction officials.³¹⁰

Over time, memory of the despised Reconstruction efforts faded and attitudes became more positive. Norris observed that in 1890, “The best people of the State have

³¹⁰ J. E. Norris, *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley* (Chicago: A. Warner and Co., 1890), 213.

been and are upholders of the public schools.”³¹¹ Those who supported compulsory education argued it would “abate the hostility between labor and capital.” Boosters of industrialization believed education would prepare the work force.³¹² Education was a “bulwark for property, law, and order.” The educated were more “productive and self-sufficient.”³¹³

Under the Underwood Constitution, it was left to each locality to fund and administer a school system. The Underwood Constitution began the process of moving Virginia away from local control typified by one-room schoolhouses to state central control typified by consolidated schools, mandated attendance, teacher certification, school buses, and state regulation. The advantage of locally run schools was responsiveness to the community. There were many disadvantages. Locally controlled schools were generally small and underfunded. The quality of education was limited and varied from one locality to another. Money was a big issue. Historian William Link observed, “With a low level of tax support, rural southern schools were characterized by the most ill-equipped facilities, the lowest teachers’ salaries, and the shortest terms in the nation.”³¹⁴

After adoption of the new Constitution of 1902, Virginia began improvements that many progressives advocated for the South. The Southern Education Board, a

³¹¹ Norris, *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, 213.

³¹² Don Doyle observed education of blacks should have been a “candidate for white support if only because of the economic advantage and social control schools were thought to provide.” Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 269.

³¹³ Edward Kirkland, *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860–1900* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1956), 55–57.

³¹⁴ William A. Link, *A Hard Country and a Lonely Place: Schooling, Society, and Reform in Rural Virginia, 1870–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 7.

progressive group financed by philanthropist Robert C. Ogden, joined with progressive state proponents of education improvements to form the Cooperative Education Association (CEA) to publicize the need for reform and lobby for legislation.³¹⁵ Ogden, like other Northern progressives and philanthropists who supported reform, believed community involvement, especially involvement of Southern white leaders, was essential.³¹⁶ The CEA sent speakers and distributed literature throughout the state.³¹⁷ The May Campaign of 1905 was the highpoint of CEA efforts. The group held more than 108 open meetings on public education and established fifty local leagues. The aims of the Association included a nine-month school year, well trained teachers, agricultural and industrial education, and promotion of school libraries.³¹⁸ In April 1905, Maurice Lynch, a Winchester attorney and superintendent of schools, chaired a meeting at the Frederick County courthouse to endorse the goals of the Cooperative Education Association. An all-day rally in Winchester on May 6, 1905, attracted more than 800 attendees. One speaker advocated consolidation of county schools.³¹⁹

³¹⁵ The movement began in 1898 with a meeting in Capon Springs, West Virginia. Two Winchester residents attended: Kate Conrad, a member of the prominent Conrad family, and the Presbyterian minister, Dr. Graham. Attendees discussed reform with a special focus on African American education. *Proceedings of the Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South 1898* (Raleigh: Capital Printing Co.), North Carolina Digital Repository, accessed September 30, 2010, <http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/p249901coll37&CISOPTR=3510&REC=1>.

³¹⁶ Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss, *Dangerous Donations: Southern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 49–53.

³¹⁷ Robert C. Ogden, partner of Philadelphia merchant John Wanamaker, was a benefactor of the Hampton Institute for African Americans. Historian William Link characterizes Ogden as an “intersectionalist,” part of a group that wanted to “reintegrate the South into the nation” by “fostering native white Southern leadership, working in active cooperation with northern financial power and organizational skill.” An unwritten rule, according to Link, was that Northerners, particularly philanthropists, did not involve themselves directly in Southern affairs. Link, *A Hard Country and a Lonely Place*, 81–82.

³¹⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 1, 1905.

³¹⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 6, 1905.

The grassroots approach proved effective; in 1906, the Virginia General Assembly doubled the education budget and passed the Mann High School Bill, obligating the state to pay matching funds to any district that built a high school. Over the next two years, the state increased teacher pay, passed a teacher certification law and a teacher pension law, built three female teacher colleges, lengthened the school term, improved sanitation at rural schools, gave localities the option of implementing compulsory attendance laws, and increased funding for universities. Although local control was diminished, proponents of educational improvements believed that was necessary for the greater good of the students and the community. High schools in the state increased from one in 1900 to 345 in 1909.³²⁰ From 1905 until 1911, school funding more than doubled. Despite the state's effort, Virginia was spending only about half the national average on public education in 1920.³²¹

During this period, schools slowly improved in Frederick County but substantial improvements were not made until after World War II. In 1900, most Frederick County schools were one-room schoolhouses.³²² In 1908, because of legislation by Virginia "to provide for the instruction in agriculture, domestic arts and sciences, and the manual training in public high schools," Middletown Agricultural School was built for elementary and high school students.³²³ Stephens City School was built in 1915. By 1928, of 67 schools in Frederick County, 68.2 percent were one-room schools. Consolidation

³²⁰ Ronald Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2007), 279–280.

³²¹ Jennifer Davis McDaid, "Cooperative Education Association," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed September 29, 2010, http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Cooperative_Education_Association.

³²² Maral Kalbian, *Frederick County, Virginia: History Through Architecture* (Winchester: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society Rural Landmarks Publication Committee, 1999), 102.

³²³ McDaid, "Cooperative Education Association," 50.

and larger schools were not feasible without decent roads and bus transportation. It was not until May 1949, after delays caused by the Depression and World War II, that the Frederick County Board of Supervisors began work on a consolidated high school.³²⁴ In Winchester, a number of private schools served those who could afford it³²⁵ and John Kerr School became a four-year high school in 1910 with separate classes and separate courses of study for boys and girls.³²⁶ The region had a significantly lower proportion of illiterates than the state as a whole and by 1920, both Winchester and Frederick County had reduced illiteracy. Between 1870 and 1920, the illiterate population in Virginia dropped from 32 percent to 9 percent. In Winchester and Frederick County, the illiterate population dropped from 14 percent to 4 percent.³²⁷

In the 1920s, Winchester improved education with advice and guidance from a leading organization of educational progressives. Upon his death in 1895 John Handley, a Scranton, Pennsylvania judge, left substantial funds to the city for a library and “School Houses for the Education of the Poor.” City Council appointed businessmen and professionals to the Handley Board of Trustees to manage the bequest.³²⁸ Holmes Conrad was selected president of the Board of Trustees. Winchester leaders realized the money

³²⁴ Initially Winchester, Frederick, and Clarke Counties shared a superintendent of schools, but ultimately each region had a separate school system. Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes, May 3, 1949.

³²⁵ Private schools prospered in Winchester for the remainder of the century. Many sons of Winchester’s leading citizens attended the Shenandoah Valley Academy, chartered in 1785. The school continued until 1939 when it closed for financial reasons. Three schools for girls were established in the late nineteenth century: Fairfax Hall, the Valley Female College, and the Episcopal Female Institute. All the girls’ schools closed before World War I. Shenandoah Valley Academy Records 121 THL/WFCHS; Fairfax Hall Records 480 WFCHS/THL; Episcopal Female Institute Records 156 THL/WFCHS; Valley Female College Records 319 THL/WFCHS. All are in Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

³²⁶ Garland Quarles, *The Schools of Winchester, Virginia* (Winchester: Farmers and Merchants National Bank, 1964), 57.

³²⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of the United States, 1870, 1910, 1920*.

³²⁸ Garland Quarles, *John Handley and the Handley Bequests to Winchester, Virginia* (Winchester: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1969), 79, 122.

provided the means for major enhancements to the community. Almost as soon as the Board of Trustees began its work, there were legal challenges from false heirs, executors of the will in Scranton, Winchester City Council, and others. Eventually, the Board selected New York architects J. Stewart Barney and Henry Otis Chapman, who designed an elaborate structure, and the Handley Library opened in 1913.³²⁹ When Winchester leaders began to implement the project to meet the education requirements of Handley's will, the Board again sought professional expertise. According to Lenore and Steven Ealy, because progressives valued expertise, they believed charity and the "conscientious, personal judgment" of local citizens was "ineffective" in management of philanthropic efforts³³⁰ Unlike most small towns, Winchester could afford the luxury of expertise because of Handley's generosity and the Board asked the progressive Rockefeller-funded General Education Board (GEB), based in New York, to study Winchester and help the city meet the terms of the will.

Attorney Robert Gray Williams (1878–1946) became president of the Handley Board of Trustees in 1913. His family included several generations of prominent lawyers. Williams served as city solicitor for Winchester City Council. Large corporations, including two railroads, the Northern Virginia Power Company, and Virginia Woolen Company, recognized Williams' capabilities and employed Williams as their attorney for local issues. Williams was a president of the Shenandoah National Bank, the George Washington Hotel Corporation, and a director of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone

³²⁹ "About Us," Handley Regional Library, accessed April 12, 2012, <http://www.handleyregional.org/handley/about.asp>.

³³⁰ Lenore T. Ealy and Steven D. Ealy, "Progressivism and Philanthropy," *The Good Society* 15, no. 1 (2006): 36, accessed November 2, 2011, http://muse.jhu.edu.mutex.gmu.edu/journals/good_society/v015/15.1ealy.pdf.

Company and the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company. R. Gray Williams was friend and advisor to Harry Flood Byrd and eventually became a regent of the University of Virginia.³³¹ Williams served as president of the Board of Trustees until 1940.³³² His first task was obtaining the money from the executors of the estate in Scranton. Handley's will stated the bulk of his estate should not be available until 20 years after his death. Most of the estate was not cash, but property in Scranton managed by the executors. After much haggling, litigation against the executors, and the sale of the property, the money was available.

Business leaders supported use of the prominent progressive organization, the General Education Board (GEB) of New York, to analyze needs and produce a plan. The GEB Board began by conducting a survey that indicated jobs of most adults in Winchester did not require advanced education. The 156 professionals identified by the Survey included clergymen, dentists, doctors, lawyers, and teachers who probably had college degrees. Other categories included managers, public service employees, bankers, brokers, and retail dealers, at least some of whom had degrees. There were educated individuals in other categories and some women who stayed at home were educated. A

³³¹ R. Gray Williams' grandfather, Philip Williams II (1802–1868), was the first member of the family in Winchester in 1834. His law practice included appearances before the United States Supreme Court. His son, John James Williams (1842–1899), served on the City Council and as mayor for four terms. His sons, Philip Williams III (1888–1942) and Robert Gray (1878–1946), were active lawyers and civic leaders. Philip Williams III became judge of the circuit court. Garland Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives* (Winchester: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1988), 245–249.

³³² Patricia Ritchie, *The Handley Regional Library: The First One Hundred Years*, (Ann Arbor: Sheridan Books, 2012), 53.

reasonable assumption is that no more than 600 individuals or 9 percent of the population had college degrees.³³³

Williams directed the General Education Board to develop a plan for the Handley Fund. Throughout the planning process, Williams kept the GEB aware of issues and his own views. The most sensitive issue was location of the school. Williams favored a site of 100 acres on the southern edge of Winchester owned by the Board of Trustees. Another more centrally located property was a viable contender for the school's location, but Williams pressed the GEB to recommend the site he favored to add the weight of expert opinion to that option. The GEB report recommended the Handley funds be used for public education. This recommendation did not strictly conform to Handley's will since public education would benefit all, not just the poor, as Handley had specified. The Handley Board and the Winchester City Council agreed the Handley funds would build two schools, one for white children and one for "colored" children.

The community did not accept the progressive plan with overwhelming approbation. City Council members worried about the long-term cost of maintenance to the city. Citizens, particularly in the north end of town, opposed the location because of concern for the distance children needed to walk. Kenneth Rose, a recent assistant director of the Rockefeller Archives Center, asserts their "arguments were tinged with class resentments, anger at the Handley Board's apparent arrogance and refusal to

³³³ The GEB study reported 623 individuals in the 19–24 age group. Based on this, an average of 103 students should have graduated from high school each year. The city high school graduation class had 68 students in 1927 and 67 in 1929, indicating a high school graduation rate around 65 percent. *The Handley Fund, Winchester, Va.; A Report to the Board of Handley Trustees* (New York: General Education Board, 1918), accessed February 6, 2014, <https://archive.org/details/handleyfundwinch00gene>; *Handley High School Yearbooks, 1927, 1929*.

accommodate local concerns, implications that the plan favored some parts of the town over others, and suggestions that the proposed Handley school was far too extravagant.”³³⁴ Public dissatisfaction was intense and in April 1920, residents of the north end presented a petition to City Council protesting the recommendation for a school for African Americans in their neighborhood. City Council members, ever sensitive to voter opinion, had second thoughts. The criticism from City Council was not that the plans were not good enough, but that they might be too good and beyond the ability of the community to maintain. Five Council members signed a letter to the Trustees expressing concern the planned school would “place our community in an irredeemable position and commit it to further grievous taxes.” They recommended cost-cutting ideas: eliminate “non-essential” courses of study, hire a smaller teaching force, consider Winchester residents’ needs alone (but do not rule out outsider attendance), change building requirements to the irreducible minimum, and sell building lots on the property. They also asked renewed consideration for a north end school for whites.³³⁵ However, Williams and the Trustees did not waiver. The south end site prevailed. The Trustees later allocated funds for Virginia Avenue Elementary School for whites in the north end of Winchester, which opened in 1931.

The highly respected General Education Board conducted the project with a classic progressive approach: gathering facts, testing students, and conducting a survey before making recommendations. In using this organization, R. Gray Williams had made

³³⁴ Kenneth W. Rose, “The Problematic Legacy of Judge John Handley: R. Gray Williams, The General Education Board, and Progressive Education in Winchester, Virginia, 1895–1924,” *Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society Journal* 25 (2003): 38.

³³⁵ Winchester City Council, April 9, 1920.

every effort to create an up-to-date and progressive institution by the standards of the day. Williams might be faulted for refusal to bend to objections about the school's location; on the other hand, a significant change would have meant delay and considerable revamping of plans. Williams was a sophisticated lawyer and his correspondence with the GEB revealed he anticipated objections. Williams explained his views in a letter to the *Journal of Education*: "if Winchester established two white schools "the plan for a superior school for white children and a superior school for colored children could not be realized."³³⁶ In the long run, Handley School for whites was a successful addition to the community and the impressive school building is now on the National Register of Historic Places.

In Winchester and Frederick County, as throughout the South, progressive reformers maintained segregation and as might be expected, separate but unequal was the result. Nevertheless, for African American citizens in Winchester and Frederick County, the opening of Douglas School in 1927 represented significant progress.³³⁷ The black community greeted the new school with approval since it was a vast improvement over the existing overcrowded facility. However, discrimination was endemic. In November 1917, the School Board approved a request to match a mere fifteen dollars raised by blacks for library materials. The following year, the Douglas School Principal, Professor Powell Gibson, requested permission to teach high school subjects. (Evidently high school subjects were not taught to African Americans prior to this time.) The Board gave

³³⁶ R. Gray Williams, letter, *Journal of Education* 92, no. 12 (October 7, 1920): 328, accessed July 5, 2014, http://books.google.com/books?id=PQIdAQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

³³⁷ Douglas School was named for Frederick Douglass. The spelling of the name remains etymologically controversial. Many graduates prefer the old spelling they used when they attended school. Others would like to change the spelling to correctly represent the name of Frederick Douglass.

permission to do so provided the additional work did not interfere with the duties of Professor Gibson. In June 1919, Gibson requested reimbursement for his expenses to study at the University of Pennsylvania. The Board appropriated the funds on condition that Gibson returned to Winchester to teach. In 1922, the Board reviewed a petition from black citizens to provide Latin instruction in the tenth grade. This request was refused.³³⁸ The School Board must have thought Latin was impractical for African Americans.³³⁹ Professor Gibson, a respected black citizen, received a reasonably fair hearing to his requests. Of course, he should have not have had to request what was routinely provided for whites.

Because local initiative and local resources alone did not achieve the improvements, funds from the Handley bequest and direction and funds from the state were crucial. When Virginia initiated reforms, the state usually provided financial support to the localities. The reforms, like most progressive reforms in the South, retained racial segregation. By 1950, state funding for education was essential in Winchester and Frederick County. Along with state funding came mandates, regulations, requirements, and monitoring. As a consequence, local control of education was reduced. Despite the loss of local control, the region achieved significant improvements in education. Although Winchester and Frederick County School Boards managed many aspects of school operations, they did so within the constraints of state requirements, since the state

³³⁸ Winchester City School Board Minutes, Winchester City School Records, 1917–1922, passim, 581 THL, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

³³⁹ The petition to teach Latin reflects the thinking of W. E. B. Dubois who favored traditional academic education for African Americans. (This was in contrast to Booker T. Washington’s support of practical education.) Dubois, and apparently Gibson, believed a classical education was the basis for future leadership.

provided a substantial portion of education monies. Virginia provided 44 percent of the Frederick County School Budget for the 1941–1942 school year, and provided 45 percent for the 1950–1951 school year.³⁴⁰ State regulations were not onerous and there can be little doubt that, both for the community and the state, education improved.

IV. HEALTH AND WELFARE

Between 1900 and 1950, progressive leaders supported improvements in health care and welfare in Winchester and Frederick County through a mix of private, state, and federal government initiatives. At the beginning of the century, health care and welfare facilities as well as regulations and standards were minimal. In health care, state regulations involved restrictions, monitoring, testing, and regulations to reduce health risks. The most important private initiative was establishment of the Winchester Memorial Hospital which improved health care for the surrounding region and added to the “up-to-date and progressive” image of the community. State health reforms included strengthening local boards of health, improving hospitals, food and dairy inspection laws, health and sanitation codes, improving sewer systems, banning livestock in urban areas, and closing red light districts.³⁴¹ Welfare reform began with an interest in improving prisons and matured as Virginia implemented the programs of the New Deal. Winchester and Frederick County increased dependency on state and federal programs and funding for welfare to meet the needs of the Depression.

³⁴⁰ Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes 1941, 221; Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes 1950, 384.

³⁴¹ Dotson, “Progressive Movement in Virginia.”

Many Winchester and Frederick County citizens resisted intrusive and regulated health care at the turn of the century. Several incidents illustrate the health capabilities, practices, and attitudes of citizens. A smallpox vaccine had been available but not required since late colonial times; however, inoculation was feared and avoided by some.³⁴² Epidemics were serious dangers and Winchester and Frederick County maintained a “pest house” where patients could be quarantined. On January 1, 1903, the Frederick County Health Board received a report of smallpox in Frederick County. Two members of the County Health Board visited the man and verified the smallpox. The patient was quarantined, and a guard placed over the house. No one was “allowed to leave the premises nor [was] anyone permitted to come near the house.” Officials urged vaccinations and stated the City would pay for those who could not afford it. The smallpox victim was African American, and Winchester doctors eventually issued a statement that “no colored person” was allowed to travel between Winchester and Stephens City. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad should be asked “to refuse to sell tickets to colored persons between these points.” The Mayor of Winchester should instruct police to arrest violators.³⁴³ Authorities continued to urge vaccination although inoculations were not mandated.³⁴⁴ In another incident, in April 1903 a young man, Randolph Russell, developed a mild case of smallpox. Authorities took Russell to a

³⁴² In 1905, the Board of Supervisors paid Dr. Goner for “disinfecting quarantine,” Dr. Stickley for “quarantine station services,” and the Kuhn Fumigating Quarantine Company for a generator. (The generator was used to introduce formaldehyde gas for room disinfection.) *Winchester Evening Star*, September 28, 1905.

³⁴³ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 30, 1903.

³⁴⁴ Ironically, a local woman sentenced to the penitentiary had to remain in the local jail because the penitentiary was under quarantine. She eventually had 51 days deducted from her penitentiary sentence. *Winchester Evening Star*, February 3, 1903; Virginia General Assembly, Senate, *Journal of the Senate of Virginia 1904, Senate Document No. II 16*, Google Books, accessed September 21, 2010, http://books.google.com/books?id=IRYSAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

detention camp surrounded by a barbed wire fence. Guards prevented anyone from approaching the camp. The camp provided meals and Dr. William McGuire visited regularly. James Fleet, “an immune,” was installed as nurse. Russell was never sick; his only symptom was a rash. The authorities quarantined and fumigated Russell’s home and closed his father’s store. The father expected “the city to reimburse him for the amount of goods he has lost.” When the patient was declared cured, clothing and camp equipment were burned.³⁴⁵

Serious mental illness sometimes required official attention, particularly when the family could not or would not deal with the affected individual. In 1905, Frederick County incurred costs for “Examination of Lunatics,” covering fees to doctors and public officials.³⁴⁶ In 1915, costs were incurred for a “lunacy commission,” apparently associated with admission to the state mental hospital.³⁴⁷

October 1918 was a time of suffering and fear as Winchester and Frederick County citizens coped with illness and death from the influenza epidemic. Several hundred soldiers came to the region to assist with the apple harvest, and influenza developed within this group and spread to the community. Only three physicians were available because of the loss of medical personnel to military service. Schools closed for several weeks and churches were urged not to hold religious services. Board of Health Spokesman Dr. Charles Anderson ordered stores to close early to minimize contagion. Mrs. H. D. Fuller of the District Nurse Association issued a call for women volunteers to

³⁴⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 22, 1903; April 24, 1903; April 29, 1903.

³⁴⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 28, 1905.

³⁴⁷ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 19, 1915.

assist in nursing and cooking for the sick.³⁴⁸ In an unusual response to the disease, state Prohibition authorities ordered the release of confiscated liquor “held by authorities of Winchester for the use of patients in the hospital.” It was believed whiskey and quinine were the “best remedy” in the treatment of influenza under certain conditions. In nearby Martinsburg, undertakers were short of caskets.³⁴⁹ By mid-October, Virginia had seen more than 200,000 cases of influenza. By the end of the year, more than 15,000 Virginians had died.³⁵⁰

Sanitation issues became critical as population grew in Winchester. In 1908, Virginia created a Department of Health and two years later the state created a Bureau of Sanitary Engineering to deal with water and sewage issues and to “adopt, promulgate, and enforce rules and regulations for the protection of the public health.”³⁵¹ Winchester’s first City Manager Report identified a Health Department with several physicians, a Sanitary Inspector, and a Meat and Milk Inspector.³⁵² Winchester City Council received monthly reports on health issues dealing with free ranging livestock, slaughter houses, meat butchering, meat inspections, and sanitation. In the mid-1930s, Council passed an

³⁴⁸ Reaction to contagion was not always reasonable. The *Winchester Evening Star* reported on October 11 that Abe Jasper, “a Hagerstown Negro” was “sentenced to six months on state roads” because Jasper “brought a colored woman here in an automobile who was infected with smallpox.” Jasper was charged with “bringing into the state an infectious disease and spreading it in this section.” *Winchester Evening Star*, October 11, 1918.

³⁴⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, October 15, 1918; October 16, 1918.

³⁵⁰ Mike Leavitt, “That Great Pandemic Also Touched Virginia,” Opening Remarks for Pandemic Planning Virginia State Summit, March 23, 2006, accessed July 16, 2009, <http://www.pandemicflu.gov/general/greatpandemic3.html#va>. Leavitt was secretary of Health and Human Services.

³⁵¹ “About Us,” Virginia Department of Health, accessed April 19, 2012, <http://www.vdh.state.va.us/odw/AboutUs.htm>.

³⁵² “First Annual Report of the City Manager.”

ordinance to provide an isolated location in the city for a slaughter house.³⁵³ After the opening of the Virginia Woolen Company, water pollution became an issue.³⁵⁴ Frederick County Supervisors dealt with health issues on an ad hoc basis until 1949 when the Board of Supervisors established a Health Department.³⁵⁵

One area of improvement that was almost entirely local in nature was the establishment of the Winchester Memorial Hospital. Winchester had a long tradition in medicine dominated by physicians from the McGuire family, some of whom achieved national reputations. Hugh Holmes McGuire established a medical college in Winchester that was burned by the Union army in 1862. Dr. Hunter Holmes McGuire was the first president of the Winchester Memorial Hospital and Dr. William P. McGuire was later president of the Board of Directors of the Hospital. Both achieved national reputations and served as presidents of the American Ophthalmology Society.³⁵⁶ Funding came from individual contributions, not government. Winchester and Frederick County business and agricultural leaders were supportive; although some residents of Frederick County termed the hospital a “slaughter house.”³⁵⁷ Philanthropists provided start-up funds.³⁵⁸ Another

³⁵³ Winchester City Council Minutes, December 1934; January 15, 1935.

³⁵⁴ “First Annual Report of the City Manager.”

³⁵⁵ Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes, September 14, 1949.

³⁵⁶ Hugh and his son, Hunter Holmes (1835–1900), both served as physicians in the Confederate army. Another son, William P. McGuire (1846–1926), was captured and imprisoned. After the war, William became a physician and practiced in Winchester. Hugh Holmes McGuire was president of the American College of Surgeons. Hunter Holmes McGuire was president of the American Medical Association and American Surgical Association, and founder of the University College of Medicine in Richmond. Garland Quarles, *Some Worthy Lives*, 155–163; Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, vol. 5 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company 1915), 584–586. Google Books, accessed September 28, 2010,

http://books.google.com/books?id=jzoUAAAAYAAJ&vq=mcguire+winchester&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

³⁵⁷ Rebecca Ebert and Teresa Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia, From the Frontier to the Future* (Norfolk: The Donning Company, 1988), 144.

³⁵⁸ Donors included Charles Rouss, two New York women who had lived in Clarke County, and donors of smaller amounts. Colonel William Byrd, uncle of Harry Byrd, had offered \$5,000 for a hospital in 1897 if

source of funds was a performance of *Imogene of the Witch's Secret* by the Occidental Dramatic Club, "an organization composed entirely of colored local talent." The lower part of the auditorium was reserved for white people, while "colored spectators occupied the galleries." The *Winchester Evening Star* summed up their positive review, "This was the first time that a colored organization has given a charity function in aid of a white institution here and it was also the first local colored theatricals [sic] to be presented at the Auditorium."³⁵⁹

The hospital opened in March 1903 with "operating, anesthetizing and sterilizing rooms," a laboratory and drug room, twelve private rooms, and a twenty-four-bed ward.³⁶⁰ The hospital had separate white and "colored" charity wards and provided nurses' training. In 1906, there were eleven doctors on the staff. The Hospital had Medical and Surgical Departments; Eye, Ear, and Throat Departments; plus X-ray, Pathology, and Bacteriological Departments. President Dr. Hunter Holmes McGuire believed the Hospital would always need donations. After the Hospital bore costs of indigent patients, McGuire encouraged a petition to the City Council for an appropriation.³⁶¹ (In later years, both Winchester and Frederick County provided funds for charity patients.) The hospital was seriously damaged by fire in 1924 but quickly

the city would match the funds, but opposition was so strong at that time that his offer was withdrawn. However, Byrd later provided a large sum for nurses' housing. "A Healthy History: Winchester Medical Center Celebrates 100 Years," Winchester Medical Center Records, 1626 THL, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

³⁵⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 29, 1903.

³⁶⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 14, 1903.

³⁶¹ "Report of the Winchester Memorial Hospital for the Three Years Ending March 1 1906," Winchester Medical Center Records, 1626 THL, Handley Archives, Winchester, VA.

rebuilt with a generous gift from a philanthropist.³⁶² During the Depression, the hospital reported a deficit, attributing the difficulty to the “charity and no-pay patients.”³⁶³ The hospital had at least four major expansions by 1953 when it gained a five-story addition and reached a capacity of 300 beds.³⁶⁴

Before the 1930s, welfare, like medical care, was a local concern and not a major priority of civic leaders. As a consequence, public welfare was inadequate. Attitudes changed because of the Depression, when the community supported a progressive approach to welfare and strengthened government involvement as it accepted federal relief programs and aid. State reform of welfare began with a gathering of concerned citizens at a State Conference on Charities and Corrections. Supporters planned to educate the public to a “proper conception of the needs of the delinquent, dependent, and defective classes.” They advocated consolidation and centralization of welfare services, creation of a state bureaucracy to deal with welfare matters, and “preventive social work.”³⁶⁵ In Winchester and Frederick County, there was no systematic approach to welfare and no standards. The poor received some assistance from churches and individuals. Both the Winchester City Council and the Frederick County Board of Supervisors provided direct funds to the poor, apparently upon the requests of needy individuals, churches, or other institutions. In 1905, without concern for confidentiality,

³⁶² *Winchester Evening Star*, September 27, 1948.

³⁶³ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 15, 1903.

³⁶⁴ “Healthy History: Winchester Medical Center Celebrates 100 Years,” Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, March 14, 2003.

³⁶⁵ Joseph Mastin, a Richmond clergyman, pressed for elimination of “costly almshouses” and prison reform. Virginia created a Board of Charities and Corrections in 1908 and Mastin eventually became a leader of the Board. Raymond Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse 1870–1930* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 146–147.

the “County Receipts and Expenses” Report of the Board of Supervisors that appeared in the *Winchester Evening Star* contained two lists of paupers and the amount provided to each person. Each list had about twenty names. Many names appeared on both lists. Amounts are miniscule, ranging from \$1.00 to \$20.00. Undoubtedly purchases were made or specific bills were paid. It is likely payments were for either groceries or heating fuel.³⁶⁶

Winchester and Frederick County jointly supported a poor house or “Parish Farm.” In the South, the poor house remained a feature of public welfare until the 1930s, although its use declined after the Civil War when Virginia began to develop specialized institutions for the mentally ill and other groups such as orphans. In 1850, the Frederick County Poor Farm had forty-one residents; by 1926 there were only eight inmates. The Poor House was one of the few integrated facilities: residents were black and white, male and female, young and old. The Poor House closed in 1947.³⁶⁷ The County Board of Supervisors provided funds for salary for the superintendent, supplies, and fertilizer. Residents were expected to work if they were able. The County paid a “Parish Physician” to treat the indigent at the Poor Farm and received funds from Winchester for use of the facility. In addition, once the hospital was established, the County provided funds to the hospital for charity patients.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ Some payments were odd amounts, e.g. \$2.59 and 1.45, and were probably payment for food. *Winchester Evening Star*, September 28, 1905.

³⁶⁷ Frederick County Poor Farm, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Section 8, accessed May 3, 2010, http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/register/Counties/Frederick/034-0099_Frederick_County_Poor_Farm_1993_Final_Nomination.pdf.

³⁶⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 19, 1915.

As late as the 1930s, many in Winchester and Frederick County retained traditional attitudes that distinguished between the deserving and undeserving poor.³⁶⁹ The crux of the distinction was perceived ability and willingness to work. Those who could work but did not were the undeserving poor and not worthy of charity. “Both groups might be helped by living in poorhouses: the deserving poor would be protected and the undeserving might be reformed.”³⁷⁰ For Progressives, charity was an ineffective system for dealing with poverty rooted in economic and social injustice. Progressives considered charity “unsystematic, temporary, and superficial” and believed it did not address the “root causes of the problems.” Some thought charity left the recipients dependent on handouts. In addition, reformers felt there was duplication and waste in charitable care of the poor. Progressive solutions moved toward “professional administration of welfare by civil servants.”³⁷¹

During the Depression of the 1930s, there was an increased focus on welfare and local civic leaders obtained funding from the federal government to provide agricultural assistance, jobs in work programs, and other aid. For Winchester and Frederick County, the advent of the Great Depression was not Wall Street’s Black Tuesday in 1929 but the severe drought of 1930 that was so devastating an estimated 1,500 citizens attended a “prayer for rain service” in front of the county courthouse.³⁷² Historian Ronald Heinemann concluded the Depression in Virginia was relatively mild and asserted the

³⁶⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 8, 1935; May 6, 1935.

³⁷⁰ Frederick County Poor Farm, Registration Form.

³⁷¹ Lenore T. Ealy and Steven D. Ealy, “Progressivism and Philanthropy,” *The Good Society* 15, no. 1 (2006): 36, accessed November 2, 2011, http://muse.jhu.edu.mutex.gmu.edu/journals/good_society/v015/15.1ealy.pdf.

³⁷² Clay Carr, *A Time to Remember, 1927–1945*, no publisher, 21.

depression's effects were moderated because Virginia's economy was "well balanced between agriculture, manufacturing, and trade." Virginia had a high percentage of subsistence farmers and federal money aided the state's economy in the Washington and Norfolk areas. Subsistence farmers could weather the Depression years more easily than commercial farmers or those dependent on salaries. Federal government jobs reduced the impact of the Depression in the state's urban regions. Nevertheless, Virginia had an increased need for both direct relief and work programs.³⁷³ Virginia's response to the Depression was influenced by the fiscal conservatism of Harry Byrd who favored retrenchment and expense cutting as solutions rather than welfare. Byrd, as US Senator, strongly opposed many New Deal spending programs including Social Security because they would "levy an impossible burden on the states"³⁷⁴ and Virginia did not participate in the Social Security program until 1938.

The Depression was less severe in Winchester and Frederick County than in many areas. Data for the average number of persons on relief in the mid-thirties compared to the 1930 population showed Virginia was well below the US monthly average, and Winchester and Frederick County fared even better. In Virginia, the monthly average of residents on relief was 8.6 percent. In Winchester and Frederick County, the monthly average was 4.7 percent.³⁷⁵

Winchester citizens benefited from New Deal programs, especially the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its successor, the Works Progress Administration.

³⁷³ Heinemann, *Depression and New Deal in Virginia*, passim.

³⁷⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 25, 1935.

³⁷⁵ Heinemann, *Depression and New Deal in Virginia*, 202–204.

The City Council considered various projects to provide jobs. One of the most promising projects was a National Guard armory. The Council reviewed sites and considered providing some funding for the project. The armory was not completed until 1943.³⁷⁶ In September 1935, the Board of Supervisors approved applications to the Works Progress Administration for \$34,000 to eradicate cedars (cedar rust harmed apples) and for a Clerk's Office and a County Market House and store.³⁷⁷ In a project more suited to women, "unemployed clerical workers took surveys to improve city planning, and reduce crime and disease rates."³⁷⁸ Projects in 1935 included a "water works," landscaping of Handley School, street and road work, and landscaping for a proposed County school. The federal government contributed \$19,978 and the locality contributed \$11,750 for the projects.³⁷⁹ During the 1930s, both Winchester and Frederick County hired staff to administer relief.

Farmers programs were overseen by the County Agent, a government professional. Agent I. Fred Stine reported in 1935, "The flare-back from the drought and depression has made a very serious effect on the apple industry... Hundreds of trees have died and scores of others are suffering from lack of attention. Depleted working capital and other causes are responsible for the condition."³⁸⁰ Some Frederick County farmers participated in the contract program under the Agricultural Adjustment Act by reducing production in return for federal payments. Local farmers met in 1935 to discuss whether they would continue in the program. After a meeting of the corn and hog

³⁷⁶ Winchester City Council Minutes, January 3, 1935, and subsequent minutes throughout 1935.

³⁷⁷ Board of Supervisors Minutes, September 3, 1935.

³⁷⁸ Heinemann, *Depression and New Deal in Virginia*, 94–95.

³⁷⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 19, 1935.

³⁸⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 29, 1935.

program committee, the *Winchester Evening Star* lauded the “accomplishments of the adjustment program in the administration of the work by duly elected farmers.”³⁸¹ Stine reported other efforts to assist farmers including pruning and fertilizer demonstrations, experimental plots for fertilizer, soil samples, and distribution of poison mouse bait. Agent Stine helped the State Horticultural Society recruit members and form a “production credit union.” The County Agent assisted farmers with loan applications, obtaining thirty-two loans. When loans could not be obtained because of “insufficient security,” Stine’s office arranged emergency loans and forty-five farmers qualified because of “good character.” The Agent distributed cattle to nineteen farmers, arranged for excess pigs to be turned over to the poor, and distributed seed to the needy. Stine also reported 4-H activities, efforts at reforestation, assistance with farm accounting practices, and locating a market for walnuts.³⁸²

Because of a potential relief crisis, Winchester leaders organized a community project that illustrated their progressive mindset. In 1935, City Manager Arthur Field warned of a relief crisis if an expected withdrawal of federal funds occurred. Winchester citizens responded quickly and representatives of charitable organizations asked the City Council to create a welfare department and to appoint an advisory board to determine policies. Council established the Welfare Advisory Board with H. B. McCormac, head of the Virginia Woolen Mill, as chairman. The Board began with a study of current welfare organizations and found duplication of effort.³⁸³ Within weeks, the Welfare Advisory

³⁸¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 6, 1935; March 8, 1935.

³⁸² *Winchester Evening Star*, January 29, 1935.

³⁸³ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 8, 1935.

Board announced plans, recruited volunteers, and organized a fund drive. Volunteers canvassed individuals and businesses in the community in a four-day drive in mid-May. The goal of the campaign was relief for eighty-six families where there was no possibility of employment on federal projects by a breadwinner. Community support was not universal. There was a strong belief in the work ethic along with the traditional conviction that charity should be reserved for the deserving poor. Some who refused to contribute claimed that “some persons are taking advantage of relief.” Relief workers tried to reassure the nonbelievers, “All cases have been thoroughly investigated by local workers.” The leaders of the relief campaign reiterated several times that those who would receive funds had been identified and screened to ensure the beneficiaries were families where no breadwinner could work. Despite these objections, the drive was successful.³⁸⁴

Leaders understood informal ways of dealing with the poor were no longer adequate and sought a solution that demonstrated bureaucratic sophistication as well as belief in systematic and organized techniques. Within weeks, they quickly recruited volunteers for key roles in the campaign, set up the Welfare Advisory Board, and named a planning committee with a City Council member. They gathered data, performed a needs analysis, investigated potential cases for relief, selected key personnel, and set detailed and specific goals. No doubt past experience with formal and ad hoc organizations such as the relief activities during World War I and the Apple Blossom Festival prepared the way for the quick formation of the new organization. The fund

³⁸⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 16, 1935; May 15, 1935.

drive demonstrated a modern and organized approach to problem solving. Both Winchester and Frederick County hired professionals to administer relief. The Winchester City Council approved a Director of Welfare and selected Nannie Keating as acting director. Her duties included investigating cases “to determine if they are deserving.” In addition, the *Star* reported procedures were in place to eliminate “duplication and high overhead.”³⁸⁵ Another change was entry of women into responsible roles in both the city and county, particularly in areas like welfare. The creation of the position of Welfare Director represented a bureaucratic resolution of a civic problem and illustrated the progressive belief in expertise.

Despite the willingness of local citizens to cope with local needs, aid from outside the community was crucial in dealing with the Depression. By 1950, most funding for welfare in Winchester and Frederick County came from the federal or state governments. In 1941, Frederick County received 72 percent of funding for the welfare budget from either the state or federal government and in 1950, the County received 78 percent of welfare funds from outside the County.³⁸⁶ The extent of outside funding indicated the region’s welfare efforts were guided by the outside governments.

V. INFRASTRUCTURE AND TRANSPORTATION

Winchester and Frederick County business and agricultural leaders recognized infrastructure improvements could add to the image of an up-to-date and progressive community. They supported improvement of highways, public buildings, and other

³⁸⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 25, 1935.

³⁸⁶ Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes 1941, 221; Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes 1950, 384.

components of infrastructure—visible signs of the community’s “devotion to efficiency” and “optimistic belief in the desirability of material progress.”³⁸⁷ Leaders believed the region’s image should elicit confidence.

Winchester government improved and modernized city infrastructure during this period with support from philanthropists. In the 1890s, with contributions from the wealthy Charles Rouss, Winchester constructed a new Fire Hall with an elaborate stenciled banquet room.³⁸⁸ Rouss also provided funds for a “water works.”³⁸⁹ The system had “fourteen miles of piping,” and a “filtration and disposal plant.” Private enterprise brought electricity to Winchester and citizens made frequent requests to Council for street lamps. Telephones were available in 1896.³⁹⁰ Around the turn of the century, Council meetings were held at the Market House, an older building without modern conveniences. Winchester wanted a council chamber, offices, and an auditorium. Charles Rouss offered funding and the Frederick County Board of Supervisors agreed the city could build on the Market House space.³⁹¹ In 1900, the City Hall, with a theater on the top floor, was built on the site of the Market House. John Handley’s will had provided for a library.

³⁸⁷ James Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 2.

³⁸⁸ “Rouss Fire Company,” accessed November 17, 2011, http://roussfirecompany.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=5.

³⁸⁹ “Winchester has the Only Really Sanitary Sewerage System in Virginia,” Supplement, *Winchester Evening Star*, November 24, 1914.

³⁹⁰ J. W. Lattig, “Telephone Development in Pennsylvania and Maryland,” *American Telephone Journal* VI (December 13, 1902): 374, accessed October 12, 2010, Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=8jspAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

³⁹¹ The agreement required sensitive negotiations. Mr. Rouss’s architect insisted he needed four feet more than the County agreed to and Rouss supported him. The County disagreed, but Winchester began tearing up the pavement in the disputed area. An injunction to stop the work was followed by a court hearing which the city won. This was appealed to a higher court (in 1889) and the County won. Discussions continued. Finally in 1899, agreement was reached. This long disagreement over the hitching yard was a rare instance of serious contention between the two governments, although the County seemed sensitive to the risk of losing the Rouss gift. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, 223-227.

Completed in 1913, the building was pronounced “a model for its time” of Beaux Arts classicism with a dome, colonnades, esplanades, five levels of glass-floored stacks, and two spiral staircases.³⁹² Rouss and Handley’s largess provided Winchester and Frederick County with exceptional buildings that sent a message: The community was “wide awake and progressive.”

Unlike improvements in infrastructure, transportation improvements required state initiative and funding. Local progressive businessmen and farmers strongly supported transportation improvements since poor roads hindered economic development and limited tourism. At the start of the twentieth century, road maintenance in Virginia was “under local control, with each city, town, or county responsible for its district.” The results made travel “difficult under the best circumstances and nearly impossible in inclement weather.” Proponents of improvements argued upgrading roads made travel more efficient, fostered economic development, and increased school attendance. Streets and roads were a primary and constant local government concern. The Winchester City Council had some difficulty getting on top of the problem and citizens frequently requested paving and street repair. Automobiles appeared in Virginia in 1889. In 1906, the General Assembly created the State Highway Commission to develop and maintain roads and allocated state funds for construction and maintenance.³⁹³

Farmers’ and businessmen’s interests in highways supplanted an interest in rail transportation as the twentieth century progressed and the automobile became more

³⁹² “Handley Library,” Virginia Main Street Communities, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/vamainstreet/han.htm>.

³⁹³ Dotson, “Progressive Movement in Virginia.”

ubiquitous. Winchester's crossroads location was an important advantage. The community was well positioned to benefit from automobile and truck transportation although there were minor railroad improvements during this time period. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad initiated one project in 1916. When the War in Europe caused increased traffic on American railroads, "accelerated demand" developed for "railroad ties, bridge timber, and other lumber." The Baltimore and Ohio planned to open a large sawmill in the Frederick County town of Gore³⁹⁴ and created the Winchester and Western Railroad to serve the operation.

Transportation boosters realized it was nearly impossible for county governments to build and maintain roads and concluded it should be a state and federal highway responsibility. Building roads required expertise and the ability to coordinate among jurisdictions and was very expensive. In 1915, Lucien Lupton was president of the Good Roads Association of Virginia and urged a special session of the Virginia legislature to obtain funding for road construction.³⁹⁵ In Winchester and Frederick County, the Valley Road of colonial times was known as the Valley Pike and was an important highway for north-south traffic. In 1908, at age 21, Harry Byrd became president of the Valley Turnpike Company, a toll road, and began a long interest in improving Virginia highways. By 1910, under Byrd's guidance, the macadam-surfaced Valley Pike was one

³⁹⁴ The road was not completed until 1921. Traffic included a passenger "rail-bus" that had a bus body on a truck chassis with "flanged iron tires." Lawrence Winnemore, *Winchester & Western Railroad* (Washington, DC Chapter, Inc. National Railway Historical Society, Bulletin No 3, 1975), 1.

³⁹⁵ Memorial by Herbert Larrick, "Report of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Session of the Virginia State Horticultural Society, November 30-December 1 and 2 1920," 45-55, *Virginia Fruit* IX, no. 2, Google Books; accessed June 30, 2014, http://books.google.com/books?id=XXo1AQAAMAAJ&dq=lucien+lupton+horticulture&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

of Virginia's best roads.³⁹⁶ This was not high praise since Virginia's (and most of the South's) roads were inadequate. Byrd found tolls were not sufficient to pay for repairs necessitated by automobile traffic. Byrd eventually concluded "pay as you go" would not work with toll revenue and favored converting the Valley Pike into a free state-maintained road. At the same time, there was a "national movement for federal aid to states to improve highways."³⁹⁷ Virginia eventually took over the Valley Pike and the Winchester City Council turned city stock in the Valley Turnpike over to the state.³⁹⁸ The road is now Route 11.³⁹⁹ As governor and senator, Byrd became one of the chief promoters of better state roads. Historian Karl Raitz viewed the move to state maintenance as part of "attitudes that required acceptance of the Progressive Era notion that the social, economic, and political ills brought on by a rapidly evolving industrial culture could be best dealt with by honest and efficient government that based its policy and decisions on research and applied science." At the state or national level, "the power of taxation and the science of road engineering could be institutionalized."⁴⁰⁰

The automobile helped restore the transportation advantage Winchester lost to Roanoke; Cumberland, Maryland; and Martinsburg, West Virginia during the late nineteenth century. Winchester again became the gateway to the Shenandoah Valley.

Automobiles transformed every aspect of life in Winchester and Frederick County from

³⁹⁶ Karl Raitz, "U.S. 11 and a Modern Geography of Culture and Connection," in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia*, eds. Warren Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 241.

³⁹⁷ Kenneth Keller, "The Best Thoroughfare in the South," in *Great Valley Road*, 178.

³⁹⁸ Winchester City Council Minutes, April 23, 1918.

³⁹⁹ There was some local opposition to state road building. Stanley Willis observed that Shenandoah Valley counties, including Frederick County, "already enjoyed good roads and suspected they would be taxed to pay for highways built elsewhere." Stanley Willis, "To Lead Virginia out of the Mud: Financing the Old Dominion's Public Roads, 1922-1924," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 94, no. 4 (October, 1986): 428, accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4248911>.

⁴⁰⁰ Raitz, "U.S. 11 and a Modern Geography of Culture and Connection," *Great Valley Road*, 244-245.

visiting friends to transporting wool, grain, and apples.⁴⁰¹ By 1928, the Virginia Woolen Company no longer needed to transport goods to rival city Martinsburg for rail shipment but could send ten to twelve truckloads a day to New York using a local trucking company, Novick Transfer.⁴⁰²

A further demonstration that leaders understood transportation capability added to the community's image was construction of the Bowles airport in 1927. The airport was renamed Admiral Byrd field in 1931 in honor of Richard Byrd, the explorer and brother of Harry Byrd. In 1936, a larger facility was constructed.⁴⁰³ In addition, an air show was part of the Apple Blossom Festival from the early years. Today, the airport is used primarily for general aviation with about one hundred flights a day.⁴⁰⁴

VI. CONCLUSION

This chapter argues that between 1900 and 1950, although there had been resistance on the part of some citizens, leaders took advantage of fortuitous philanthropic bequests, technological improvements, and state and federal programs to make progressive changes to improve the community and benefit the economy. The initiative of local leaders like Dr. Hunter McGuire and Gray Williams, combined with philanthropy and government support, resulted in expansion of government and improvements in education, health, welfare, and transportation. Leaders guided changes to improve the

⁴⁰¹ Oddly, the City Council recorded the charge for every automobile license in their Minutes well into the 1920s. Winchester City Council Minutes, 1917–1925, *passim*.

⁴⁰² Wilbur S. Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread: A History of the Woolen Industry in the Top of the Shenandoah Valley* (Winchester, VA: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1990), 7–8.

⁴⁰³ “Flying High: The History of Aviation in the Winchester Area Is a Chronicle of Continuing Growth and Progress,” *Winchester Evening Star*, December 20, 2003, retrieved from Flight Aware, accessed September 7, 2011, <http://discussions.flightaware.com/viewtopic.php?p=73120>.

⁴⁰⁴ “Winchester Regional Airport,” accessed February 9, 2014, <http://www.airnav.com/airport/KOKV>.

quality of life, boost the community, compete in a changed environment, meet the demands of wars and the Depression, and comply with state and federal initiatives. Leaders boosted the reputation of their enterprises by supporting progressive initiatives. Improvements in many areas were dramatic, visible, and generally beneficial.

Philanthropists provided a significant boost to progressive endeavors, especially improvements in education and civic infrastructure. With large philanthropic bequests, Winchester established a group of citizens with responsibility for the funds. For example, Winchester officials requested a charter from Virginia to establish the Handley Board of Trustees. The charter, created in 1898, authorized the Winchester City Council to elect a Board of nine members.⁴⁰⁵ To manage the bequests, Winchester and Frederick County developed administrative oversight structures that presaged the bureaucracy that would be necessary to deal with Virginia state-funded progressive programs. When Virginia mandated reforms, the community complied and created positions of responsibility in the local government to implement and manage the changes.

As a consequence of progressive changes, governments in Winchester and Frederick County were more dependent on federal and state governments; at the same time, local government grew in size and functionality. All or part of responsibilities and costs of functions including education, welfare, infrastructure, and road construction and maintenance moved from the private sector to government. Some responsibilities moved from local government to state or national government or a combination of the two entities. Furthermore, state and national government assumed new responsibilities,

⁴⁰⁵ Quarles, *John Handley and the Handley Bequests*, 77.

particularly in the area of welfare. The transition to government and bureaucratic expertise increased during the national emergencies of both World Wars and the Depression. Between 1900 and 1950, all levels of government grew in size, spending power, and functionality. Many functions that moved to bureaucracy were not subject to direct voter review. Even Harry Byrd, although he consistently warned about costs, supported many state and federal initiatives (especially road improvements). Since people from all levels of society benefitted from government services, there was virtually no resistance to the loss of local autonomy.

The increasing role of professionals in Winchester and Frederick County illustrates acquiescence to the value of expertise and professionalism. The office of city manager brought professional management to government. Many leaders of progressive changes in the region were professionals. Lawyers were particularly influential. R. Gray Williams and several other members of the Handley Board of Trustees were attorneys, which turned out to be fortunate because the complexity of the Handley will gave rise to serious legal disputes. Both Winchester and Frederick County educational systems had professional administrators. Physicians led the establishment of the hospital. The County Agent provided advice and guidance to farmers. Moreover, the community willingly paid for outside expertise. The Handley Board of Trustees validated plans for a school through the services of the progressive General Education Board. Orchardists obtained guidance from state and federal scientists and supported the creation of the Winchester Research Laboratory. Festival organizers hired a professional production company from Ohio to

produce the first three Apple Blossom pageants. Prominent New York architects designed the Handley Library.

Progressive changes in education opened up opportunities for leadership to more citizens. In Winchester, a four-year public high school was not available until 1910. In Frederick County, there was no four-year program until 1945.⁴⁰⁶ Private schools were available to those who could afford them and some County students attended Handley School. Exceptions occurred, but for the most part, college education and opportunities for leadership were available only to those whose families had the means and desire to educate them. This automatically eliminated most African Americans and most women as well as less affluent citizens.

The move to bureaucratic management and specialized expertise was a break with the past. The community created formal structures to deal with education, health, welfare, roads, civic infrastructure, and prohibition. In the past, as Robert Wiebe observed, “The heart of American democracy was local autonomy.... Almost all of a community’s affairs were still arranged informally.”⁴⁰⁷ The trend was away from individual choice, localism, grass roots democracy, and informality, and toward organized advocacy, professionalism, expertise, formality, central standards, regulations, oversight, bureaucracy, and consolidation.

The growth of associations and organizations such as the Virginia Horticultural Society, the Chamber of Commerce, and various civic clubs strengthened the power of interest groups and at the same time added an additional layer of complexity. Consensus

⁴⁰⁶ Quarles, *Schools of Winchester*, 57, *Winchester Evening Star*, May 24, 1947.

⁴⁰⁷ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), xiii, 2-3.

building became the norm. Resisting consensus was not easy, even for leaders. R. Gray Williams resisted changes to plans for Handley School and Harry Byrd resisted local sentiment against the election of Al Smith as President. Both stances required considerable skill and were not undertaken lightly.

Losses, such as the loss of local control, were not always viewed as significant. Such transformation had its cost, not least of which was an increasing tax burden at all levels of government as well as increased regulation with a concomitant loss of freedom and local choice. Local grassroots control and participation, when it existed, operated within a more complex web of choices, interests, and processes. The institutionalization of functions and activities affected response time and added complexity to individual and business activities. Choices expanded but so did restrictions. For example, children could obtain a free public education, but parents no longer had a right to refuse education for their children at least up to a certain age. Individuals could get free vaccinations but children could not enter schools without the required immunizations.

By 1950, Winchester and Frederick County was by no means a sleepy stagnating rural community. Although there had been resistance, delay, and reluctance on the part of some citizens, leaders and civic boosters took advantage of fortuitous philanthropic requests, technological improvements, and state and federal programs to improve the community's image and capabilities. The community made changes in government, education, health care and welfare, transportation, and civic infrastructure that leaders believed would be assets as they sought to improve and diversify the economy.

CHAPTER V: NATIONAL TRENDS PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY 1950–1980

I. INTRODUCTION

After World War II, progressive business leaders of Winchester and Frederick County encouraged economic growth and diversification in order to benefit as the United States economy transitioned to peacetime production. The *Winchester Evening Star* reported in 1960 that the consensus of Winchester and Frederick County business, professional, and civic leaders was “the prospects for the decades ahead are bright if the community is alert to the prospects created by national trends.” The United States emerged from World War II as the dominant economic power and local leaders were well aware “American industry is expanding and building new plants. This is one of the national trends that provide opportunity for Winchester...fortunately, Winchester is showing every evidence of being alert to the opportunities.”⁴⁰⁸

Leaders envisioned improvement in both industry and agriculture when the region responded to opportunities created by post-war trends. William Battaile, head of the Winchester–Frederick County Development Corporation and Philip Hunter, head of the Chamber of Commerce, believed the community’s “industrial prospects are bright.” Agriculture was expected to conform to national trends. Kenneth Robinson, president of the Eastern Fruit Marketing Operations Inc. correctly anticipated a decline in the number

⁴⁰⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1960.

of growers and a reduction in acreage but he also believed orchardists would produce new strains of apples to meet the demands of the marketplace and if growers managed orchards more efficiently, yield per acre would be higher.⁴⁰⁹

Although the term “progressive” is seldom used in connection with post-World War II business leaders, Winchester and Frederick County leaders who adopted the goals and attitudes of the early twentieth century leaders were, like their forebears, also “progressive.” In this dissertation, the fundamental meaning of “progressive” is used to convey the desires to move forward, improve, and prosper. “Progressive” is also used to convey the similarity between local leaders at the turn of the century and leaders at midcentury. “Progressive” is not used to convey political viewpoints, such as those of leaders like Kennedy, Humphrey, or McGovern. Progressive Winchester and Frederick County leaders were probusiness and wanted a successful local economy. They believed industry would provide jobs for a growing population. They admired the success and approaches of business and they recognized the importance of planning, systematic methods, knowledge, expertise, professionalism, research, and efficiency.

Leaders in Winchester and Frederick County could have opted to discourage population growth and industrial diversification. However, unlike leaders in some neighboring counties, including counties closer to the District of Columbia metropolitan area, Winchester and Frederick County leaders chose to encourage growth. Not all agricultural areas of Virginia were willing or able to encourage growth and organize a strong development program. Clarke County, to the east of Winchester, did not

⁴⁰⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1960; April 26, 1960.

encourage growth and its population only increased from 7,000 in 1950 to 10,000 in 1980. Loudoun County, also to the east of Winchester, made no special effort to increase manufacturing jobs. Expansion of the metropolitan area into Loudoun County was relatively slow until the 1970s when population pressure eventually resulted in substantial suburban growth. Other regions similar to Winchester and Frederick County in the Shenandoah Valley—Berkeley County, West Virginia, and Rockingham and Augusta Counties in Virginia—did not grow as rapidly as Frederick County where the population increased by 95 percent between 1950 and 1980. None of these counties had the advantage that Winchester and Frederick County had as a crossroads of a number of major highways.

The Winchester and Frederick County population grew because leaders encouraged growth and took advantage of postwar trends including the baby boom, industrial expansion, decline in the number of farms, increases in agricultural productivity, and suburbanization. Between 1950 and 1980, population more than doubled in Winchester and Frederick County. Growth meant more consumers, more profit for business, higher property values, and a larger tax base. Growth led to suburbanization. The challenges of growth were not for the fainthearted. New population needed jobs, roads, medical and educational facilities, recreation areas, water and sewer services, and expansion of public safety. Government involvement was crucial and the bureaucracy grew to meet the needs of new citizens. Despite a recent expansion of the hospital, Administrator Homer Alberti reported a need for further expansion. The Winchester school system had recently added twenty classrooms and Superintendent of

Schools Dr. Garland Quarles stated further expansion was underway. County School Superintendent Robert Aylor spoke of a similar situation in the County. The power company reported expanded service and the telephone company estimated 60 percent growth in the last ten years. On the downside, one consequence of growth was that the city of Winchester was literally “overflowing.”⁴¹⁰ The town was running out of building space for new homes and businesses.⁴¹¹

This chapter argues that Winchester and Frederick County progressive leaders took advantage of national trends, encouraged growth, and deliberately expanded and diversified their economy after World War II. The chapter concludes that because of the initiative of local leaders, there was significant expansion of the industrial and commercial sectors and an increase in agricultural productivity. The chapter describes leaders’ efforts to cope with problems related to growth and discusses external forces, especially state and national policy, that affected Winchester and Frederick County, sometimes enabling and sometimes constraining the efforts of local business and civic leaders.

II. POPULATION

Leaders viewed population growth as opportunity and challenge: The opportunity was to reap the profits of growth; the challenge was to provide employment and services for new citizens and incentives for new industries. Frederick County population nearly doubled between 1950 and 1980 while Winchester grew by 50 percent for a combined increase of 73 percent. In fact, “during the 1970s, the population of the County grew by

⁴¹⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1960; April 26, 1960.

⁴¹¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1960; April 26, 1960.

as many people as in the previous seven decades combined.”⁴¹² In the post-World War II era, especially after 1970, Winchester and Frederick County’s population growth outpaced that of Virginia.

One cause of population growth was the baby boom: The *Winchester Evening Star* observed in 1960, “Children born in the mid-1940s will be graduating from high school in the early 1960s which means a significant increase in the adult population—and work force—during the decade. If there are not adequate employment opportunities here, these young people will have no choice but to migrate to large cities.”⁴¹³ Education was a challenge. Although Winchester school population decreased between 1940 and 1950 by 5 percent, an increase of 33 percent occurred between 1950 and 1960.⁴¹⁴ Frederick County school enrollment jumped from 3,399 in 1949 to 4,880 in 1959, an astounding 44 percent increase.⁴¹⁵

In 1950, approximately 5 percent of the population in Winchester and Frederick County had not lived there in 1949. By 1960, 27 percent of the population of Winchester and Frederick County were not living in the state of their birth. Many job seekers who moved to the region from rural areas were part of the transition of American rural population to cities and towns. Some employed in the Washington area chose Frederick County because housing prices were cheaper and taxes were lower⁴¹⁶ and worth the

⁴¹² “The 2030 Comprehensive Plan Appendix II—Background Analyses and Supporting Studies,” Frederick County VA, 15, accessed April 15, 2013, <http://www.co.frederick.va.us/home/showdocument?id=1044>.

⁴¹³ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1960.

⁴¹⁴ Garland Quarles, *The Schools of Winchester, Virginia* (Winchester: Farmers and Merchants National Bank, 1964), 62.

⁴¹⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 26, 1960.

⁴¹⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1960.

tradeoff of a long commute. Other urban dwellers moved to the region because they preferred a rural or small-town lifestyle.

Most of those moving to the region from small towns and rural areas sought employment. Winchester and Frederick County boosters who encouraged industry were directly responsible for an increase in the number of jobs in the region. Workers in manufacturing increased from 2,426 in 1947 to 6,200 in 1977, a 155 percent increase. The family of Winchester author Joe Bageant left rural West Virginia and eventually settled in Winchester. Bageant described his family's difficulties and cultural adjustment as they left their rural community and "the libertarian, fiercely independent, Jacksonian hog-and-hominy culture of the subsistence farms."⁴¹⁷ In Bageant's view, his family and others like them were only marginally better off. At least initially, many held low-paying jobs; in a sense, they became subsistence workers. Nevertheless, as Bageant's career as a journalist and author bears witness, there were opportunities in Winchester that did not exist in rural areas.

Samuel Hensley and his family were also displaced by changes in agriculture. Hensley was from the rural community of Elkton, Virginia. He was a blacksmith and served in France during World War I. During the 1930s, there was little opportunity in Elkton for Hensley and he moved from job to job. Hensley married Hilda Patterson from the small Frederick County town of Gore. Her family, like her husband's, struggled through the rough years of the 1930s. After their marriage, financial difficulties continued and the family moved sixteen times during their daughter Virginia's childhood. The

⁴¹⁷ Joe Bageant, *Rainbow Pie* (Carlton, Australia: Scribe Publications, 2011), 91.

Hensleys finally settled in Winchester. Their daughter Ginny's aspirations were unquenchable, perhaps because of the family's difficulties. She began singing with regional groups. Her talent was recognized, and she appeared on the nationally televised *Arthur Godfrey Show*, then made her way to Nashville and achieved fame as country music star Patsy Cline. Winchester recently opened her family's modest house as a museum to celebrate this American success story.⁴¹⁸

Some of those who moved to Winchester and Frederick County from urban areas sought a lower cost of living. As demand increased, the supply of housing in the city failed to keep pace; prices rose, and population expanded into the suburbs. By 1960, there was substantial growth as far west as Fairfax and Prince William counties in Virginia. Over time, demand for housing increased real estate prices in the inner suburbs. Since land was cheaper at the outer fringe of westward expansion, some opted for a long commute over a higher cost of living and moved to Frederick County. As people moved westward, so did jobs. Cold War fears also discouraged living in the Washington area, an obvious target for nuclear attack. Even the federal government recognized that possibility and established a secret facility at Mount Weather on the Blue Ridge Mountain in 1958 where many Winchester and Frederick County citizens found employment.⁴¹⁹

An anomaly in the region's growth was a decrease in Winchester's population between 1960 and 1970. The 1970 census revealed a 3 percent decline in the city's

⁴¹⁸ Margaret Jones, *Patsy: The Life and Times of Patsy Cline* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 12; Douglas Gomer, *Patsy Cline, The Making of an Icon* (Bloomington: Trafford Publishing, 2011), 33–37.

⁴¹⁹ The facility is still secret. In 2001, an article in *Time* magazine described the purpose of the installation as protection of "several hundred designated officials in the event of nuclear attack." Ted Gup, "Civil Defense Doomsday Hideaway," *Time*, June 24, 2001, accessed October 30, 2012, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,156041,00.html?iid=chix-sphere>.

population. In 1959, when 318 new homes were constructed in the county, only 30 were built in the city because Winchester lacked space for new homes and businesses. This problem was eventually resolved and is further discussed in Chapter VI. Growth in minority population had negligible impact in the postwar era. In Virginia, minorities remained slightly below 20 percent of the population. Frederick County's African American community was less than 3 percent of the population until the twenty-first century. The percentage of African American population in Winchester fluctuated between 9 and 11 percent. Minorities of other backgrounds were not present in significant numbers until after 2000.⁴²⁰

Federal policies encouraged growth through programs that benefited suburban homeowners, including deductions for mortgage interest and real estate taxes, as well as major highway construction programs. In 2001, Robert Beauregard pointed out scholars believed postwar federal policies supported suburbanization. The policies many scholars identified were "homeownership and highways, the first centered on FHA [Federal Housing Administration] home mortgage insurance guarantees and the second on limited-access, high-speed highways."⁴²¹

In the 1950s and 1960s, most of the region's growth was within a two-mile radius of Winchester.⁴²² Sections of Frederick County assumed characteristics of suburbs as the number of farms declined and subdivisions like Wea Villa with single-family homes and relatively small lots appeared near Winchester's city limits. James Wilkins and other

⁴²⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census, 1950–2000*.

⁴²¹ Beauregard is now a professor of Urban Planning at Columbia University. Robert Beauregard, "Federal Policy and Postwar Urban Decline: A Case of Government Complicity?" *Housing Policy Debate* 12, no. 1, (January 2001): 132, accessed January 20, 2013, <http://content.knowledgeplex.org/kp2/cache/kp/1037.pdf>.

⁴²² *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1960.

entrepreneurs enabled suburbanization as real estate developers.⁴²³ The lifestyle of residents in subdivisions closely resembled that of town dwellers and most suburban residents sought employment not in agriculture but in industry, commerce, business, or government. Local leaders recognized that providing employment was crucial.

III. A MAN ASKING FOR A JOB AT THE BACK DOOR IS GONE FOREVER

After World War II, as the number of farms and farm acreage declined, leaders made little effort to maintain agriculture as the predominant sector of the economy; rather, they aimed to offset the declining number of farms by increasing productivity and providing jobs for displaced farmers. The decline in farm population and increase in agricultural productivity was part of a national trend. Between 1950 and 1982, the number of farms in the United States declined by more than 50 percent from 5.4 million to 2.2 million. In both Virginia and Frederick County, approximately two-thirds of farms existing in 1950 disappeared by 1978. Both state and county lost slightly more than one-third of their farm acreage. At the same time, there was a trend toward larger farms. Average farm size increased from 129 acres in 1950 to 218 acres in 1978 in Frederick County. As in the past, owners operated most farms. Although there was a decline in the number of farms of all sizes, there was a slight increase in the percentage of larger farms. Demand for farmland, caused by population pressure coupled with inflation, increased the value of acreage in the state and the region. In Frederick County, average value per acre in 1950 was \$82.61. By 1978, this had increased by more than 1,200 percent to \$930

⁴²³ Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes, January 9, 1961.

an acre.⁴²⁴ Despite the loss of farms and farm population, Frederick County increased the value of farm production between 1950 and 1978 by nearly 300 percent.⁴²⁵

In 1960, Alfred Snapp, a progressive farmer and businessman, observed that although the number of farms and farm acreage had declined, that decline was coupled with increased productivity. Snapp was a civic leader: He was active in his church, Republican politics, the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions Club, on the board of his local bank, and served as president of the Frederick County Fruit Growers. According to Snapp, apple spraying, with modern equipment, could cover one hundred acres a day instead of the five acres per day of the past. Improved seeds and fertilizer allowed farmers to “double the yield in wheat, corn, and hay.”⁴²⁶ Snapp’s observations reveal changes in Frederick County agriculture reflected trends in the rest of the United States. Despite the decline in number of farms and farm acreage, American productivity remained high because of research and technological improvements. Researchers developed new crop strains, herbicides, pesticides, and insecticides. Increasing use of mechanized equipment reduced the need for farm labor. Draft animals virtually disappeared by the 1980s. Costs of farm operations rose because of the need for equipment, fuel, and chemicals. Historian Donald Winter observed farmers needed “more technical knowledge, increased capital, and better managerial ability to succeed.” Winter

⁴²⁴ By 1997, average value was \$2,640.

⁴²⁵ U.S. Census, 1950–1982.

⁴²⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, August 27, 1960.

concluded, “Farming as a business has for the most part undermined farming as a way of life.”⁴²⁷

Business and agricultural leaders realized selling land for subdivisions was likely to be profitable for those with smaller farms who could not achieve economies of scale. Small farmers without the wherewithal to justify expensive equipment and supplies were at a serious disadvantage when they tried to earn a living. Farm family members often sought jobs to supplement their farm income. Fortunately, many who left farming in Frederick County were able to do so without great sacrifice since rising land values and real estate demand that had been fostered by business leaders ensured the sale of their farms resulted in a nice nest egg. As Alfred Snapp observed, “Whenever land becomes more valuable than the crops, a farmer’s going to sell.”⁴²⁸

Apples remained a mainstay of the region’s economy and apple growers maintained the attitudes of progressive business managers valuing technology, expertise, and efficient management. By 1960, the trend was toward fewer but larger orchards. Even with fewer orchards, productivity improved enough that growers who produced three barrels per tree in 1940 were producing thirteen barrels in 1960.⁴²⁹ Apple production, always dependent on weather, varied over the years. In 1966, growers produced 1,189,000 bushels while sixteen years later, in 1982, production reached 4,170,000 bushels. Despite a decline in orchard land, “varieties that took less acreage”

⁴²⁷ Donald Winter, “Agriculture in the Post-World War II South,” in *The Rural South Since World War II*, ed. Douglas Hurt (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 8–27.

⁴²⁸ *Richmond Times Dispatch*, July 9, 1989.

⁴²⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 29, 1966.

enabled higher production per acre.⁴³⁰ Apple processing remained important to the local economy. Processors included National Fruit, Shenandoah Valley Apple Company, and H. J. Heinz. Winchester had three major cold storage facilities: Zeropack, C. S. Robinson, and Winchester Cold Storage.

Dr. Walter Hough, head of the Winchester Research Laboratory, spoke to more than 3,000 attendees at Senator Harry Byrd's annual picnic in 1960, and summarized changes in the apple industry. Hough confirmed the number of growers was declining but those who remained were more productive. Orchardists introduced new varieties of apples, barrels were no longer used, and baskets replaced cartons. Orchardists planted smaller and easier-to-pick trees. Hough observed only a few of thirty or more pesticides then in use were available twenty years previously. "Milder pesticides contributed to more regular bearing of trees." Sprays and chemicals were widely used although some insects seemed to be developing resistance.⁴³¹

For apple growers, efficient management could only go so far to minimize ever-present risks. As they had in the past, growers networked and organized to solve mutual problems. From time immemorial, bad weather had ruined some apple harvests, but even a good growing season had risks. In 1956, apple production was strong and as a consequence, processors dropped prices. To address the issue, the Frederick County Fruit Growers Association met on September 14 and selected James Kenneth Robinson (1916-1990) as chairman. Robinson was born in Frederick County and attended Virginia

⁴³⁰ Rebecca A. Ebert and Teresa Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia, From the Frontier to the Future* (Norfolk: The Donning Company, 1988), 133.

⁴³¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, August 27, 1960.

Polytechnic Institute. He reached the rank of major during World War II. Robinson was an orchardist and fruit packer and involved in real estate. He was active in the Chamber of Commerce⁴³² and elected as a Republican to the Virginia State Senate in 1965 and to the United States of House of Representatives in 1985 where he served six terms.⁴³³ Robinson felt “deferring” the apples, that is, finding other markets, was “the only effective weapon” against low prices. Growers should organize to reduce the supply to put pressure on processors to raise prices. Robinson urged growers “to divert every possible bushel of fruit to fresh channels.” The local Association planned other meetings to gain support. At a meeting of growers from West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania it was decided to keep further pressure on processors by leaving the “poorest ten percent” of apples in the orchards, diverting fruit into the market for fresh apples and truckers, and deferring delivery to processors for one week. Shenandoah Apple Cider and Vinegar Company was the only processor that reacted and shut down their operation. The boycott could not last; it was fruit after all. The following week on September 25 when the boycott was over, Robinson found it deplorable that growers were “rushing to overwhelm the processors” and urged growers not to rush as it appeared “many growers report their crop was picking out well short of expectations.”⁴³⁴

Although the Frederick County Fruit Growers Association rarely had to cope with the problems of bumper crops, they frequently faced problems involving labor for the harvest season. Growers only needed apple pickers for a few weeks a year and they could

⁴³² James Wilkins, *The Impossible Task* (Harrisonburg: Good Printers Inc., 1985), 28.

⁴³³ *New York Times*, April 11, 1990.

⁴³⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 12, 1956; September 13, 1956; September 15, 1956; September 18, 1956; September 19, 1956.

not pay enough to attract local workers. During World War II, a farm labor shortage occurred because many workers left farm work for the armed services or higher wages in the defense industry. To address the shortage, the US government entered into an agreement with Mexico for temporary admission of agricultural workers. In 1943, a British West Indies program was established that included Jamaica. Since most American workers were no longer interested in seasonal work, they did not protest the use of outside labor. With greater access to secondary and higher education and technical training, American workers developed new skills, and could take advantage of employment opportunities in urban areas. An apple grower speaking to the West Virginia Horticultural Society commented on the situation: “The democratizing and uplifting influence of compulsory education, the automobile, the increase of factories with their higher wage scales and pleasant working conditions, the general improvement in the manners and living standards of laboring people” had affected the local labor supply. As a consequence, “an ample supply of good labor has been hard to get for a long time.” The past, with a man “asking for a job at the back door, is gone forever.”⁴³⁵

After the War, growers continued to obtain workers from Jamaica, categorized as nonimmigrant temporary foreign or “contract” workers, and legally required to return to their home country when the job ended. The Frederick County Fruit Growers Association maintained a large camp in Winchester near the National Fruit Company. Jamaicans lived in the labor camp and were provided meals and transportation.

⁴³⁵ Monica L. Heppel, Joanne Spano, and Luis R. Torres, “Changes in the Apple Harvest Work Force in West Virginia: Implications for the Community,” *Changing Face* 3, no. 4 (September 1997), accessed September 14, 2012, http://migration.ucdavis.edu/cf/comments.php?id=151_0_2_0.

Migrant workers based in the United States were a second source of seasonal labor. Migrant workers were not required to leave the community after the work was completed; they could walk away at any time, and had the possibility of getting out of migrant status. Migrant workers often arrived in family groups; some migrant workers lived in the labor camp where a section was “given over to family housing,”⁴³⁶ others were housed by farmers. These workers did their own cooking and crew leaders transported them to the orchards.⁴³⁷

Government agencies and rules regulated outside labor and orchardists found compliance difficult. There was a plethora of government regulations. The Wagner–Peysner Act, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and implementing regulations gave “United States workers, including citizens of Puerto Rico, job preference over temporary foreign workers.”⁴³⁸ The US Department of Labor (DOL) was “charged with helping the apple growers find harvest labor.” Growers had to find US workers themselves or submit an estimate of their worker requirement and a date of need to the Labor Department, which then attempted to recruit US labor. Within “20 days of the date of need,” the government must either provide the growers with names of workers or tell the growers that aliens could be hired.

⁴³⁶ Edward Cowan, “Apples and Aliens Growers Challenge Feds over Who Does the Picking,” *Regulation* 2, no. 6 (November/December 1978): 40, accessed March 18, 2013, <http://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/regulation/1978/12/v2n6-7.pdf>.

⁴³⁷ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 27, 1955.

⁴³⁸ *Alfred L. Snapp & Son, Inc. v. Puerto Rico*, 458 US 592 (1982); *Alfred L. Snapp & Son, Inc., et al. v. Puerto Rico ex rel. Barez, Secretary of Labor and Human Resources*, Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, no. 80-1305, accessed July 15, 2014, <http://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/458/592/>.

Frederick County growers preferred Jamaican workers. In the opinion of local grower Jim Robinson, “You’ve got forty days to get your crop off before the first frost.” Robinson added, “We know that Puerto Ricans—from past history—could not pick fast enough.” Even one Puerto Rican worker conceded Jamaicans had an advantage: “They’re coconut pickers—they climb like monkeys.” The Labor Department believed growers preferred Jamaicans because they were cheaper and growers did not have to pay “social security and unemployment insurance taxes.”⁴³⁹

The United States Department of Labor’s involvement in obtaining transient labor and workers from outside the continental United States led to disputes with growers. The Frederick County Fruit Growers Association was a principal party in cases brought to the Western District Court of Virginia. In a case known as “Frederick I,” orchardists challenged the DOL’s determination that growers must provide travel advances for workers. The Court ruled growers were not bound to pay advances which were usually provided by crew leaders. In “Frederick II,” orchardists sought to compel the DOL to issue certification for workers. The Court issued a temporary restraining order and the DOL had to admit the workers. By the time the case made its way back to court, it was dismissed because the harvest season was over. Undoubtedly growers in Frederick County shared the attitude of growers in West Virginia who were “less concerned over the supply of workers” and “much more over how to keep up with the myriad of rules and regulations.”⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁹ Cowan, “Apples and Aliens,” 40–43.

⁴⁴⁰ Heppel, Spano, and Torres, “Changes in the Apple Harvest Work Force.”

Frederick County growers filed a suit in 1978 to challenge a DOL decision denying certification to some growers because Puerto Rican workers were available. The United States District Court of the Western District of Virginia favored the growers and allowed Jamaican workers. However, the Puerto Rican government had already recruited workers and several hundred arrived in Virginia in September. Most were non-English speaking and lacked experience. Some worked a few days, then quit and returned home; some did not work at all. Unlike Jamaican workers; who the *New York Times* described as “impoverished by American standards” and “felt lucky to get mainland work,”⁴⁴¹ the Puerto Ricans complained of grower discrimination, “late transportation from the camp to the orchards, missed meals, no bed sheets, and assignments to trees that had already been partially picked.”⁴⁴²

In 1980, Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia asked the General Accounting Office (GAO) to conduct an audit of DOL involvement in the 1978 recruitment of Puerto Rican apple pickers. Unlike Virginia Senator Harry Byrd, Jr. and House member J. Kenneth Robinson, who were involved in apple production and undoubtedly supported Frederick County growers, Robert Byrd was not an orchardist. However, he may have anticipated the audit would support the views of his apple-growing constituents, who operated orchards near Frederick County. The audit found the Puerto Ricans did not know how to pick apples and the only orientation was a “seven-minute film on apple picking shown at the airport” before the workers left Puerto Rico. Workers complained about wages, picking methods, and living conditions. The GAO Report stated the effort

⁴⁴¹ *New York Times*, September 24, 1977.

⁴⁴² Cowan, “Apples and Aliens,” 42.

was poorly managed, there were few acceptable workers. DOL spent \$150,000 to recruit mostly inexperienced Puerto Rican workers, who as a group earned \$48,484. Only 19 of 500 workers recruited from Puerto Rico completed the harvest. The GAO stated to Senator Byrd, the “results were not worth the costs.” The GAO Report further stated DOL tried to place workers before growers were ready. Government staff was expected to deal with the issue but were not “fully oriented or prepared” and staff was not ready to handle “situations that arose during the placement of workers.” GAO found preliminary planning was delayed, recruiting in Puerto Rico “did not focus on providing workers with a complete job orientation or obtaining workers with agricultural or apple picking experience,” and DOL had recruited untrained workers. The Labor Department response in Appendix II of the Report states that some statements were “not substantiated.” The Report included a letter from Arthur Lane, commissioner of the Virginia Employment Commission, stating that “due to the confusion and the great numbers of people involved, all of the facts will probably never be known.”⁴⁴³ Differences of opinion continued; in 1982, the Puerto Rican government filed and eventually won a case against growers in the Western District Court.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴³ General Accountability Office, “Recruiting and Placing Puerto Rican Workers with Growers during the 1978 Apple Harvest Were Unsuccessful,” GAO Report HRD-80-45, February 14, 1980, 37–41, Legistorm, accessed March 26, 2013,

<http://www.legistorm.com/showFile/L2xzX3Njb3JIL2dhby9wZGYvMTk4MC8y/ful8150.pdf>.

⁴⁴⁴ The case, *Alfred L. Snapp & Son, Inc., et al. v. Puerto Rico*, eventually moved to the United States Supreme Court.⁴⁴⁴ (Alfred Snapp was president of the Frederick County Fruit Growers at the time.). Puerto Rico won the case. Justice Byron White wrote, “A state might pursue the interests of a private party but these interests must be related to the well-being of its populace. A state must establish it is not just a “nominal party without a real interest of its own,...a State has a quasi-sovereign interest in the health and well-being—both physical and economic—of its residents... and “a State has a quasi-sovereign interest in not being discriminatorily denied its rightful status within the federal system.” *Alfred L. Snapp & Son, Inc., et al. v. Puerto Rico*.

Orchardist Kent Barley tried another approach to solve the labor problem: In 1977, he purchased an \$80,000 Perry Harvester, an apple picking machine that worked by gripping a tree and shaking the apples off. Barley thought the machine was cost effective since he was able to reduce his apple pickers “from 40 to 20” and reduce the number of supervisors. To avoid bruising, Barley still relied on “human labor to pick apples that people will eat.”⁴⁴⁵ Despite Barley’s success, no one has “invented a totally mechanized system that can automatically remove apples from the tree and place them in bins without bruising the fruit.”⁴⁴⁶ Future changes in immigration laws may mean adjustments for orchardists if mechanization is not achieved. In 1982, Perry Ellsworth of the National Council of Agricultural Employers speculated that if amnesty were granted illegal aliens, they would leave agriculture and “look for a 12-months-out-of-the-year-job with heat in the winter and air conditioning in the summer.”⁴⁴⁷

Just as apples continued to be an important economic activity, the Apple Blossom Festival continued as a community celebration, a way to promote the region, foster public awareness of Virginia apples, and build customer relations. The Apple Blossom Festival resumed after a hiatus during the war years. Winchester attracted national celebrities to participate in the Festival. Hollywood celebrities like Bing Crosby and Bob Hope acted as Grand Marshals of the Feature Parade. In 1961, the *Washington Post* reported

⁴⁴⁵ *Winchester Star*, September 8, 1982.

⁴⁴⁶ Other equipment has been developed to improve the picking process including movable raised platforms that limit the need for climbing trees, although this machinery has limitations since it is difficult to move through orchards where trees have grown close together. Geraldine Warner, “Harvest Mechanization Will Come in Stages,” *Good Fruit Grower* (April 1, 2005), accessed September 14, 2012, <http://www.goodfruit.com/Good-Fruit-Grower/April-1st-2005/Harvest-mechanization-will-come-in-stages/>.

⁴⁴⁷ *Winchester Star*, April 3, 1982.

“200,000 Watch Apple Festival Parade” and “8,000 marchers” [sic] participated.⁴⁴⁸ In 1964, Lyndon Johnson crowned his daughter Luci as Queen,⁴⁴⁹ and Susan Ford reigned in 1975. Although the Festival attracted major celebrities, it lost down-home charm when Festival organizers abandoned the outdoor Pageant featuring thousands of public school children. The loss of this event ended widespread participation by nearly every family in Winchester.⁴⁵⁰

IV. INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS—DIVERSIFICATION

After World War II, leaders in the Winchester–Frederick County Chamber of Commerce formed the Industrial Development Corporation and successfully attracted industry that expanded and diversified the economy to provide jobs and support growth. During this period, a few local industries faced labor problems, larger institutions purchased local banks, and the community coped with downturns in the nation’s economy.

The majority of leaders in the postwar years were likely to be up-and-coming men. Unlike their predecessors at the turn of the century, family prominence, wealth, and long-standing social ties were less a factor in their success. Relatively few older leaders were actively involved in local government or in seeking new industry, although community betterment was widely supported. In the early twentieth century, most leaders had been men whose families were well established in the community. Some of these

⁴⁴⁸ *Washington Post*, April 29, 1961, accessed September 24, 2012, ProQuest.

⁴⁴⁹ “SABF Past Celebrities,” Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival, accessed July 26, 2012, <http://thebloom.com/celebrities/sabf-celebrities-of-past-festivals/>

⁴⁵⁰ Southern racial attitudes limited African American participation during the early part of the post-World War II era. A sign of fundamental change was the selection of an African American queen in 2012, Jazmyn Dorsett, daughter of football player Tony Dorsett.

families had either left the region or died out, while others, like the Glaize and Lupton families, remained influential, but did not seek public office or leadership roles in civic organizations.

Most local leaders were veterans of World War II and a number had been officers. Some of the most prominent leaders were not natives of the region. Like leaders of the past, most were Protestants and active in their churches. Most favored fiscally conservative government. Most leaders were Democrats at the beginning of the postwar era, but along with Harry Byrd Sr. and his son, many shared the conservative Southern Democrat disenchantment with the national Democratic Party that paved the way for a strengthening of the Republicans.⁴⁵¹ Like their forebears, progressive business leaders of the second half of the century were extraordinarily active in civic associations and service clubs. The Chamber of Commerce was a breeding ground for civic leadership and most Winchester mayors of the era served as Chamber presidents. All of the mayors had served on the City Council. Most leaders were proprietors of commercial enterprises that would benefit if the community grew and prospered. Leaders after World War II did not include as many lawyers as in the past. All leaders were white men, although women and African Americans made gains and served in public offices.

Most postwar leaders graduated from public high schools. A few had not completed college, partly because of the interruption of the War. By contrast, many leaders of the early twentieth century attended a private boys' school, the Shenandoah Valley Academy, in Winchester. In Virginia, "before 1900, opportunities for high school

⁴⁵¹ In 1980, Winchester had its first majority Republican (8-4) City Council since Reconstruction. *Winchester Star*, May 7, 1980.

education were severely limited,”⁴⁵² and there were few high schools. Without a decent high school education, college was not possible for many potential leaders in earlier times. Although many individuals overcame this limitation and achieved success and leadership roles without higher education, widespread public education expanded the pool of potential leaders. The improvement of public education coincided with an increase in the number of individuals willing and able to deal with the demands of administration and bureaucracy that became increasingly institutionalized as the twentieth century progressed.

Progressive business leaders understood there was a connection between attracting industry and improving the community. William Battaile (1913–2004) was Mayor of Winchester from 1964 to 1972. In an interview in 1965, Battaile discussed his ambitious plans for the community: the possibility of annexation of county land by Winchester, industrial development, and continued improvement to education. Battaile had some ideas that went beyond those of his fellow progressive business leaders including airport expansion with a scheduled airline stop, erection of a public health building, improving some blighted areas which he called the “Battaile renewal plan” and a “planned western by-pass making in effect a beltway” for Winchester. Realistically, he saw two basic problems: “Lack of adequate funds—and the resulting search for revenue—and public opposition to some of the programs.”⁴⁵³ William Battaile was a

⁴⁵² “History of Public Education in Virginia” (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia Department of Education, 2003), CTE Resource Center of Virginia, accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.cteresource.org/TFTfinalWebFiles/OtherDocuments/history_public_ed.pdf.

⁴⁵³ *Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star*, August 14, 1965, Google News, accessed October 30, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=vP5NAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=z4sDAAAAIIBAJ&pg=930,4328566&dq=winchester+evening+star&hl=en> FREDbg.

native Virginian who considered Winchester a “bustling business community” where he wanted to increase job opportunities and raise the standard of living. During the 1930s, Battaile served in the navy in the Gulf of Panama and later on the USS Arizona. He left the navy in the late 1930s and worked for General Motors in Washington. Battaile eventually established a Chevrolet dealership in Winchester with a partner, Dudley Martin. During World War II, Battaile served in the Coast Guard patrolling the Chesapeake Bay where there was concern about German saboteurs.⁴⁵⁴ He served as president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions Club, and the Fraternal Order of Police. He was on the Handley Board of Trustees and the Shenandoah University Board as well as the board of the First American Bank.

One of the most successful leaders, James Wilkins (1910–1996), recalled it was “not difficult for most any young man returning from the service to see what Winchester needed in order to become the kind of community he wanted for launching a productive and happy career.” Wilkins concluded, “Winchester was at a critical point in its economic development” and lacked “a strong Chamber of Commerce, an Industrial Development Authority, vocational school, colleges, and diversified industry that would increase the employment opportunities.” Wilkins recalled joining others with similar ambitions and concerns, who determined to rebuild the Chamber of Commerce, “strengthen our economy by attracting new industry, [and] tourists and rebuilding our own businesses” and to improve education to “provide skilled workers.”⁴⁵⁵ Wilkins was instrumental in

⁴⁵⁴ “William Battaile,” interview for Veterans History Project, Library of Congress, February 6, 2004, accessed November 18, 2012, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.00970/transcript?ID=sr0001>.

⁴⁵⁵ Wilkins, *The Impossible Task*, 28.

bringing Shenandoah College to Winchester and supported the institution throughout his life.⁴⁵⁶ A native Virginian, Wilkins attended Ferrum College. During the Depression, Wilkins worked as superintendent of Civilian Conservation Corps at Camp Roosevelt and was an officer with the Army Corps of Engineers in North Africa. Wilkins moved to Winchester after the War and opened the Shoe Center store in 1947.⁴⁵⁷ Wilkins became involved in real estate and was responsible for development of more than 1,000 homes. His daughter characterized his life as a “Horatio Alger-style story of working from nothing to achieve success.”⁴⁵⁸

The boosters and community leaders included very few individuals associated with outside corporations that established facilities in the region. The management of these facilities did not invest themselves in civic life, perhaps because they expected to be assigned elsewhere in a few years. For national corporations, location was a business decision that apparently allowed little room for loyalty to a community. Unlike local entrepreneurs whose customer base did not extend beyond the region, employees of national corporations were not dependent on the community’s prosperity. Companies that accepted incentives funded by the locality no doubt thought it impolitic to openly participate in local government since a conflict of interest might preclude further similar benefits. Furthermore, it might not have been in their best interest to encourage other industries to come to the region and compete for incentives, services, and resources. On

⁴⁵⁶ *Winchester Star*, December 16, 2010.

⁴⁵⁷ “About Us,” Wilkins Shoe Center, accessed November 7, 2012, <http://www.wilkinsshoe.com/aboutUs.html>.

⁴⁵⁸ *Winchester Star*, December 16, 2010.

the other hand, franchise owners are dependent on the local marketplace and a number of them, like car dealer William Battaile, have been involved in civic leadership.⁴⁵⁹

Winchester and Frederick County leaders, like those in many other Southern communities, displayed strong interest in economic development. After World War II, the South demonstrated renewed commitment to economic growth and Southern communities offered incentives to attract industry such as tax breaks and free or low-cost land, usually with water and sewer lines. Communities would borrow money at interest rates available to local governments to use as the basis for low-cost loans to new industries. Local organizations, Chambers of Commerce, and individual business leaders supplemented state efforts. Realizing the community as a whole played a role in relocation decisions by industries, boosters focused attention on amenities such as “beautification, improvements in facilities and services, and greater emphasis on vocational education.”⁴⁶⁰ Efficient government services, adequate medical care, and a good educational system attracted business; poor services did not. The industrial park, “a tract of land purchased by a local development corporation” was a popular method in the South for attracting industry.⁴⁶¹

The push for industry took on new urgency when the Virginia Woolen Company, a mainstay of the local economy, faced serious difficulties. During World War II, the Company “ran around-the-clock on a seven-day week turning out cloth for military

⁴⁵⁹ Two current franchise owners are examples of this: Jim Stutzman, owner of a car dealership, and Nick Narangis, who runs a number of McDonald’s restaurants.

⁴⁶⁰ James Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877–1984* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 109.

⁴⁶¹ The most widely known is Research Triangle Park in North Carolina that attracted a variety of government and corporate research institutions.

uniforms, blankets, and topcoating.”⁴⁶² After the War, the loss of military contracts foreshadowed difficult times and the Company faced losses after 1952. To address the problems, there were a number of management changes; eventually the Company was managed from New York. In 1954, management hired efficiency experts, the Bruce Payne Company, to improve production.⁴⁶³ Labor relations deteriorated as workers objected to industrial engineers who surveyed “work assignments,” and a walkout followed. Federal mediators were called in. The strike was only symptomatic of deeper problems. The Company was sold in 1956. The buyer, United Merchants & Manufacturers, Inc. (UM&M), one of the biggest companies in the garment industry, expanded through purchases of smaller textile companies. UM&M finally closed the Winchester plant in 1958.⁴⁶⁴ The Virginia Woolen Mill did not fail because of high costs, inefficiencies, labor difficulties, or competition from other woolen manufacturers, but because of the development of synthetic fabrics. As local historian Wilbur Johnson asserted, Synthetics brought “wool to its knees and the local woolen company to its mortal end.”⁴⁶⁵

William Battaile recalled concerns about the woolen industry motivated leaders to act. At Board meetings, Chamber of Commerce leaders worried, “What are we going to do? These layoffs [are] so many, they’ve laid off so many.” The Chamber Board decided,

⁴⁶² Wilbur S. Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread: A History of the Woolen Industry in the Top of the Shenandoah Valley* (Winchester: Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society, 1990), 120.

⁴⁶³ To support the study, local workers were hired to record data. Thomas Grove, Winchester resident hired to record data, interview by author, October 27, 2012.

⁴⁶⁴ United Merchants and Manufacturers operated the Robert Hall retail outlets. “United Merchants & Manufacturers, Inc. History,” Funding Universe, accessed July 26, 2012, <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/united-merchants-manufacturers-inc-history/>.

⁴⁶⁵ Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread*, 115.

“there’s nothing else to do but to just get some other industry to come here and replace this industry we are losing.”⁴⁶⁶ After seeking advice from an industrial development group with the State Chamber of Commerce, local Chamber members created “a non-profit community organization” to attract new industry. They organized the Winchester–Frederick County Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) and elected Battaile first president. Battaile recalled that to get “seed money for staff and telephone bills,” the IDC sold stock at \$25 a share to 100 people. Those who worked on the project worked for nothing. They made contacts with prospective industries but realized they were facing tough competition from other areas. According to historian Samuel Emory, Winchester and Frederick County did not have an “overwhelming economic advantage for industry,” but there was no great disadvantage either. On the plus side, the newspaper supported business, the area had a good climate, living conditions were pleasant, and Winchester leaders wanted industry.”⁴⁶⁷

To become more competitive, the IDC set about to “buy some land, lay this land out in lots, bring water and sewer to it, [and] price the land at a price that we would get the money back that we had to borrow to buy the land” plus a small profit. Battaile contacted a friend, Richard Goode, who had an option on land near a railroad track in the south end of Winchester. Battaile and Goode agreed the land should be made available to the IDC. Battaile then went to the heads of the three local banks for guidance.⁴⁶⁸ The IDC

⁴⁶⁶ “Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee,” transcript 2, SA 4-2, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁴⁶⁷ Samuel Emory, “The Economic Geography of Clarke and Frederick Counties, Virginia” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1965), 196.

⁴⁶⁸ William Battaile, interview by Stan Hersh, transcript, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA, 4.

decided to raise money to buy the land by selling “debentures that paid six percent.”⁴⁶⁹ With the funds available, the Corporation purchased 148 acres of County land near the small town of Kernstown.

Government support for the enterprise was essential and on November 10, 1959, Winchester City Council voted to enter into “An agreement with the Winchester–Frederick County Industrial Development Corporation for water and sewer to the proposed Industrial Park south of the City along the B&O Railroad, at an approximate cost of \$35,000.”⁴⁷⁰ Fortunately, according to Battaile, the “land laid so that water and sewer could flow naturally without pumping—by gravity” which reduced the cost. Battaile recalled that he and other Chamber members contacted prospective businesses, and traveled to places like New York, Chicago, and Kansas City at their own expense to talk “to people about bringing industry here.” Battaile recalled, the effort “didn’t cost the taxpayers of Winchester a single penny. Nobody [was] paid for any of the efforts they made” since those who worked for the IDC served for “nothing without compensation and we paid our own way.”⁴⁷¹ By 1975, the land was sold and there were eleven plants in the Industrial Park. A few, like furniture manufacturer Henkel–Harris Inc., were locally owned but most, like Rubbermaid and Capitol Records, were part of national corporations.⁴⁷² The Industrial Development Corporation eventually purchased 180 more

⁴⁶⁹ William Battaile, interview by Hersh, 4.

⁴⁷⁰ Winchester City Council Minutes, November 10, 1959.

⁴⁷¹ “Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee,” transcript 17; William Battaile, interview by Stan Hersh, 3.

⁴⁷² Companies at that site in 1975 were Henkel–Harris; Royal Crown Bottling Company; J. T. Baker Chemical Company; Capitol Records; Fabritek Co. Inc.; Filter Media Division; Harris Composition Division; Rubbermaid Commercial Products, Inc.; J. Scheoneman, Inc.; Terry Industries of Virginia, Inc.; and Winchester Hosiery Mills, Inc. *Winchester Evening Star*, February 10, 1975.

acres and by 1975 had sold 58 of those acres to businesses. The *Winchester Evening Star* reported in 1975, “The Corporation was formed to develop a diversified industrial community. It has certainly succeeded.”⁴⁷³

Winchester and Frederick County boosters stressed the advantage of nonunion workers willing to work for low wages and wanted to present local workers as a willing and diligent labor force. Southern boosters believed weak unions appealed to industry and endeavored to maintain an unfriendly climate for union organizers. Legislatures enacted right-to-work laws and the South generally discouraged organizing efforts,⁴⁷⁴ although by the 1950s, as historian James Cobb points out, the antiunion stance was sometimes a negative for large corporations that had adapted to a union environment. The South’s antiunion stance had a downside for Southern workers: Many of the unionized industries paid the highest wages.⁴⁷⁵

However, problems sometimes belied the image of an easily managed work force and the O’Sullivan Corporation became involved in a long-running labor dispute in May 1956.⁴⁷⁶ O’Sullivan opened a plant in Winchester in the 1930s and by 1950 manufactured rubber soles and heels, products for automobiles, and vinyl sheeting.⁴⁷⁷ In the past, “friendly relations” existed between O’Sullivan and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) local. After the AFL merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO),

⁴⁷³ *Winchester Evening Star*, February 20, 1975.

⁴⁷⁴ The concept of right-to-work gives employees the right to work without joining a union. Alternatively, in states without right-to-work-laws, it might be possible for an industry and union to have a “closed shop” agreement that restricts workers to union members only.

⁴⁷⁵ James Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936–1980*, (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1984), 254.

⁴⁷⁶ A strike of unorganized workers occurred in a locally owned brickyard in 1955 and two strikes occurred at the Virginia Woolen Mill. These strikes were short-lived. Johnston, *Weaving a Common Thread*, 133.

⁴⁷⁷ O’Sullivan is now part of the German-based Hornschuch Group. “History,” O’Sullivan, accessed March 20, 2013, <http://www.osul.com/company/history/>.

local workers voted to become part of a national AFL–CIO union. In March 1956, the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, AFL–CIO, petitioned the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for an election. Workers voted to join the Union and the NLRB certified the Union. “Contract negotiations were begun, but no agreement was reached.” At the same time, wage negotiations were in progress. The Union wanted an immediate pay boost at a higher rate than O’Sullivan was willing to pay. A strike was called in May 1956. There were a few incidents of minor violence. During the first year, picketers carried signs which warned the “penalty of strikebreaking was a lifetime of shame and regret, and alleged that the products of the Company were made by strikebreakers and by a company without a soul and urged the public not to buy the Company’s products.” In June 1956, O’Sullivan began hiring replacements and some regular workers returned to work. Negotiations continued as the Company resumed production. The AFL–CIO announced a national boycott of O’Sullivan products based on unfair labor practices in January 1957. The NLRB investigated and found no evidence of unfair labor practices by O’Sullivan.⁴⁷⁸

In September 1957, as the result of petitions, the NLRB ordered a new election. In October, the NLRB certified that employees rejected the Union. Despite the rejection, the strike and boycott continued. The NLRB became involved again to decide whether “exertion of economic pressure by a union upon an employer by picketing and boycotting in order to secure recognition as the bargaining representative of the employees and to

⁴⁷⁸ *National Labor Relations Board v. United Rubber Cork Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America*, 269 F. 2d 694, accessed March 25, 2013, <http://openjurist.org/269/f2d/694/national-labor-relations-board-v-united-rubber-cork-linoleum-and-plastic-workers-of-america>.

secure a contract from the employer after the employees have rejected the union” violated the National Labor Relations Act. The NLRB determined there was a violation and their opinion was upheld in June 1959 by the United States Court of Appeals Fourth Circuit.⁴⁷⁹ The strike, which in later years was more a symbolic protest, continued until 1961 when it was abandoned. In a final irony, fifty-five former O’Sullivan workers filed suits against the union. Their petitions were denied, ending “the last chapter in the five-year strike.”⁴⁸⁰

William Battaile believed news of the strike adversely affected an effort to attract the Russell Stover Candy Company to Winchester. Two weeks after news of the strike was in the newspaper, Russell Stover politely “changed its mind” about moving to Winchester.⁴⁸¹ There were other strikes and labor disputes in Winchester and Frederick County, most involving national unions and national corporations.⁴⁸² Still, in 2012, a brochure of the Winchester and Frederick County Economic Development Commission made a point of observing, “Virginia is the northernmost right-to-work state in the East.”⁴⁸³ In recent years, as part of a national trend, union strength has been sorely tried by management decisions to seek cheaper workers outside the United States.

Winchester and Frederick County were not immune to the variability of the United States economy, and the nation’s economic downturn in the late 1960s and early 1970s adversely affected the region. Both Winchester and Frederick County reported

⁴⁷⁹ *National Labor Relations Board v. United Rubber Cork Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America*.

⁴⁸⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 25, 1966.

⁴⁸¹ “Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee,” February 3, 1992, transcript, 2-4, SA 4-2, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁴⁸² In 1985, the NLRB alleged that General Electric’s actions at a local plant affected the outcome of an election to have union representation for local GE workers. *Winchester Star*, April 24, 1980.

⁴⁸³ Winchester Frederick County Economic Development Commission, brochure, accessed March 11, 2013, <http://winva.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Fandex.pdf>.

increased participation in the food stamp program during the winter of 1974–1975.⁴⁸⁴ Unemployment peaked at 11.5 percent in February.⁴⁸⁵ Despite this serious problem, the heads of three Winchester banks claimed the region was doing better than many areas of the country. They believed leaders’ efforts to diversify provided a cushion in the down economy. Bank President Robert Edwards described the vulnerability of the region in times of belt-tightening, “Locally we are a whole lot better off than other communities because we have a strong diversified industry. It helps that we are in the food industry.”⁴⁸⁶

As industry expanded, bankers also benefitted from growth in the region.

Between 1955 and 1965, local financial institutions showed solid growth in assets. The Farmers and Merchants Bank, the Commercial and Savings Bank, the Shenandoah Valley National Bank, and the Winchester Savings and Loan Association had been in Winchester for at least 50 years. Civic and business leaders were well represented as officers or directors of these institutions.⁴⁸⁷ Savings account figures grew at Winchester Savings and Loan and deposits increased at the other three financial institutions. There was a significant increase in “Loans and Discounts” at the banks. The largest increase was in first mortgages. Loans at Winchester Savings and Loan, a member of the Federal Home Loan Association, increased from \$555,000 in 1960 to \$8,568,000 in 1965. There was a similar increase in savings accounts from \$358,000 to \$8,027,000 in 1965.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, February 6, 1975; February 7, 1975.

⁴⁸⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 3, 1975.

⁴⁸⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, February 10, 1975.

⁴⁸⁷ Farmers and Merchants bank had a branch office in Clark County.

⁴⁸⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 7, 1966.

Despite the success of locally owned banks, a national trend in bank mergers and the “removal of legal restraints on geographic expansion by banks”⁴⁸⁹ affected this sector of the local economy. The trend received federal support with enactment of the Riegle–Neal Interstate Banking and Branching Efficiency Act of 1994. The Riegle–Neal Act eliminates “most restrictions on interstate bank acquisitions and makes interstate branching possible.”⁴⁹⁰ Shenandoah Valley Bank became part of Financial General Bankshares that was held by Middle Eastern investors.⁴⁹¹ Commercial and Savings Bank was bought by Dominion Bankshares.⁴⁹² Farmers and Merchants (F&M) Bank was bought by BB&T, a North Carolina bank, in 2001.⁴⁹³ Takeovers and reorganizations are often times of stress for employees. In the case of the bank acquisitions, it was common practice to retain most bank employees, although some would choose to resign rather than deal with job or policy changes. For example, BB&T planned to have some functions located in North Carolina and those who were employed in certain jobs were offered an opportunity to relocate to North Carolina if they wanted a future in their chosen field.⁴⁹⁴ As might be expected, this was not a viable option for some employees.

From the viewpoint of local citizens, there seemed to be little upside to the bank takeovers. Many perceived a downside. Betty Haymaker, a former bank president of

⁴⁸⁹ Stephen A. Rhoades and Staff, Board of Governors, “Bank Mergers and Industrywide Structure, 1980–94,” *Federal Reserve Staff Studies*, no. 169 (January, 1966): 1, accessed January 16, 2013, <http://www.federalreserve.gov/pubs/staffstudies/1990-99/ss169.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁰ Susan McLaughlin, “The Impact of Interstate Banking and Branching Reform: Evidence from the States,” *Current Issues in Economics and Finance* 1, no. 2 (May 1995): 1, accessed January 16, 2013, http://www.ny.frb.org/research/current_issues/ci1-2.pdf.

⁴⁹¹ Financial General’s lawyers were Clark Clifford and Stuart Symington. *Winchester Star*, April 9, 1982.

⁴⁹² *Winchester Star*, April 8, 1980.

⁴⁹³ “Farmers and Merchants National Bank Collection 119 THL,” accessed November 14, 2012, <http://www.handleyregional.org/Handley/Archives/FM%20Natl%20Bank%20119.htm>.

⁴⁹⁴ Betty Haymaker, former President of Farmers and Merchants Bank, telephone interview by author, April 23, 2013.

Farmers and Merchants Bank, recalled loans had been approved based on character and past records of the borrower with the bank. Because Farmers and Merchants was a local bank of long standing, officials often based character assessment on personal knowledge.⁴⁹⁵ As a consequence, borrowers preferred to deal with banks where they and their family were known. One local citizen recounted going with his grandfather to get a car loan. The loan officer did not require a cosigner since he knew the grandfather's reputation and that was sufficient to give the teenager an acceptable credit rating. After BB&T acquired F&M, loan approvals went through a North Carolina-based committee. Procedures became more formal, with more paperwork, and obtaining loans became a more structured process.

By any assessment, community leaders successfully diversified the economy after World War II. Manufacturing increased in Winchester and Frederick County as it did in Virginia. For Winchester and Frederick County, the effectiveness of the leaders' efforts resulted in an increase in the number of manufacturing firms from forty-six in 1950 to seventy-two in 1977. One of the main objectives of local boosters was job creation and the number of production workers grew by 155 percent between 1950 and 1977. Importantly for the local economy, wages for the manufacturing sector grew by more than 1,400 percent by 1977 (and doubled every decade until 1997). Besides employing more workers, manufacturing firms increased the average wage for production workers from \$1,700 to \$10,100 between 1947 and 1977. As a consequence of growth in industry,

⁴⁹⁵ Betty Haymaker, telephone interview by author, April 23, 2013.

value added by manufacturing increased by more than 1,600 percent between 1947 and 1977.⁴⁹⁶

V. MAIN STREET, HISTORIC PRESERVATION, AND MALLS

The decline of downtown Winchester as a commercial center coincided with suburban growth and was part of a trend affecting many towns and cities in the United States.⁴⁹⁷ Although urban growth continued after World War II, cities large and small began to have difficulty attracting customers to commercial downtowns. Winchester leaders attempted to meet the challenge but despite their efforts, Winchester could not maintain downtown as a viable commercial center. Eventually leaders compensated for loss of downtown commerce by efforts to attract tourists and shoppers that included historic preservation, shopping malls, and travelers' facilities outside Winchester.

From colonial times, two long blocks of Loudoun Street in Winchester functioned as the commercial, government, and social center of the region and were often called Main Street. In 1960, this area was a mix of small stores operated by local merchants, and stores that were part of national chains including "dime stores" like Woolworth's and McCrory's selling inexpensive items and department stores such as Leggett's (part of the Belk chain), Penney's, and Sears. The hospital and offices of most doctors were nearby. Government and attorney offices clustered around Winchester City Hall and the Frederick County Court House in the center of downtown. Hotels, the post office, library,

⁴⁹⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census, 1950, 1977*.

⁴⁹⁷ Historian Alison Isenberg points out that many historians viewed the history of the American commercial downtown in the twentieth century "as one of gradual decline." However, Isenberg argues that "as an interpretive framework, decline obscures as much as it reveals." Isenberg sees a mix of decline and progress throughout the twentieth century. Recent developments in many cities, including a revitalized Washington, DC, bear witness to Isenberg's less rigid view of urban transitions. Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 8.

movie theaters, a bowling alley, and churches of every major denomination were within walking distance as were several small grocers and the major food stores, A and P and Safeway.⁴⁹⁸ Main Street was often crowded, especially on Saturday when county shoppers were in town.

A consequence of business leaders' emphasis on growth and development was that expanding the environs of the community meant downtown shopping was less convenient for residents living at a distance from the center of town. For many potential customers, downtown was no longer within walking distance or easily accessible by public transportation, which tended to be slow. Women who entered the workforce wanted to shop in the evening; downtown stores were seldom open after dark. Even if stores were open late, urban problems of the 1960s and rising fear of crime caused customers to be reluctant to shop downtown at night. Customers needed automobiles for shopping. Traffic could be difficult and parking was limited and seldom free in downtown areas. The business and activities of downtown continued, but they were dispersed to outlying suburban areas.⁴⁹⁹ Shopping malls provided a safe, convenient alternative with free parking and stores open late into the evening. Throughout the country, downtowns did not decline because of lack of customers, but because customers went elsewhere.

Suburban commercial growth that created competition for downtown merchants was encouraged by federal legislation. Accelerated depreciation, provided for by

⁴⁹⁸ *Miller's Winchester City Directory*, XVI (1959–1960) (Asheville: Southern Directory Co., 1955), 483–489.

⁴⁹⁹ Although crime was not a major problem in Winchester, the fear of crime did intensify during the period of urban unrest in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Congress in 1954, was an important consideration in the rise of shopping malls.⁵⁰⁰

Depreciation allowed a taxpayer to take a part of the cost of an asset as an expense over a period of time. As an expense, the cost reduced taxable income. Congress allowed accelerated depreciation of “greenfield income-producing property in seven years.”⁵⁰¹ Once the seven years were up, the owner could sell the property and the new owner could depreciate again. Accelerated depreciation provided an incentive to build commercial buildings in malls rather than maintaining or improving older downtown buildings because it applied to new construction, not renovations of existing buildings. To obtain the best return on investment, entrepreneurs developed suburban property rather than improve or maintain downtown property where vacant land was scarce and new construction difficult. Developers put their money into projects at the suburban fringe—especially into shopping centers. Accelerated depreciation also spurred the growth of hotel chains on the edges of cities and towns, affecting downtown hotels as well as small locally owned motor courts and inns.⁵⁰² Eventually, shopping malls “undercut the economic base of downtowns.”⁵⁰³

Federal transportation policy enabling road improvement also benefited shopping centers. The largest malls, such as Tyson Corner near Falls Church VA, were built near

⁵⁰⁰ Thomas Hanchett, “U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s,” *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (October, 1996): 1110, accessed March 20, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2169635>.

⁵⁰¹ Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820–2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 162, 164.

⁵⁰² Thomas Hanchett observed, “Suddenly, all over the United States, shopping plazas sprouted like well-fertilized weeds. Developers who had been gradually assembling land and mulling over the shopping-center concept abruptly shifted their projects into high gear. The results could be seen beginning in late 1956, following the tax change by just over two years—precisely the time needed to rush a building project from the drawing board to completion.” Hanchett, “U.S. Tax Policy,” 1097.

⁵⁰³ The seven-year accelerated depreciation was ended by the 1986 tax reform act. Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth*, 8, 162, 164.

intersections of major highways. Small merchants in downtown shopping areas found it nearly impossible to compete with malls with free convenient parking, controlled environments, nighttime shopping, and sophisticated marketing by national chain stores. Alternatively, new highways could make an area less accessible. For example, Interstate 81 skirted towns, unlike the older Route 11 which had been part of the downtown of most Shenandoah Valley towns.

Winchester merchants were aware they faced serious challenges. They were concerned about lack of room to grow in town. They feared the two interstate highways that would skirt the city might reduce the number of travelers who shopped in town. As the region grew, merchants worried parking problems and traffic issues would deter shoppers who could not walk to the center of the city. They were aware of a new form of competition: the successful Seven Corners Shopping Center near Washington attracted shoppers from Winchester and Frederick County. Local merchants recognized the Seven Corners Shopping Center would be a model for commercial development.⁵⁰⁴

In 1963, Jack Davis, editor of the *Winchester Evening Star*, and others discussed revitalizing Winchester's central business district. They concluded Winchester should double its downtown parking spaces, eliminate parking on Main Street, and improve the appearance of stores; they suggested a downtown pedestrian mall.⁵⁰⁵ Winchester City Council created the Downtown Development Committee to coordinate improvements. At

⁵⁰⁴ *The Washington Post and Times Herald (1954–1959)*, October 3, 1956, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, *The Washington Post (1877–1995)*, accessed October 30, 2012, ProQuest.

⁵⁰⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, November 2, 1975.

one point, progressive businessman Irvin Shendow,⁵⁰⁶ who chaired the Downtown Development Committee, “persuaded slightly more than 75 percent of the downtown merchants to agree to pay an extra tax to support the district.” Shendow then persuaded state Senator William Truban to “present a bill in the General Assembly” allowing Winchester to “create a special taxing district” that applied to merchants.⁵⁰⁷ Local merchants created and partially financed the Winchester Parking Authority (WPA) in 1966.⁵⁰⁸ City Council agreed to purchase downtown property and lease it to the WPA. Winchester government provided funding and a number of metered parking lots were built.⁵⁰⁹ In 1972, the Authority opened a parking garage financed by revenue bonds. Repayment would be via revenue from parking fees and a share of the city’s business license fees. For potential customers, paying to park was not a satisfactory solution. From the government viewpoint, parking charges were a source of revenue that minimized risk of voter disapproval of taxation at the polls.

Merchants joined together in other improvement efforts; they organized a beautification initiative to make Loudoun Street signs more attractive and in summer 1966, the Retail Merchants Association considered extending store hours. Montgomery Ward had been the first large (by Winchester standards) store to leave downtown and in

⁵⁰⁶ Irvin Shendow is a Winchester native whose father opened Bell’s Clothing Store. The quality clothing available at the store was not sold in nearby malls and Bell’s has continued to thrive in downtown Winchester.

⁵⁰⁷ *Winchester Star*, July 28, 2012.

⁵⁰⁸ The Parking Authority raised \$65,000 from local merchants. *Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star*, August 14 1965, Google News, accessed November 14, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=9fRKRCJz75UC&dat=19650814&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>.

⁵⁰⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, February 15, 1966. Parking and traffic issues on Main Street were not new problems. In the past, City Council had tried various solutions including one-way streets to ease congestion.

1964 had moved to a strip mall known as Ward's Plaza.⁵¹⁰ The managers of Sears and Penney's urged downtown merchants to stay open at least two nights a week to compete with Montgomery Ward. Anthony Le Pre, manager of Sears, observed downtown merchants were "inviting encirclement by shopping centers by not providing sufficient shopping hours." Smaller business owners objected, but some finally agreed to stay open two nights a week.⁵¹¹

Winchester merchants eventually agreed to eliminate traffic on Main Street and remake downtown into the first pedestrian mall in Virginia. Elizabeth Meyer, professor of landscape architecture at the University of Virginia,⁵¹² believes pedestrian malls in the United States may have been a reaction to "large highways and mega structures." Local merchants hoped to attract buyers who yearned for the Main Street of the past. These customers wanted personal attention, specialty shops, and friendly service rather than the chain stores and lack of distinctiveness that characterized shopping malls. Unfortunately, nostalgia and sentiment attracted few shoppers. Nevertheless, the Main Street pedestrian mall was thought to be a way to "combat the trend of regional shopping centers coming into towns and drawing away business."⁵¹³ Merchants hoped by aggressively marketing the downtown mall the city's commercial base could be preserved. There was concern

⁵¹⁰ "Wards to Close 39 Stores as Part of Ongoing Business Plan," *The Free Library*, January 15, 1999, accessed March 23, 2013, [http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Wards to Close 39 Stores as Part of Ongoing Business Plan.-a053583986](http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Wards+to+Close+39+Stores+as+Part+of+Ongoing+Business+Plan.-a053583986).

⁵¹¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, July 20, 1966; July 21, 1966.

⁵¹² Meyer, a landscape architect, has taught at the University at the University of Virginia and Harvard University. In 2012, she was appointed by President Obama to work on design for the National Mall as a member of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts. "Elizabeth K. Meyer," UVA School of Architecture, accessed July 15, 2014, <http://www.arch.virginia.edu/people/directory/elizabeth-k-meyer>; "Obama Appoints U.Va.'s Elizabeth Meyer to Help Guide Design of National Mall, D.C. Monuments," UVA Today, September 27, 2012, accessed July 16, 2014, <http://news.virginia.edu/content/obama-appoints-uva-s-elizabeth-meyer-help-guide-design-national-mall-dc-monuments>.

⁵¹³ *Winchester Star*, July 28, 2012.

about “challenges for sales dollars” from a proposed regional mall. Leggett’s had already announced plans to move and Sears and Penney’s were likely to leave downtown.⁵¹⁴

Larger stores needed more space and none was available in downtown Winchester.

Winchester leaders did not make the decision to build the pedestrian mall lightly; construction of the mall meant minimal vehicular traffic on four key blocks of Main Street. One year after the mall opened, the *Winchester Evening Star* reported the views of some progressive business and civic leaders. Irvin Shendow believed the mall was a success and parking revenues were up. City Manager Wendell Seldon believed “acceptance has been excellent.” Seldon stated the mall had provided a learning experience for the city and discussed new approaches to maintenance and traffic in the downtown area.⁵¹⁵ Seldon, a Virginia Military Institute graduate and veteran, served as City Manager from 1967 to 1986.⁵¹⁶ Betsy Helm, first woman mayor of Winchester, observed historic preservationists saw the mall project as an opportunity to protect the area.⁵¹⁷ Stewart Bell, Mayor from 1972 to 1980, stated that during the first year, the mall received widespread approval from local citizens and visitors who complimented the city on the “progressive endeavors.”⁵¹⁸ Bell, a long time Winchester resident from a well-established family, had been on the City Council for many years. He was an orchardist and active in the Presbyterian Church and the Red Cross. Bell, who was known as “Mr.

⁵¹⁴ *Winchester Star*, October 8, 1980.

⁵¹⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, July 21, 1975.

⁵¹⁶ *Winchester Star*, May 20, 2013.

⁵¹⁷ *Winchester Star*, May 20, 2013.

⁵¹⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, July 21, 1975.

Winchester,” had an abiding interest in local history and was active in the Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society.⁵¹⁹

However, shoppers did not return in large numbers and some merchants believed “winos, shirtless, and the derelicts” and others of similar ilk were deterring shoppers. In 1980, City Council enacted a “dress code” requiring clothing “substantially cover the upper portion of the body.” The president of the merchants association stated the law was enacted for “customer protection” because an antiloitering law had been struck down by the Supreme Court. A shirtless man, apparently testing the “dress code,” violated the law, was arrested and tried. The judge ruled the law unconstitutional and void “under the 14th amendment for its vagueness.” After that decision, some merchants considered privatizing the mall and hiring security guards. They also considered moving the Alcoholic Beverage Control liquor store from the mall.⁵²⁰

Local citizens who feared growth and change would endanger the city’s architectural heritage established Preservation of Historic Winchester in 1964; however, the reconciliation of downtown revitalization and progress with historic preservation was not always easy.⁵²¹ In 1966, Winchester City Council established a Board of Architectural Review (BAR) to “ensure nothing architecturally inappropriate was placed in public view on a structure in the Historic District.” Property owners needed Certificates of Appropriateness to make changes.⁵²² In 1970, a clash occurred between

⁵¹⁹ “Tribute to Stewart Bell, Jr. of Winchester, Va,” CapitolWords, February 25, 2014, http://capitolwords.org/date/2001/06/06/E1033-2_tribute-to-stewart-bell-jr-of-winchester-va/.

⁵²⁰ *Winchester Star*, September 18, 1980; October 8, 1980.

⁵²¹ “Winchester Historic District,” Virginia Main Street Communities, National Park Service, accessed November 1, 2012, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/vamainstreet/win.HTM>.

⁵²² *Winchester Evening Star*, July 20, 1966; *Winchester Star*, July 9, 2012.

supporters of progress and advocates of preservation that highlights the dichotomies between these two concepts. The Conrad house, an imposing former residence of a family that figured prominently in Winchester's past, dominated a hill across from City Hall. In 1964, the Parking Authority obtained a permit to demolish the Conrad house, which had belonged to Holmes Conrad, and convert the property to a parking lot. Richard Martin, chairman of the Winchester Parking Authority, tried to justify the plan. "We must all face a fact of life—old houses are fine and desirable but not absolutely essential for economic survival. Parking facilities are vital and essential for the very existence of a business area and therefore must take precedence." Martin continued, "Winchester cannot afford to become a vacuum of empty buildings and squalid store fronts. Inadequate parking breeds this economic chaos." On the same day as the announcement of the demolition plans, the Board of Architectural Review moved to seek a delay, stating "the flouting of a ruling of one branch of our City government by another furnishes to the public a poor example of the legal processes of our City." The Board requested a review by City Council.⁵²³ Preservation of Historic Winchester joined in the outcry. To the disappointment of many, the Parking Authority prevailed; the lovely old house was replaced with a parking lot. Despite the belief of the Winchester Parking Authority, subsequent events, especially the exit of larger stores from downtown to the Apple Blossom Mall, ensured the commercial heyday of Main Street would not return and demonstrated parking would not resolve the problems of downtown merchants.

⁵²³ *Winchester Evening Star*, February 18, 1975.

Historic preservation as a technique to revitalize downtown seems paradoxical. “Revitalization” implies change, progress, and the future. “Preservation” implies restoration, retention, and the past. Historic preservation risked stifling growth usually considered essential to progress since it limited expansion and modernization. History and nostalgia did not appeal to younger consumers, those shopping for food and other necessities, or big-ticket purchasers. In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) created guidelines for federal, state, and local governments and the private sector. Each state must have a State Historic Preservation Officer. The NHPA fostered “municipal control by certifying local governments that meet certain preservation performance and institutional criteria to receive direct assistance from the federal government.” The federal government provided incentives, i.e., tax deductions, to owners who preserve National Register properties.⁵²⁴ Although government supported historic preservation through tax incentives, changes by property owners were limited by restrictions and regulations. By the end of the twentieth century, historic preservation was a popular “downtown revitalization strategy.”⁵²⁵

In 1976, Winchester City Council designated most of downtown an historic district; since the designation limited innovation and restoration could be extremely expensive, some structures took on the characteristics of white elephants. A case in point

⁵²⁴ Since 1981, the historic rehabilitation tax credit has provided owners of historic properties an incentive to maintain the historic appearance of their structures. The process for obtaining the tax credit is complicated and somewhat restrictive. The building must be a “certified historic” structure and changes must be reviewed by a state historical preservation office and the National Park Service. There are limitations on changes, especially changes that affect the facade. Kennedy Smith, “Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credit,” in *Main Street Renewal: A Handbook for Citizens and Public Officials*, ed. Roger Kemp (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2000) 169–173.

⁵²⁵ Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America*, 257.

is the Taylor Hotel built in 1846. The building was visited by Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and Stephen A. Douglas. During the Civil War, the structure served as a hospital and was used by Stonewall Jackson and Nathaniel Banks and other Union generals.⁵²⁶ McCrory's, a chain of five-and-dime stores, owned the building from 1911 until 1993. A disastrous roof collapse occurred in 2005. In recent years, the Taylor Hotel stood as a dilapidated and dangerous eyesore at the center of Main Street. City Council declared it "blighted" in 2010, but the owner did not deal with the repairs because of financial difficulties. Virginia listed the structure on the 2010 Most Endangered Historic Property list.⁵²⁷ City Council hired a consultant who recommended the city "install a new city pocket park and outdoor performance venue; restore the façade of the Hotel Taylor to a ca. 1900 appearance with the colonnaded balcony; add five rental apartments to the three floors, and a commercial space in the restored English basement."⁵²⁸ Ownership of the hotel was assigned to the local Economic Development Authority (EDA) by the city. Work began in October 2012 at an estimated cost of \$3.6 million.⁵²⁹

The disconnect between progress and preservation raised issues about rights of property owners. In a 1976 working session of the City Planning Commission, City Planner Reed Nestor suggested the Board of Architectural Review (BAR) should control

⁵²⁶ "Taylor Hotel Collection 1145 THL," accessed March 22, 2013,

<http://www.handleyregional.org/Handley/Archives/Taylor%20Hotel%201145.htm>.

⁵²⁷ "Most Endangered Historic Sites in Virginia," Preservation Virginia 2010, accessed March 22, 2013,

http://preservationvirginia.org/docs/endangered_sites_2010.pdf.

⁵²⁸ Anne Stuart Beckett, "Intensive Level Documentation of the Taylor Hotel," prepared for The City of Winchester Office of Economic Redevelopment, 2012, accessed March 21, 2013,

<http://www.winchesterva.gov/sites/default/files/documents/economic-development/Taylor-Hotel-Intensive-Level-Report-July-9-2012.pdf>.

⁵²⁹ Funding included \$1 million provided by a Community Development Block Grant, \$650,000 invested by the City's Economic Development Authority, \$775,000 from historic tax credits, \$225,000 in private investor contributions, and \$950,000 from loans secured by the EDA. In 2014, the work was near completion.

demolition of buildings seventy-five years or older in the historic district as well as “regulate new construction and external changes.” If the BAR did not grant a “Certificate of Appropriateness,” the owner’s recourse would be Winchester Circuit Court. Planning Commission member Alan Peery thought the policy was a “little rough,” property owners should have a recourse other than court. Councilman Charles Zuckerman expressed similar dismay, “I just can’t be in favor of not letting a man do with his property what the law allows him to do.” City Manager Wendell Seldon wondered if this would put too much authority in the BAR. Nestor argued if the BAR did not have design review power, there should not be a BAR.⁵³⁰ Planning Commission Chair J. Fred Larrick observed that if the court rejected the property owners’ desire to destroy a building, the owner was “stuck with what’s there.” The ordinance was finally changed to allow an owner to sell property to someone “willing to preserve or restore the building.” If unable to sell the property, the owner could demolish the building.⁵³¹

Ownership of historic property is not for the fainthearted. Paperwork requirements and restrictions on alterations offset some of the advantages of tax breaks. Owners need to interact with the bureaucracy to make changes. Preservationists limit the use of modern materials which may add to costs and result in maintenance issues. Often maintenance costs more than replacement and may be less satisfactory. Although restrictions on interior improvements and alterations are less stringent, considerations of style, taste, and appropriateness limit choices. Preservation of the past is costly, in part

⁵³⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 17, 1975.

⁵³¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 11, 1975.

because of the costs of maintenance, but more importantly because preservation limits possibilities and potential for growth and expansion.

The opening of the Apple Blossom Mall in 1982 represented a dilemma for downtown merchants and local leaders because although the new Mall competed with downtown, the Mall would be a source of revenue and jobs and bring tourists to the community. For Frederick County there was little downside, but small Winchester retailers faced a competitive threat. However, there was no stopping progress and local merchants watched carefully when a large mall opened in nearby Harrisonburg, Virginia in 1978. A similar project was underway in Maryland. Mall developers recognized Winchester's transportation advantage and eventually the New England Development Company decided to build the Apple Blossom Mall near the intersection of Route 50, Interstate 81, and Route 522. The site within the city limits meant tax revenue for Winchester. One thing seemed certain: rents for retail space would be much higher. As Winchester City Council member Richard Kern observed, "You can rent a store downtown for \$2 a square foot and I've heard as high as \$27 a square foot in the new mall."⁵³² William McCabe, who was involved with development of the Apple Blossom Mall, admitted, "You are talking rents that are far in excess of what they [merchants] are accustomed to seeing. You're also talking a volume far in excess of what they are used to seeing. They're not used to seeing a couple of thousand people walking by their store every day with nothing but buying in mind."⁵³³

⁵³² *Winchester Star*, April 8, 1982.

⁵³³ *Winchester Star*, March 3, 1982.

When the Mall opened on October 6, 1982, some downtown merchants were hopeful. Jim Keller of the Bargain Corner said, “I think people will go out there first [to the Mall] and then decide to come downtown.”⁵³⁴ The city of Winchester expected a windfall, with revenue from real estate taxes, business licenses, the city’s share of the state sales tax, as well as building permit fees and water and sewer revenue. Jobs would benefit both Winchester and Frederick County. Hundreds applied for 20 jobs at the Ormond store in the Mall and the developer was optimistically predicting 1,100 full-time jobs.⁵³⁵ The major downtown department stores, Penney’s, Sears, and Belks (previously Leggett’s), relocated as anchor stores in the new mall along with retailers representing other nationally known chains. Almost no local merchants moved there.⁵³⁶

By 1985, downtown Main Street was a pedestrian mall where parking was prohibited and pedestrians seldom strolled. The dime stores and chain stores vanished or relocated to the Apple Blossom Mall. The movie theaters and a number of smaller stores disappeared, some replaced by gift shops, antique stores, and the like. Parking facilities erected after 1965 for the convenience of shoppers stood half empty. The change even affected churches. The Catholic Church relocated at the edge of town. Each major Protestant denomination built churches in Frederick County with ample parking. New large evangelical or nondenominational churches are in the County. A few stores have survived to the present day including the Shoe Center owned by James Wilkins. Bell’s

⁵³⁴ *Winchester Star*, October 6, 1982.

⁵³⁵ *Winchester Star*, September 10, 1982.

⁵³⁶ The Mall was developed by New England Development, current owner of the Chevy Chase Mall in Maryland as well as other malls. Since 1999, the Apple Blossom Mall has been operated by Simon Properties. “Simon Property Group to Acquire Portfolio of Regional Malls from New England Development,” PRNewswire, accessed April 17, 2013, <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/simon-property-group-to-acquire-portfolio-of-regional-malls-from-new-england-development-75063297.html>.

Clothing, owned by Irvine Shendow who advocated downtown improvement, also endured. Nevertheless, visitors to the old downtown frequently see streets that are virtually empty.

At present, many structures in downtown Winchester look as they did in the early years of the twentieth century.⁵³⁷ Business leaders and city officials are implementing new plans (and hopes) for revival. The most recent effort to revitalize downtown has elements that bring to mind the “festival marketplace” concept combined with a large component of historic preservation and the possibility of apartments or condos. Builder James Rouse was an early proponent of the “festival marketplace” that involves developing an urban area as an attraction with a variety of restaurants, specialty shops, and perhaps a food court. One of the most successful examples is the Baltimore Inner Harbor with museums, shopping, waterfront activities, and dining.⁵³⁸ These areas often become the location for celebrations, fairs, and the like and attract those seeking leisurely pastimes, good food, and entertainment rather than serious shoppers. Winchester leaders plan to maintain the historic character of the area. Local boosters are promoting the area’s history to attract tourists to sites such as Civil War battlefields, the Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, the Old Court House Civil War Museum, and the Patsy Cline house.⁵³⁹ At present, it appears downtown will not be revived as the commercial center it

⁵³⁷ Winchester’s historic district expanded beyond downtown to more than sixty blocks with 1,200 structures. *Winchester Star*, November 14, 1982.

⁵³⁸ Gregory John Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge, *The Tourist–Historic City: Retrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City* (Oxford, England: Elsevier Science Limited, 2000), Google Books, accessed July 17, 2014,

<http://books.google.com/books?id=NVeAAAAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=festival>.

⁵³⁹ “Museum of the Shenandoah Valley,” accessed November 1, 2012,

<http://www.shenandoahmuseum.org/>; “Old Court House Civil War Museum,” Virginia Main Street

was in the past. Nevertheless, Winchester and Frederick County leaders have been able to maintain the region as a commercial center although the shopping malls are now facing competition from big box stores; there are two Walmart's in the Frederick County area. In turn, all local retailers are coping with a new source of competition as consumers turn to Internet shopping.

VI. CONCLUSION

Local leaders continued to accept the progressive business values of the leaders of the early twentieth century as they capitalized on national, state, and regional trends. Initiatives like the Industrial Development Corporation, suburban development, and opening of shopping malls were consistent with national trends and worked successfully in other locations. The success of apple growers in challenging the Department of Labor on outside worker issues revealed a growing understanding of bureaucratic processes of the national government. Leaders learned to adjust to national and state policies such as banking regulations, historic preservation initiatives, accelerated depreciation for suburban development, and highway construction as well as civil rights programs that directly affected the region. Leaders developed a growing knowledge of the wider world and a sophisticated understanding of the impact of external forces on the region's prosperity.

The reactions to the growth of Winchester and Frederick County by its citizens varied from person to person and, for most people, from time to time. Growth meant

Communities, National Park Service, accessed November 1, 2012, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/vamainstreet/win.HTM>; "The Historic House," Celebrating Patsy Cline, accessed November 1, 2012, <http://www.celebratingpatsycline.org/celebrating-patsy-cline-the-historic-house.aspx>.

change, new people, new problems, and new opportunities. For some, including civic boosters, growth represented the potential for profit. For others, growth meant loss of stability and predictability and as well as undesired changes. In general, the goals of progressive business leaders to attract industry, provide jobs, build a diversified economy, and accommodate growth had strong support. Although there was general consensus on goals, there was room for a variety of opinions. For example, a sharp contrast occurred between those who wanted to improve downtown and were willing to tear down historic structures to build a parking lot and those who wanted to preserve the historic character of the community. Preservationists were not against growth, a diverse economy, or even against parking. Very simply, they were *for* preserving historic buildings in their community. Over the long run, business and civic leaders have accepted the historic character of Winchester as an asset that is touted as a tourist attraction. Although leaders were not able to revive downtown as a commercial area, shopping areas around the city proliferated and the region survived as a commercial center. In addition, a growing tourist business benefited the community.

This chapter demonstrates Winchester and Frederick County leaders successfully expanded and diversified the local economy after World War II by capitalizing on population growth, continuing agricultural diversification, initiating the Industrial Development Corporation, providing incentives and services to new businesses, creating jobs, developing malls, building subdivisions, and promoting the community and its products. Local boosters were able to take advantage of the nation's economic and industrial growth and federal policies to diversify and expand the economy. Agricultural

leaders took advantage of scientific and technical advances and improved equipment to increase farm production. The growth of suburban malls and historic preservation contributed to the problems of downtown Winchester but also allowed the area to become a regional shopping and tourist center. Federal and state governments supported and encouraged historic preservation. Chapter VI discusses efforts of local leaders to make the community more competitive in attracting business that included improvements in education, medical care, welfare, and transportation and infrastructure upgrades.

CHAPTER VI: A PLEASANT AND PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY 1950–1980

I. INTRODUCTION

After World War II, leaders in Winchester and Frederick County organized an effort to attract industry and diversify the economy of the region; to support the initiative, the Chamber of Commerce held a forum for business leaders to discuss “how to attract payrolls.” One speaker addressed attitudes of industries that might be considering relocation. Companies must be sure a new location will “favor their chances of making reasonable profits.” Along with “labor, location, livability, utilities, industrial sites, good transportation, facilities, water supply, and low taxes,” companies sought a “pleasant and progressive community.”⁵⁴⁰ Winchester and Frederick County faced competition from other regions that were equally determined to attract industry, and local leaders realized that by making improvements to the community, they could enhance their competitive edge. As a consequence, leaders supported improvements in education, transportation and infrastructure, medical care and welfare, and strengthening the local government.

Chamber president E. R. Huntsberry reminded attendees at the forum that attracting industry would bring challenges since “all growth and progress is accompanied by the necessity of temporary inconvenience, dislocations, and readjustments, but the long range good of all outweighed the short-range problems created.” Huntsberry

⁵⁴⁰ *Winchester–Frederick County Chamber of Commerce Monthly Newsletter*, April, 1961, 516 WFCBS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

advocated “moderate sized industries of a diversified nature” in preference to giant industries which would dominate the economy. He believed “gradual absorption of a number of moderate size businesses will permit the more orderly growth of our community facilities and supporting retail and service organizations.”⁵⁴¹ Edward Huntsberry (1926–2011) strongly supported community improvement. A native of Winchester and a World War II veteran, Huntsberry graduated from the Wharton School of Finance and was involved in the family business, Huntsberry Shoe Stores. Like other leaders, Huntsberry was active in the community. He served as president of the Winchester Retail Merchants Association, president of the Winchester–Frederick County Chamber of Commerce, director of the Apple Blossom Festival, and director of the Industrial Development Corporation. Huntsberry was also chairman of the Winchester Republican Committee, and was the first Republican elected to the Winchester City Council.⁵⁴²

Chapter VI argues that leaders cooperated to improve the region’s resources and worked to create “a pleasant and progressive community” to attract new industry and develop a strong and diversified economy between 1945 and 1980. The community improved education, transportation, medical care, welfare, the infrastructure, and strengthened local government. The community expanded public school systems and ended segregation. Civic boosters encouraged higher education. Leaders took advantage of new interstate highways to support growth in manufacturing, commerce, and tourism.

⁵⁴¹ *Winchester–Frederick County Chamber of Commerce Monthly Newsletter*, April, 1961, 516 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁵⁴² Huntsberry was also a member of the Kiwanis Club, Elks, the Salvation Army, and the Masons. Turrentine Jackson Morrow Obituaries, “Ed ‘Sonny’ Huntsberry,” March 14, 2011, accessed July 23, 2014, <http://www.turrentinejacksonmorrow.com/obituaries/ed-huntsberry-46411>.

They made infrastructure improvements, including improvement of water and sewage capability that were critical to growth. Philanthropy, community funding, and federal funds supported expansion of the hospital. Both city and county governments expanded to accommodate growth and the increased need for urban services. Civic leaders coped with a local problem: most of the growth was in Frederick County. As the region successfully attracted industry, Winchester's benefits would be limited if the community did not solve the city's space problem.

II. EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION

Community leaders were convinced education played a fundamental role in attracting new citizens and the relocation decisions of outside companies. Population growth was sufficient reason for expansion of the school systems. Integration was a complicating factor; it was generally believed in the South that communities with racial conflict were at a disadvantage in the effort to seek new industry. When at last there was no other choice for Virginia, local leaders aimed for peaceful integration. Civic boosters strongly advocated improvements for public schools, higher education, and technical training to develop the workforce.⁵⁴³

During the 1930s and 1940s, there had been a moratorium on school construction because of the need to minimize spending during the Great Depression and because of restrictions on construction during the war. After the war, both jurisdictions invested in education. Winchester opened Daniel Morgan Middle School and added Quarles

⁵⁴³ Historian James Cobb points out Southern boosters felt one of the problems standing in the way of faster economic growth was the quality of Southern education systems. James Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 160.

Elementary School. Other schools were remodeled and enlarged and the old John Kerr School building was replaced with a new facility. Frederick County offered only eleven years of public school until 1945⁵⁴⁴ and still had a number of one-room schoolhouses and four small high schools. The Board of Supervisors had discussed a consolidated high school in the 1930s but it was not until January 1948 that the supervisors passed a resolution to apply to the State Board of Education for a \$700,000 loan to build a new high school with a twelfth grade.⁵⁴⁵ In 1950, James Wood High School opened with 1,048 students, replacing five smaller schools.⁵⁴⁶ The County opened two middle schools and built two elementary schools that still exist today. In an early effort at regional cooperation, Winchester, Frederick County, and nearby Clarke County jointly established the Dowell J. Howard School as a regional vocational training center.

In a last-ditch effort to create a “separate but equal” school system, Frederick County opened a consolidated school for African Americans in 1960. Educational facilities for African American students were separate and decidedly unequal. In Winchester, Douglas School’s curriculum offered less variety than the curriculum at Handley High School. Frederick County had no high school for African Americans, although they could attend the Winchester school. The new Gibson Elementary School marked the end of one-room schoolhouses in the County, and the County planned to transfer about 85 pupils from three smaller schools.⁵⁴⁷ Black high school students from

⁵⁴⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 24, 1947.

⁵⁴⁵ Board of Supervisors Minutes, January 3, 1948.

⁵⁴⁶ “James Wood High School Collection,” accessed August 13, 2013, <http://www.handleyregional.org/Handley/Archives/James%20Wood%20HS%20689.htm>.

⁵⁴⁷ The new school, with three classrooms, a multipurpose room, and a clinic, served grades one through seven. *Winchester Evening Star*, August 4, 1960; Board of Supervisors Minutes, December 12, 1960.

the County would continue to attend Winchester's Douglas School. Opening Gibson School six years after *Brown v. Board of Education* demonstrated hope that Virginia's policy of massive resistance against integration would succeed, but it was too late.

The racial divide was part and parcel of everyday life in Winchester and Frederick County as well as Virginia, and business leaders were aware segregation could be a deterrent to national corporations. African Americans were a relatively small minority, as African American children between five and nineteen comprised 10 percent of that age group in Winchester and 2.5 percent in Frederick County.⁵⁴⁸ Opportunities in the community for African Americans were limited. Relations between races derived from old customs and attitudes and affected all spheres of life from personal interchanges to voting, jobs, use of public facilities, education, and housing. The *Miller Classified Buyers' Guide of Winchester for 1959–1960*, a city directory, listed residents by street. A star [*] by an address denoted race, although the publisher admitted, "its use is so varied that we assume no responsibility" for its correctness. Despite the publisher's caveat, the street directory provides insight into residential segregation in Winchester. There was no single black neighborhood, but the largest concentration of African Americans was at the north end of the town. At the same time, almost no mixed-race blocks existed with only one or two black households. Only three blocks on the southwest side of town had African American residents. Another symbol which shows home ownership indicates

⁵⁴⁸ In 1950, Winchester had approximately 270 nonwhite children between the ages of five and nineteen, while Frederick County had less than 120. "Table 4L—Age by Color and Sex, for Counties and Independent Cities," U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census, 1950*.

most African Americans did not own their residence.⁵⁴⁹ Residential segregation still exists in Winchester. The “Racial Dot Map” displays 2010 census data by race and indicates areas where minorities are clustered as some of the same sections of town that were largely minority in 1959. There is now a relatively large Hispanic population in some of these areas. Areas that are nonwhite are generally areas where housing is cheaper.⁵⁵⁰

The experience of Henry Brooks, an educator who acted as spokesman for the African American community, reveals the pervasiveness of racism. Brooks attended Virginia State College and served with Patton’s Third Army as a member of the all-black 183rd Engineer Combat Battalion. Brooks was on the Douglas School faculty and later on the Handley faculty.⁵⁵¹ In April 1953, Brooks appeared before City Council to ask that they consider making the Handley Library “available to the colored citizens.” Brooks also asked when the City was going to provide adequate recreational facilities for

⁵⁴⁹ *Miller’s Winchester, VA. City Directory 1959–1960*, XVI (Asheville, NC: Southern Directory Co., 1959), 445–576.

⁵⁵⁰ “The Racial Dot Map: One Dot Per Person for the Entire U.S.,” Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, University of Virginia, accessed October 10, 2013, <http://demographics.coopercenter.org/DotMap/index.html>.

⁵⁵¹ In 1953, Brooks was working on a master’s degree at the University of Virginia and wanted to use material at the Handley Library. African Americans were not allowed to use the Library, although they could pick up materials for whites. One evening Brooks selected six books at the Library. When Brooks replied to the librarian’s question that the books were for him, the books were taken away and Brooks was asked not to return. Brooks was outside sitting on the Library steps when the chairman of the Handley Board of Trustees, Charles Harper, came by and asked Brooks why he was sitting there. Brooks told Harper what happened. Harper recommended Brooks gather a group of African Americans and go to City Council to “see if we can’t stop this very bad practice.” Brooks arranged for eleven others to go to the Council. However, when white employers of some in the group learned what was intended, they were fired. In the end, four African Americans went to City Council. The Council considered restricting library access to certain times, but after Charles Harper threatened to resign from the Handley Board, the library was open to African Americans, although many remained reluctant to use it. Patricia Ritchie and Handley Regional Library 100th Anniversary Book Committee, *Handley Regional Library: The First One Hundred Years* (Ann Arbor: Sheridan Books, 2012), 69. In recent years, there are many African American library users as well as users from other minority groups at the Handley Library. Author’s observation.

“colored citizens.” Council agreed to review the library issue with the Library Board and asked the Recreation Committee to provide a plan for improvement.⁵⁵² Brooks returned to Council in October to ask about the Library. The Council passed a resolution requesting that the Library Board of Trustees provide access and this was eventually accomplished. Brooks and others appeared at Council in 1954 to raise the recreation issue again and learned there was provision for a wading pool at Douglas Playground.⁵⁵³

After the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954, Senator Harry Byrd led Virginia’s response of “massive resistance” to stonewall integration. The state established Pupil Placement Boards to assign students to specific schools and were intended to maintain segregation.⁵⁵⁴ Virginia planned tuition grants for students to attend segregated schools. The ultimate “massive resistance” was cutting off funds and closing any school that integrated. In 1958, when schools in Front Royal in Warren County, Charlottesville, and Norfolk faced desegregation, Governor Almond closed the schools, locking out nearly 13,000 students. For whites, “instead of segregation versus integration, now it was desegregation versus closed public schools.”⁵⁵⁵

Boosters of economic development recognized the region’s racial issues were factors in considerations of outside entrepreneurs. For some investors, the South’s attitudes were abhorrent and unjust. Furthermore, possibilities of confrontation deterred

⁵⁵² Winchester City Council Minutes, April 14, 1953.

⁵⁵³ Winchester City Council Minutes, April 8, 1954.

⁵⁵⁴ “Television News of the Civil Rights Era,” accessed November 27, 2012, <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/civilrightstv/glossary/topic-017.html>.

⁵⁵⁵ Warren County is adjacent to Frederick County. “Massive Resistance,” Encyclopedia Virginia, accessed September 4, 2012 http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Massive_Resistance.

businesses that wanted stability. Businesses would not be able to attract talented managers with children to communities where availability of schools was uncertain.⁵⁵⁶

In Winchester and Frederick County, white school officials took advantage of state delaying tactics. Desegregation proceeded slowly in Virginia.⁵⁵⁷ It was not until January 1959, when both a federal court and the state's highest court found school closings unconstitutional, that black students peacefully enrolled in white schools in Front Royal, Charlottesville, and Norfolk.⁵⁵⁸ In 1960, three African American boys, two from Winchester and one from Frederick County, applied to attend Handley School.⁵⁵⁹ School officials referred the issue to the School Board. More than two weeks later, the Board referred the case to the State Pupil Placement Board, recommending the students be assigned to Douglas School.⁵⁶⁰ The delay achieved its purpose and no African Americans entered white schools that year.

In 1962, the United States District Court Judge ordered that the Winchester School Board prepare an integration plan.⁵⁶¹ The School Board determined on gradual integration. Initially six African American students would attend first grade and seven

⁵⁵⁶ Helen Hill Miller, "Private Business and Public Education in the South," *Harvard Business Review* 38 (July–August 1960): 75.

⁵⁵⁷ Some business leaders believed token integration might have been preferable to massive resistance as far as the economy was concerned. Davison Douglas, professor at William and Mary, argued that because of token integration, Virginia had not successfully attracted new industry while North Carolina, with token integration, continued to attract business. In 1958, a group of twenty-nine Virginia business leaders told Governor Almond that the crisis was adversely affecting Virginia's economy. Davison M. Douglas, "The Rhetoric of Moderation: Desegregating the South During the Decade After Brown," William and Mary Law School, Faculty Publications (1994): 139; accessed May 31, 2013, <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/facpubs/116>; Ronald Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2007), 355; "Massive Resistance."

⁵⁵⁸ "Massive Resistance."

⁵⁵⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 7, 1960.

⁵⁶⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 19, 1960.

⁵⁶¹ *Winchester Star*, July 23, 2012. (The *Winchester Evening Star* became the *Winchester Star* in 1980.)

students would attend ninth grade. The plan divided the city into four zones and allowed minority students to apply for transfer to another school. Less than 30 black students entered white schools each year until 1966 when Douglas closed.⁵⁶² In 1968, the United States Supreme Court ruling in *Green et al. v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia*, overturned “freedom of choice” and large-scale integration occurred in Virginia.⁵⁶³

On September 16, 1975, racial tension erupted into a fight at Handley High School. According to Charles Sunderlin, a student at the time, the majority of Handley students were not agitators, although some troublemakers alarmed most students.⁵⁶⁴ School was immediately closed. When school reopened, teachers, administrators, and “resource persons” both black and white, were present as a “calming influence.” The “resource persons,” a group of forty adult volunteers, had been asked to help keep order along with more than fifty policemen. No further incidents occurred, and after investigation, nine black and four white students were suspended. Five white and two black students were expelled. The NAACP filed a class action suit on behalf of eleven black students who had been disciplined. In December, a federal judge upheld the expulsions.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶² “Alumni, NAACP in Winchester, Va., Fighting Over Spelling of Douglas School’s Name,” *Washington Post*, December 12, 2010, accessed August 13, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/12/AR2010121203510.html>; *Winchester Star*, July 21, 1914.

⁵⁶³ Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, 355.

⁵⁶⁴ Adam Breslaw, “Racial Tensions in Winchester,” Warren Hofstra Collection, 559 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA. No date.

⁵⁶⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 16, 1975; September 17, 1975; September 18, 1975; September 20, 1975.

After the disturbance, superintendent of schools Jacob Johnson met with Mayor Stewart Bell and the City Council to request assistance. At the meeting, Dr. Howard Bean, a clinical psychologist at the Northwestern clinic, suggested discussion groups. Mayor Bell called a meeting of white and black leaders and they agreed to create Human Relations Workshops. Joseph Cartwright, an African American leader, believed dialogue would be useful, “I believe in sitting down and talking. The only way to do it and to do it smoothly is to talk it out.”⁵⁶⁶ The community organized five racially mixed Human Relations Workshops for school administrators, community members, parents, faculty members, and students. After Handley School reopened, Workshops continued with the Handley faculty and with groups of white and black students.⁵⁶⁷

The Workshops opened opportunities for African Americans when they recommended African American participation in public office. Mrs. Effie Davis, an African American high school guidance counselor, was appointed to fill a vacancy on City Council—an obvious effort to reduce racial tensions. An African American, Floyd Finley, was appointed to the Winchester School Board in 1980.⁵⁶⁸ Claude Smalts, the white mayor of Winchester between 1956 and 1964, served as campaign manager for

⁵⁶⁶ Cartwright was a funeral director and active in the Boy Scouts, Kiwanis, and Big Brothers and served on the Winchester Parks and Recreation Board. *Winchester Evening Star*, July 14, 1975.

⁵⁶⁷ Two students who were ninth graders during the first year of integration at Handley recalled their experience. The white student, Michael Johnson, remembered he felt “little apprehension toward integration” since there were only a few African Americans in his classes. He viewed African American athletes as a “welcome relief” because they were exceptional. Johnson observed African American students did not join in extracurricular activities and students segregated themselves in social interactions. Charlotte Washington, an African American, found integration an unhappy experience. She seldom saw many students she knew and observed African American students were in general rather than academic courses. Both students approved integration and both thought the process would have been better if students as well as teachers had been better prepared. Winifred Kyle, “The Integration of Handley High School,” 1986, Warren Hofstra Collection, 559, WFCBS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁵⁶⁸ *Winchester Star*, August 14, 1980.

Garfield Prather when he ran for City Council. Prather, an African American, had worked with Henry Brooks to get access to the Handley Library and also worked to integrate downtown stores. Local historian Rebecca Ebert recalled Prather talked to Leggett's and Penney's and worked out a deal so they would both hire black employees to "start on the same day" and customers would not "boycott the first store with a black salesperson."⁵⁶⁹

In 1976, the *Washington Star* optimistically reported racial tension had "evaporated" in Winchester and that businesses now faced the problem of a "lack of black professionals" that local firms seeking federal contracts needed to meet equal opportunity requirements. A white Winchester businessman commented on the difficulty of hiring black professionals since they could get better wages in cities. Reporter Tom Crosby credited Workshops organized by Dr. Howard Bean for much of the improvement. Workshops were still meeting bimonthly to discuss "communication, racial discrimination, class discrimination, and school discipline." A Winchester lawyer observed there was a conscious effort by the city to obtain more blacks for committees. Dr. Bean observed other progress: a doctor recently invited black guests to a party and clubs like Kiwanis and Rotary were seeking black members. As Dr. Bean stated, "we are trying to change attitudes and values."⁵⁷⁰

Racial prejudice and bias have not completely disappeared in Winchester and Frederick County; nevertheless, there has been improvement in attitudes and increased opportunities for minorities. The barriers between races and the limitations on

⁵⁶⁹ *Winchester Star*, February 8, 1986.

⁵⁷⁰ *Washington Star*, June 1, 1971, June Gaskins Davis Collection, 1493 THL, Box 6, Scrapbook 4, 1968–2000, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

opportunities for African Americans might not have been removed without the civil rights movement and federal actions. There is a growing minority population in the region, reflecting a national trend. In Winchester schools during 2012–2013, whites represented only 58 percent of the students.⁵⁷¹ In addition, there is evidence of a genuine attitude adjustment: Barack Obama received more than 50 percent of the vote in Winchester in 2012 and 35 percent in Frederick County.⁵⁷²

Besides public education, business leaders believed a college would add cachet and prestige to the community as well as provide training for the workforce. Civic booster James Wilkins recognized almost all new industries “required educated and trained people; therefore, we had to provide colleges, vocational classes, and trade-type schools.”⁵⁷³ William Battaile recalled that industries coming to Winchester “wanted us to have a school for training, [that is,] industrial schools.”⁵⁷⁴

In 1950, President Troy R. Brady of Shenandoah College looked to Winchester for a solution to the school’s problems. The small institution in Dayton, Virginia, was affiliated with the Evangelical United Brethren Church (EUB) and was nearly bankrupt. Brady contacted Senator Harry Byrd at his Washington office. Brady knew Byrd was influential in Virginia since he had been a former governor. Brady may have read a Byrd newspaper, the *Daily News Record*, which was circulated in Rockingham County. Byrd was no longer active in Winchester civic life but he referred Brady to his son, Harry

⁵⁷¹ Winchester Public Schools, “Winchester Public Schools Fast Facts 2012–2013,” accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.wps.k12.va.us/sysinfo/facts1213.pdf>.

⁵⁷² “2012 Virginia Presidential Results,” Politico.com, accessed May 26, 2013, <http://www.politico.com/2012-election/results/president/virginia/>.

⁵⁷³ James Wilkins, *The Impossible Task* (Harrisonburg VA: Good Printers Inc., 1985), 28.

⁵⁷⁴ “Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee,” February 3, 1992, transcript, 23, SA 4 – 2, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

Byrd, Jr., at that time editor of the *Winchester Evening Star*. “With the Senator’s blessing,” Brady’s contact with Harry Byrd, Jr. proved fruitful and “by five o’clock, we had a meeting with twelve other leaders of the town, and a liaison person was appointed to work with us and the Chamber of Commerce.” The College president recalled, “There was a problem for Winchester. They had just completed a new hospital [actually an addition to the old hospital], and were involved in paying for it.” A few years later, Brady was invited to Winchester. He explained “what the school could offer the city, and what the city could do for the school.” A vote at the close of the meeting unanimously supported the move.⁵⁷⁵

Winchester and Frederick County boosters offered generous assistance to Shenandoah College and James Wilkins, cochairman of the Chamber of Commerce project committee, and other businessmen smoothed the transition.⁵⁷⁶ The community donated forty-five acres for the campus and raised \$350,000 for the first building. For the school, it was an opportunity to grow.⁵⁷⁷ The college opened in 1966 with two buildings. Initially students were housed with local families but with the help of community funding, two dormitories were constructed. Shenandoah College has prospered and now has forty-one buildings, including one near Leesburg. At least ten buildings are named for local residents, indicating the extent of the financial support of the community.

⁵⁷⁵ “Pop Troy’s Anthology: Elkins, WV and Shenandoah College,” accessed September 5, 2012, <http://freepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~bradytrilogy/anthology/elkins-shenandoah.html>.

⁵⁷⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 18, 1960.

⁵⁷⁷ “Pop Troy’s Anthology: Elkins, WV and Shenandoah College,” The Evangelical United Brethren merged with the Methodist Church in 1968 to become the United Methodist Church. Church of the United Brethren in Christ, USA, “Our History,” UB.org, accessed May 8, 2013. <http://ub.org/about/history/>.

In 1966, Virginia created a community college system, and a state college finally came to the region when Lord Fairfax Community College opened in 1970 with 577 students.⁵⁷⁸ Winchester and Frederick County boosters could point to the availability of local training for the workforce. State Senator Kenneth Robinson of Frederick County supported an education bond in Virginia in 1968, emphasizing failure to pass would be “rough on the community college program.”⁵⁷⁹

Business leaders’ efforts in education benefited the community in intended and unintended ways. Expansion of public education was essential because of population growth. Support of higher education institutions was not mandatory, but as local leaders intended, represented an advantage when selling the community to outside business. An unintended consequence was that education is now an important component of the economy. Frederick County Public Schools have more than 1,000 employees and Winchester Public Schools have more than 599 employees. Shenandoah became a 4-year college in 1974 and a University in 1991. In 2010, Shenandoah University reported 845 employees and Lord Fairfax Community College reported 510 employees. An economic impact analysis performed for Shenandoah estimated the institution had a community impact of 1,342 jobs.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, September 16, 1970.

⁵⁷⁹ “Virginia State Senator J. Kenneth Robinson Discusses Higher Education Bond Issue and Governor’s Race,” *Virgo*, accessed November 12, 2013, <http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/uva-lib:2216200>.

⁵⁸⁰ Shenandoah University, accessed August 9, 2013,

<http://www.shenandoah.edu/16B12ADF0E4840B88E11ADE5D17BFE11.asp>; Lord Fairfax Community College, “LFCC General Information,” accessed August 9, 2013, <http://www.lfcc.edu/about-the-college/news/media-kit/college-media-kit/college-fact-sheet/lfcc-general-information/index.html>.

III. TRANSPORTATION: LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION

When the federal government opened two major interstate roads in the region, leaders intended to find ways to take advantage of the highways. Local boosters, especially those involved in real estate, understood the importance of “location, location, location” and recognized that for prospective companies, a desirable “location” required convenient transportation and access to a wide marketplace. The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 “authorized 41,000 miles of Interstate highways.” Two of the highways, Interstate 66 and Interstate 81, intersected in Frederick County and connected with older highways including Routes 7, 11, 17, 50, and 522.⁵⁸¹ Interstate highways can have a potent effect on communities. Communities with little to entice travelers might lose whatever meager business they have when an interstate highway opens, and downtown Winchester retailers feared a loss of business. To retain commerce, local leaders made improvements to downtown and developed shopping malls, attractions, and facilities for travelers. With the new highways, William Battaile recalled “truck lines all began to stop in here” since the community provided accessibility to the major urban centers of the eastern United States.⁵⁸² Highway construction accelerated the trend toward suburbanization because fast limited-access roads reduced commuting time between Winchester and Frederick County and the northern Virginia and Washington area.

⁵⁸¹ Jim Sorenson, “The Interstate Highway System Celebrating a Defining National Achievement: Meeting Tomorrow’s Challenges,” Asphalt Recycling and Reclaiming Association’s 2006 Meeting, accessed April 16, 2013, http://www.arra.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=95&Itemid=108. Sorenson is with the Federal Highway Administration.

⁵⁸² “Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee,” 17.

Interstate 66 improved access from Frederick County to the Washington area. The link to the Washington Beltway opened in 1980, and the final section opened in 1982.⁵⁸³ Route 66, as well as improvements on Routes 50 and 7, reduced travel time to higher paying jobs in Washington and the northern Virginia suburbs where opportunities increased as more and more employers moved west to Fairfax, Loudoun, and Prince William Counties. At present, starting teacher salaries are between \$6,000 and \$9,000 higher in Loudoun County, Virginia, than salaries for similar positions in Frederick County. Trading off salary for commuting time was not easy. Pam Palmer, a Loudoun County teacher who lives in Frederick County, has a forty-minute drive to her job in Leesburg and explained her increased salary helped her afford a home. “I’m in between a rock and a hard place because I can’t afford to live in Loudoun where I work, and I can’t afford to work in Winchester where I live.”⁵⁸⁴

Interstate 81, between New York and Tennessee, opened near Winchester in 1965.⁵⁸⁵ Initially Interstate 81 had an adverse effect on the economy of small Shenandoah Valley towns and a negative impact on commerce in downtown Winchester. North–south travelers no longer needed to pass through Winchester and downtown retailers lost business. To improve the situation, Winchester and Frederick County leaders supported

⁵⁸³ Completion of the final segment was delayed and heavy truck traffic was restricted primarily because of concerns about the impact of traffic in Arlington County. Virginia Department of Transportation, “Secretary’s Decision on Interstate Highway 66, Fairfax and Arlington Counties, Virginia,” January 5, 1977, 60, accessed April 16, 2013, <http://www.virginiadot.org/projects/idea66/downloads/Coleman-Decision.pdf>.

⁵⁸⁴ “Competing For Teachers: How Loudoun County Measures Up,” *Leesburg Today*, accessed August 12, 2013, http://www.leesburgtoday.com/news/competing-for-teachers-how-loudoun-county-measures-up/article_95c8835a-c3a8-11e2-9869-0019bb2963f4.html.

⁵⁸⁵ Federal Highway Administration, “Economic Development History of Interstate 81 in Virginia,” accessed April 16, 2013, http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/planning/economic_development/assistance/i81va.cfm.

the development of attractions and facilities for travelers.⁵⁸⁶ Besides promoting commerce, attractions for travelers created local jobs. Due to these efforts, Interstate 81 eventually benefited the commercial bottom line, although downtown did not regain its former importance as a commercial center.

Civic boosters continue to tout transportation advantages as an important asset in the region. Today, the Virginia Department of Transportation describes Interstate 81 “as a main link between southern economic hubs and northeast markets.”⁵⁸⁷ The present-day Winchester–Frederick County Economic Development Commission website emphasizes access to roads, rail, sixteen motor freight companies, and the local airport as well as Dulles Airport. Another strong selling point is the nearby Warren County inland port, operated by the Virginia Port Authority, which provides a rail connection to Virginia shipping ports for large truck cargoes.⁵⁸⁸ In the 1950s, leaders of the Economic Development Corporation also wanted to improve air transportation. The region had opened a relatively small airport in the 1920s. When William Battaile and others were searching for industry, they found that an airport was essential for some businesses. The *Chamber of Commerce Newsletter* for March 1961 reported a potential industry had chosen a Maryland location rather than Winchester because the local airport could not

⁵⁸⁶ Historic sites include Civil War Battlefields, George Washington’s Headquarters during the French and Indian War, the Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, and the Winchester Historic District.

⁵⁸⁷ Virginia Department of Transportation, “Interstate 81 Fact Sheet,” accessed April 16, 2013, http://www.virginiadot.org/projects/resources/I-81_general_fact_sheet.pdf.

⁵⁸⁸ “Infrastructure,” Winchester–Frederick County Economic Development Commission, accessed June 30, 2013, <http://winva.com/site-selection/infrastructure/>; The Port of Virginia, “Annual Report of the Virginia Port Authority,” June 2012, 4, accessed June 30, 2013, <http://www.portofvirginia.com/media/89347/2012cafrweb-final.pdf>.

handle air freight.⁵⁸⁹ Leaders searched to find ways for improvements to the airport and the Chamber of Commerce paid for the first paved runway at the airport.⁵⁹⁰

IV. INFRASTRUCTURE, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

After World War II, civic leaders recognized existing infrastructure and services would be inadequate for an increasing population and expanding industrial sector.

Winchester needed a better water supply and Frederick County provided no water or sewer services. Furthermore, the medical and welfare sectors of the community needed improvement.

Although Winchester provided water and sewage disposal services for its population in 1945, the city did not have an adequate water supply to support industrial development and population growth. In 1948, City Council authorized “re-evaluation of the city’s present and future water needs.” The study recommended “development of a supply from the North Fork of the Shenandoah River.”⁵⁹¹ In 1954, Councilman Dr. William McGuire warned the “acute water situation has prevented new industries in the City and that both economic and health dangers are present in the time of a drought, and conditions grow worse each year.”⁵⁹² Council acted to finance the project and ordered a special election for voter approval.⁵⁹³ The voters approved. By the late 1950s, the city of Winchester had a new water supply. As residential space decreased in Winchester, James

⁵⁸⁹ *Chamber of Commerce Newsletter*, March 16, 1961, 516 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁵⁹⁰ William Battaile, interview by Stan Hersh, transcript, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA, 3.

⁵⁹¹ “The Story of Winchester’s Water Supply,” Winchester City Records 519 THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁵⁹² Winchester City Council Minutes, March 4, 1954.

⁵⁹³ Winchester City Council Minutes, March 12, 1954.

Wilkins and other real estate developers realized expansion would have to occur in Frederick County, and during the 1950s developers built subdivisions in the county. Frederick County arranged with the city for water and sewer services for subdivisions and industry. The city was willing to comply since the new Percy D. Miller Water Treatment Plant was more than adequate with a capacity of ten million gallons a day.⁵⁹⁴ Winchester derived revenue from the sale of the services and Frederick County received tax revenue from new residents and businesses.

Until the 1960s, most county residents had wells and septic tanks and expected to meet their own water and sewer requirements.⁵⁹⁵ In 1967, the Board of Supervisors created the Frederick County Sanitation Authority (FCSA) to build and operate a water and sewer system and a sewage disposal system.⁵⁹⁶ The timing was not accidental. In the mid-1960s, Winchester officials decided to come to grips with the city's lack of room for growth and began discussing annexation of county land. Frederick County officials saw the handwriting on the wall—if city utilities were available in an area, the city would have an edge in acquiring the land. Furthermore, the County might lose other parts of the County. According to Raymond Sandy, a chairman of the Board of Supervisors, a “completely independent” Authority was formed “under no elected official jurisdiction.”

The county itself did not “take on the work load of the project” and was “under no

⁵⁹⁴ City of Winchester, “Public Utilities Water” accessed July 23, 2014, <http://www.winchesterva.gov/utilities/water>; City of Winchester Public Utilities, “Winchester Public Utilities Water Quality Report,” accessed May 30, 2013, <http://www.winchesterva.gov/sites/default/files/documents/utilities/2012-ccr.pdf>; Winchester City Council Minutes, April 17, 1948; “The Story of Winchester’s Water Supply,” City of Winchester, 519 THL/WFCHS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁵⁹⁵ When Frederick County built the consolidated James Wood High School, Winchester City Council, responding to a request by the county school superintendent, passed a resolution permitting the school “to connect to the water and sewer mains.” Winchester City Council Minutes, April 11, 1950.

⁵⁹⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 17, 1975.

financial obligations.”⁵⁹⁷ Roger Koontz, who became chair of the FCSA, described an “authority” as the only way to get services to the people without taxes: “The people who use the provided services pay for them.”⁵⁹⁸ The County did not have to incur debt to provide the service. The Authority would pay its own way through connection fees paid by the developers of subdivisions and usage fees paid by homeowners. The Board of Supervisors did provide the Authority with \$400,000 to cover start-up costs. Unlike most leaders, Roger Koontz was not a businessman, but an educator. Koontz (1920–2005) served as chair of the Frederick County Sanitation Authority and as chairman of the Board of Supervisors between 1975 and 1983. He was born in Maryland and attended the University of Virginia. Like other post-war leaders, Koontz was a decorated veteran and wrote a book about his war experiences. He began his local career as an athletic coach and eventually became a school principal.⁵⁹⁹

The Authority was beset by problems during its early years. Two of the five Authority members resigned after one year. In July 1970, the Authority hired both a director and engineer. In February 1971, the Authority fired its attorney, and the director and engineer left soon after. The Authority hired a replacement director/engineer who left in 1974 and was replaced by a third director/engineer. Serious differences of opinion

⁵⁹⁷ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 20, 1975.

⁵⁹⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 18, 1975.

⁵⁹⁹ Koontz was active in his church, the Lions Club, Ruritan Club, Historical Society, Education Association, and the Chamber of Commerce. Koontz was involved in several controversies. One involved a suit for conflict of interest because for a brief time he was on both the Board of Supervisors and chairman of the Frederick County Sanitation Authority. Koontz claimed he had already announced he was going to resign from the FCSA. Koontz was also challenged about whether as both educator and supervisor, he should vote on the school budget. Koontz decided not to vote on the budget. “Interview with S. Roger Koontz,” accessed March 16 2014, http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/faculty_archives/principalsip/k/158koontz.html; “S. Roger Koontz,” *Herald-Mail.com*, accessed March 16, 2014, http://articles.herald-mail.com/2005-12-23/news/25043418_1_christ-church-son-special-friend/2.

occurred between the Authority and the Board of Supervisors over connection fees.⁶⁰⁰ Higher connection fees paid by the developer often resulted in lower recurring rates paid by homeowners. Supervisors, mindful of their constituents' power at the polls, supported higher connection fees. To add to the Authority's difficulties, enough County citizens opposed the FCSA's project to organize as the "Environmental Council." The group's president, Charles Boyd, stated, "We are mainly concerned with who is planning the future for Frederick County. Right now, the Sanitation Authority controls the growth of the county."⁶⁰¹ The Environmental Council favored a larger system in conjunction with Winchester which they believed would save taxpayers money. Hoping to "slow the things down," the Environmental Council requested an environmental study.

When Winchester announced plans for annexation, the FCSA began a project to supply services to a section of the County at risk for annexation. Despite the County's belated efforts to forestall annexation, a panel of judges decided in 1971 that Winchester could annex County land. The judges specifically referred to the water and sewer situation and the fact that Winchester already provided these services to some residents. The County's project was halted, "wasting almost two years of Authority work and money."⁶⁰² After annexation, Frederick County officials redoubled efforts to obtain water and sewer. These utilities were critical for rebuilding their tax base, particularly the commercial tax base. In 1971, Winchester and Frederick County signed a contract agreeing Winchester would sell water to the FCSA and that the two jurisdictions would

⁶⁰⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 18, 1975.

⁶⁰¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, March 19, 1975.

⁶⁰² *Winchester Evening Star*, March 17, 1975.

study feasibility of a joint wastewater facility. It took years to reach a mutually satisfactory solution. Finally in 1982, motivated by the possibility of funding from the Environmental Protection Agency for a regional wastewater plant, the two jurisdictions agreed to proceed.⁶⁰³

Civic leaders recognized that like adequate utilities, quality medical care and an adequate hospital were important for businesses seeking to relocate, and the Winchester Memorial Hospital accepted federal funds as well as local donations to expand. In the past, local citizens and philanthropists provided funding. In 1946, the federal government passed the Hill–Burton Act to provide matching funds for hospital construction. With money Hill–Burton made possible, the hospital began expansion in a residential neighborhood. The first expansion costing approximately \$2.4 million in 1950 was enabled with \$1.3 million of federal and state funds. Local sources provided the remainder.⁶⁰⁴ A second expansion in the mid-1970s also received Hill–Burton funds.

When the hospital expanded in the 1970s, neighborhood complaints about traffic had increased,⁶⁰⁵ and in 1983, when the hospital again obtained partial federal funding for a medical center, they built the facility on more than 100 acres of land at the western edge of Winchester. The \$55 million facility was “part of the largest construction project” in the city.⁶⁰⁶ A further expansion occurred in 2012. This facility is now part of Valley Health, incorporated in 1994, that includes the Winchester Medical Center and five other hospitals in the Shenandoah Valley. Valley Health has more than 5,300 employees and a

⁶⁰³ *Winchester Evening Star*, October 12, 1975.

⁶⁰⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, June 17, 1950.

⁶⁰⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 3, 1975.

⁶⁰⁶ *Winchester Star*, August 27, 2012.

medical staff of over 500, and is the largest employer in the area.⁶⁰⁷ Medical care in the region benefited in recent years from two grants each exceeding \$1 million from the Department of Health and Human Services for nursing education and physician assistant training by Shenandoah University.⁶⁰⁸ The hospital established the Winchester Medical Care Foundation to encourage and receive private donations.⁶⁰⁹ In 2013, Valley Health announced a “strategic alliance” with the much larger Inova Health Systems.⁶¹⁰

The majority of welfare spending in both Winchester and Frederick County after 1930 was federal or state funds. Winchester obtained a community block grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1980 to improve a low-income neighborhood. The grant included provision for a variety of low-cost loans and subsidies.⁶¹¹ In both Winchester and Frederick County budgets, welfare was categorized as “Virginia Public Assistance” in the 1970s. In Winchester, the city funded school lunches for about 25 percent of the students and a small amount for “Indochinese refugees” as well as slightly over \$50,000 for migrant education. Some migrant workers with families lived in a camp in Winchester during the apple harvest. The largest expenditures were Aid to Dependent Children and Old Age Assistance.⁶¹² Frederick County served subsidized lunches to about 25 percent of all students.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁷ Some employees are not in Winchester and Frederick County. “Overview,” Valley Health, accessed December 13, 2012, <http://www.valleyhealthlink.com/overview>.

⁶⁰⁸ US Department of Health and Human Services, “State Health Professional Grants,” accessed May 26, 2013, http://www.hhs.gov/news/press/2010pres/09b/state_charts_n_z.html.

⁶⁰⁹ “To Inspire Hope, Lift Spirits and Foster Healing: The WMC Cancer Center Capital Campaign,” Winchester Medical Care Foundation, accessed August 13, 2013, <http://www.valleyhealthlink.com/wmcf>.

⁶¹⁰ *Winchester Star*, July 3, 2013.

⁶¹¹ *Winchester Star*, June 17, 1980.

⁶¹² “Frederick County Budget for the Fiscal Year 1970–1972,” *Winchester Evening Star*, June 29, 1970;

“Winchester Budget for Year 1971–72,” *Winchester Evening Star*, May 29, 1971.

⁶¹³ *Winchester Star*, December 11, 1982.

After World War II, local leaders readily accepted federal funds to enhance their competitive edge in attracting industry. Federal funds were crucial in funding a regional wastewater plant, hospital expansion, and welfare costs. Road construction had long been a state function; the expense of highway expansion was too large for a local government to undertake. Water and sewer systems have the potential to be self-supporting and might have been built with local funds, but no local governments, such as those of Winchester and Frederick County, would refuse to take advantage of federal funds. In Frederick County, solving these issues represented a landmark in the transition from an agricultural to a suburban community and a breakthrough in acceptance by Frederick County citizens of the change from a rural government providing minimal services to a managed bureaucracy and a government that actively encouraged industry.

V. GOVERNMENT: CHALLENGES OF GROWTH

As population grew in Winchester and Frederick County, both governments expanded. The larger population required more services, an expanded bureaucracy, and larger school systems. At the same time, the revenue needs of the governments increased. Population pressure and inflation increased land assessments, salary, and buying power and thus increased sales tax revenue. Real estate tax revenue, a primary source of funding for local government, rose accordingly. Land value, the basis for the real estate tax, skyrocketed. The value of land per acre rose from \$82.61 in 1950 to \$1,115 in 1978, a change of more than 1,200 percent. This change increased property taxes, which is why reassessments were disliked but also increased selling and collateral value of property. Inflation increased wages and thus sales taxes. For example, wages in manufacturing

were \$4.1 million in 1947 and \$62.9 million in 1977, a 1,410 percent change.⁶¹⁴ New businesses brought in more license fees and other revenue. Virginia enacted a sales tax in 1966⁶¹⁵ that provided revenue without the need for local officials to take responsibility (or blame) for an unpopular measure.

Both governments unhesitatingly sought out and took advantage of federal and state funds. The bureaucracy developed the sophistication and structure to obtain funding and ensure at least a fair shake in benefits from federal and state governments. Obtaining external funding meant compliance with requirements. This process could be complex and required investigation into possibilities, analysis and justification, and preparation of substantial documentation in accordance with government deadlines. Local desires sometimes were adjusted to jive with federal funding restrictions; for example, the federal government was willing to fund a regional wastewater treatment plant, but not a county project.

Frederick County transitioned from a government that adequately served a rural community to a larger government that could meet the needs of a growing population. Supporting an urban population was not easy for county leaders, partly because they wanted to minimize expenses and tax increases. Furthermore, county leaders were inexperienced with urban services and bureaucratic management and were under pressure after Winchester successfully annexed County land in 1970 and the County urgently needed to address the problem of lost tax revenue from the annexed area. Until after

⁶¹⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census, 1947, 1977, 1978*.

⁶¹⁵ William F. Fox, "History and Economic Impact," Center for Business and Economic Research, University of Tennessee, 2002, accessed April 30, 2013, <http://cber.bus.utk.edu/staff/mnmecon338/foxipt.pdf>.

World War II, Frederick County provided minimal services. Water and sewer capability were not available. Volunteer county fire companies came into existence when residents felt they were needed and they were operated and supported by residents.⁶¹⁶ Local companies received very little funding from the County (in 1978, it was \$4,000) and held suppers and bingo games to raise funds for buildings and equipment. Winchester's fire departments responded to Frederick County calls for a fee.

In 1950, the primary concerns of the Frederick County Board of Supervisors were roads and education—the same concerns that had been important in 1900. Virginia maintained roads with input from the County. The School Board operated the school system with most of the funding made available by the county government. The 1950 Frederick County budget reveals the low cost of government with forecast for receipts and expenditures of \$580,000. Revenue from local taxes, known as a “levy,” amounted to \$2.15 per \$100 of real estate valuation. Other revenue included state and federal monies and revenue from miscellaneous sources including Alcohol Beverage Control profits and the “capitation [poll] tax.” For the County population of 17,537, the per capita cost of government was \$33.05. The budget listed salaries for only twenty-one employees, besides school personnel. Of those approximately nine appear to be part-time or fee-based personnel earning less than \$1,000. Revenue for Public Welfare was \$58,130; almost 80 percent of this amount from federal and state funds. The largest expenditure, almost 80 percent of the entire budget, was the “School Fund.” Virginia provided almost

⁶¹⁶ The first fire company was established in 1939 in the small Frederick County town of Stephens City. In 1950 there were only three fire companies in the county. Between 1950 and 1980, citizens started seven more volunteer companies and a rescue squad. Most were organized shortly after a disastrous fire in a neighborhood raised community consciousness. “Fire and Rescue: History,” Frederick County Virginia, accessed December 6, 2012, http://www.co.frederick.va.us/fire_and_rescue/history.aspx.

half of the funds for education. About half of the education appropriation was for instruction. Capital outlay and transportation made up the bulk of the remainder.⁶¹⁷

Frederick County's budget increased by nearly 1,000 percent between 1950 and 1970 largely because of the impact of population growth and inflation. The total budget was \$6.3 million, more than ten times the 1950 amount. The 1950 budget had four major categories of funds while the 1970 budget had six categories. In both budgets, education was the largest expense, increasing from about \$450,000 in 1950 to almost \$4,000,000 in 1970. Welfare funding was more than six times the 1950 amount with almost 80 percent of the funds from the state and federal government. For 1970, "Crime Prevention," that is the sheriff's office and jail, cost was approximately fifteen times the 1950 costs. The County increased the general levy by 40 percent to \$3.00 per capita and levied a personal property tax of \$4.00 on "machinery, tools, and merchants capital." For the population of 28,893 the per capita cost was \$219, a 65 percent increase from 1950.⁶¹⁸ The per capita increase for the general levy may have been in line with inflation, but many citizens were unhappy with the impact of the increased cost of government and increased property assessments, a new state sales tax in 1966, and a local personal property tax along with increases in federal and state taxes led to organized resistance to government spending.

An annual inflation rate of 2.37 percent⁶¹⁹ and a cumulative inflation rate of 69.4 percent⁶²⁰ between 1950 and 1970 affected the budget and the County searched for alternatives besides the real estate tax to deal with rising costs. In addition to an estimated

⁶¹⁷ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 12, 1950.

⁶¹⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, June 14, 1970.

⁶¹⁹ "Inflation Calculator," *Dollar Times*, accessed October 18, 2013, <http://www.dollartimes.com/calculators/inflation.htm>.

⁶²⁰ "Find Total US Inflation Over Time," accessed March 17, 2014, <http://usinflation.org/>.

balance from the previous year, the County anticipated fees for using the county dump, revenue of almost \$450,000 from a local sales tax, automobile tags, and a variety of minor sources of revenue including building permits, a trailer tax, parking meter receipts, and a recordation tax.⁶²¹ The County expected to receive about \$600,000 from Virginia that included a share of Alcohol Beverage Control profits, almost \$500,000 from a state sales tax, as well as funds for other local expenses.⁶²² For the Education Fund, the County received outside money. In 1950, the County received \$215,000 for the school fund from the state. In 1970, the county received \$1,580,000 from the state plus \$154,000 from the federal government for education, an increase of 707 percent from outside sources.

The Board of Supervisors found it increasingly difficult to administer the County without a manager and a larger bureaucratic structure. In January 1971, Roger Alderman took office as the first executive secretary, a position similar to city manager. The County needed new industry to recoup the tax loss from annexation, provide a “firmer economic base,” and could not “do that without water and sewer.” Alderman made recommendations for public facilities, community services, law enforcement, land development, planning, and zoning.⁶²³ In 1980, when the Frederick County Board of Supervisors moved to reorganize county offices, the county administrator recommended changes including a personnel department, upgrading equipment, moving the finance center, and creating a permit center.

⁶²¹ A recordation tax is a tax on the recording of “deeds, deeds of trust, mortgages, leases and contracts for the sale, assignment, transfer, conveyance or vestment of lands, tenements or realty.” “Recordation Tax,” City of Alexandria, Virginia, accessed October 18, 2013, <http://alexandriava.gov/finance/info/default.aspx?id=2954>.

⁶²² 1950 data: *Winchester Evening Star*, May 12, 1950; 1970 data: *Winchester Evening Star*, June 29, 1970.

⁶²³ The *Winchester Evening Star* published 17 articles that examined issues after annexation. *Winchester Evening Star*, April 5–April 23, 1971.

For County leaders, growth included growing pains and the *Winchester Evening Star* characterized the 1975 term of the Board of Supervisors as “turbulent.” A property reassessment raised numerous complaints. Both the Health Department and the newly formed Parks and Recreation Department were investigated for irregularities. A few supervisors had a public dispute with the county administrator. The Board delayed approving a building permit for General Electric, fearing the land would become part of a future annexation.⁶²⁴

Two local watchdog groups, the Frederick County Environmental Council and the Frederick County Taxpayers Association, resisted government spending that might raise taxes.⁶²⁵ One of the first issues the Frederick County Taxpayers Association raised was the possibility of a property reassessment in the mid-1960s. Since real estate prices were rising, reassessment was tantamount to raising property taxes. Joshua Place, president of the Taxpayers Association, told a *Winchester Evening Star* reporter, “We started April 9, 1965, when people came to find salvation on reassessment.” The group favored minimal taxes, and they favored minimal government expenditures. They did not hesitate to make their views known, resisting initiatives that required funding such as a new park.⁶²⁶ They opposed purchase of land by the County from the family of local politician Kenneth

⁶²⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, December 12, 1975.

⁶²⁵ Taxpayers Associations were not uncommon in the post-World War II era. The Council of State Governments listed 41 states with such groups in 1978. Alexander Walker observed, they “seemed to follow naturally in the wake of urbanization,” no doubt a reaction to the threat of increased property taxes. Alexander Walker, “Taxpayers’ Associations: The “Opposition” in Government Finance,” *The University of Virginia News Letter* 54, no. 11 (July 1978), accessed November 10, 2013, <http://www.coopercenter.org/sites/default/files/autoVANLPubs/Virginia%20News%20Letter%201978%20Vol.%2054%20No.%2011.pdf>.

⁶²⁶ Frederick County Board of Supervisors Minutes, October 9, 1974.

Robinson for a new school at a price they claimed was too high.⁶²⁷ The group opposed an improved water and sewer system for Frederick County.⁶²⁸ The Frederick County Taxpayers Association, through Alexandria, Virginia, attorney Geoffrey Vitt, brought allegations against some supervisors that resulted in a police investigation. One supervisor was so frustrated by the gadfly group that he termed the Taxpayers Association “highly malignant.”⁶²⁹ The Frederick County Taxpayers Association did delay projects and no doubt caused County officials to be more careful in developing rationales for action.

By 1980, Frederick County government leaders determined to come to grips with growth. Property issues dominated Board of Supervisors’ meetings. In 1950, the Board of Supervisors minutes for the entire year amounted to eleven pages; by 1980, the minutes required 250 pages and the Board regularly met twice a month. The County wanted to lower government expenses by limiting land for subdivisions and industrial use and reducing the need for a “plethora of streets and water and sewer piping.” County Administrator Jim White observed, “In a rural environment, rural ordinances did the job; you didn’t have such complex development pressures. Now the development pressures are more complex than the ordinances.” White contended, “Rural ordinances may have to be replaced with urban ones.” To encourage more orderly growth, one of the solutions county officials favored was “downzoning,” that is, changing close to 300,000 acres from

⁶²⁷ “Frederick Taxpayers Plan School Site Policy Appeal,” *Fredericksburg Free Lance Star*, December 8, 1975, accessed October 23, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=cvZNAAAIAIAJ&sjid=GYsDAAAIAIAJ&pg=3678,3454493&q=taxpayers+frederick+county&hl=en>.

⁶²⁸ Board of Supervisors Minutes, February 13, 1980.

⁶²⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 3, 1975; April 11, 1975.

higher density to agricultural areas that did not need water and sewer so the County could concentrate resources in designated areas. Rezoning was also a way to “slow growth of population.”⁶³⁰

The Supervisors met with County Director of Planning and Development John Riley to discuss downzoning in January 1980. Riley believed downzoning was necessary because, “we are wide open for development and do not have the capabilities to provide the services such development would demand.” Agricultural areas did not need extensive services. Riley stated that when comprehensive rezoning was completed, the Planning Commission should be designated to review site plans and subdivision plats and relieve the Board of this work. Riley pointed out the Board’s control would be in the rezoning process. If growth in the County occurred as anticipated, there would be a necessity for a draftsman, an additional secretary, a zoning administrator, and possibly a planner in his department.⁶³¹

The Supervisors recognized they needed to improve their management of growth. Chairman of the Board Roger Koontz stated, “If we don’t want to be like other suburban counties we will have to get a grip on what’s going on.”⁶³² Nevertheless, the Supervisors anticipated challenges to downzoning and believed they might need counsel to represent the Board if there were legal challenges. The Board wanted counsel to attend community meetings to become aware of citizen reactions and resolved to contact local attorney

⁶³⁰ *Winchester Star*, January 9, 1980, February 6, 1980; April 25, 1980.

⁶³¹ John Riley was named county administrator in 1983 and as of this writing planned to retire in 2014. Board of Supervisors Minutes, Special Session, January 9, 1980; *Winchester Star*, June 26, 2014.

⁶³² *Winchester Evening Star*, January 10, 1980.

David Andre to see if he would act as a consultant and advise the board on downzoning issues.⁶³³

Since downzoning was controversial, the supervisors organized meetings in each voting district to discuss the issue. At the first meeting in the Back Creek District, most citizen comments came from those opposed to the plan. Many cited financial concerns. Real estate developer Thomas Glass pointed out if commercial or residential land was downzoned to agricultural, the lower appraised value of the land would reduce the ability to borrow money with the land as collateral. In a February meeting in the Opequon District, Attorney Lewis Costello flatly asserted downzoning was a “violation of property rights and unconstitutional.” Another speaker was concerned that mobile homes (allowed on agricultural land) would be near his residence if land was downzoned. Only two speakers favored downzoning, although they limited comments to support what one citizen, John Pickeral, termed “sound zoning” and did not elaborate further.⁶³⁴

Unlike Frederick County, Winchester was experienced with providing urban services⁶³⁵ for a concentrated population. Winchester’s larger government provided water, paved streets, street lighting, fire protection, and other services. The main sources of revenue for the year ending June 1959 were the real estate tax of \$1.50 per \$100 valuation, a personal property tax, and business licenses and fees. Water and sewer operations were essentially self-supporting. Winchester’s budget included expenditures for a city auditor, a purchasing agent, and costs for street lighting, cleaning, and snow

⁶³³ Board of Supervisors Minutes, Special Session, January 9, 1980.

⁶³⁴ *Winchester Star*, February 6, 1989.

⁶³⁵ Although Winchester is the county seat of the Frederick County government, the city has a separate government. Virginia allows independent cities to have governments that are separate from the surrounding county.

removal. The city provided funds for the library and maintained several properties including George Washington's Headquarters. City Council budgeted for parks and recreation and planned \$659,600 for education, of which nearly \$200,000 came from the state. Winchester operated a bus system that chronically lost money. The 1959 budget also included a small amount for a "Lunacy Commission."⁶³⁶

While Frederick County adjusted to population growth, Winchester civic leaders needed to deal with the city's lack of space to fully share the potential for growth and economic gain. Since annexation in 1921, the city limits had not been altered, while the population rose by almost 40 percent between 1930 and 1960. As a consequence, subdivisions grew up outside the city limits. The city did not reap the revenue benefits of residential and commercial growth although Winchester did get revenue by providing water and sewer to some County residents.⁶³⁷ Business leaders wanted to solve the problem. According to William Battaile, "We needed to control our water and sewer without having to go through another political jurisdiction," a "big impediment" when trying to bring a company to the area.⁶³⁸

Winchester and Frederick County had cooperated to attract industry, but the spirit of cooperation did not extend to solving Winchester's space problem. In Virginia, city and county can exist without an "overlap of political jurisdiction and taxing authority." When a city finds its growth limited by boundaries, the city and county can consolidate

⁶³⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, May 22, 1958.

⁶³⁷ For example, the city agreed to provide utilities for the County's new James Wood High School. Winchester City Council Minutes, April 11, 1950.

⁶³⁸ Battaile, whose main goal was attracting industry, favored consolidation and envisioned a Council that would be dominated by County members. "Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee," 17.

by mutual agreement or the city can seek to annex county land through a determination by state judges. When Winchester annexed land in 1901 and 1921, there was little resistance from the County. Annexation in Virginia was a “zero-sum” game; whatever a city gained was lost by the county. This fact alone increased the divisiveness of annexation in Virginia.⁶³⁹

In 1966, Winchester City Council authorized an annexation feasibility study⁶⁴⁰ by a Roanoke and Washington firm; William Zollman of the firm summarized their findings as: Winchester “might be termed stagnated.” The 1970 census confirmed this view. During the previous decade, Winchester’s population declined by 3.1 percent while Frederick County population increased by 31.7 percent. Zollman blamed out-migration of city residents for the loss. Younger families had moved out to obtain new housing. The city had only 18.9 percent of land vacant and that included a large historic site and a flood plain, both unsuitable for development. Winchester had no vacant lots large enough to attract commercial users and was the fourth most densely populated city in Virginia. According to Zollman, when a city “reaches the point where less than twenty percent of its area is available for use, it ceases to grow.”⁶⁴¹

The city’s intention to annex land was no secret and Frederick County officials, who were concerned about annexation, supported a citizen vote on consolidation, which

⁶³⁹ Jack D. Edwards, “Annexation Resumes in Virginia,” *University of Virginia News Letter* (now called *The Virginia News Letter*) 60, no. 8 (April, 1984): 37, accessed June 17, 2013, <http://www.coopercenter.org/publications/annexation-resumes-virginia>.

⁶⁴⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, February 11, 1966; July 20, 1966.

⁶⁴¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, October 13, 1970.

required mutual agreement by city and county.⁶⁴² Thomas Rosenburger, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, explained the Board's position; the majority of Board members believed consolidation with Winchester would be preferable to annexation. County officials recognized that if annexation occurred, Winchester would increase its tax base while Frederick County would lose individual and commercial taxpayers. Frederick County was concerned about debt service with a reduced tax base. The County would lose state funds if school population was reduced. Among County residents in the affected area, attitudes were mixed and some welcomed city services. Nevertheless, on December 9, 1969, Frederick County voters overwhelmingly rejected consolidation.⁶⁴³ Mayor William Battaile commented on the vote, "Now we know that it was not possible and that each from now on must row his own boat." Battaile announced the city was requesting a three-judge panel to consider annexation.⁶⁴⁴ Years later, recalling the consequences for the County, Battaile commented, "It was a shame we had to do it [annex], but we just did."⁶⁴⁵

Countless details needed to be considered since Winchester, which had 3.4 square miles of land, sought to triple the physical size of the city. The desired area was contiguous to Winchester. Some subdivisions in the proposed area already had city water and sewer although residents were charged higher rates than city residents. The Industrial

⁶⁴² In 1962, voters approved two consolidations, one of the City of Virginia Beach and Princess Anne County and the second of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County. S. J. Makielski, Jr., "City-County Consolidation in the United States," *The University of Virginia News Letter* 46, no. 2 (October 15 1969): 3, accessed May 1, 2013, <http://www.coopercenter.org/sites/default/files/autoVANLPubs/Virginia%20News%20Letter%201969%20Vol.%2046%20No.%202.pdf>.

⁶⁴³ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 19, 1966; July 20, 1966; January 2, 1970.

⁶⁴⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 14, 1971.

⁶⁴⁵ "Winchester Chamber of Commerce Industrial Development Committee," 17.

Park, as well as the relatively new Ward Plaza mall, were in the area Winchester wanted. Jacob Johnson, superintendent of Winchester schools, estimated 1,172 new students and Winchester intended to hire new teachers and administrative staff. The city planned to build an intermediate school and provide school buses.⁶⁴⁶ Winchester would hire police officers and patrolmen, and purchase three police cruisers. The Shawnee Fire Company would become a city company. The city needed to expand trash collection, street lighting, and bus service, and create new parks. City welfare services would be available to new residents. County building permits would remain valid with city inspections. County dog licenses would be accepted until expiration. Businesses and professionals in the annexed area must obtain city licenses. Citizens of the annexed area would have new rates for real estate taxes, sewer, and water charges as well as taxes on utilities.⁶⁴⁷

On October 12, 1970, Winchester and Frederick County representatives appeared before three judges to settle the question of annexation. The first witness for Frederick County, School Superintendent Dr. Melton Wright, “took issue with the city’s figures” on reduction of county education costs. Wright believed some schools would have to be closed and expressed concern about payment of a short-term school loan.⁶⁴⁸ The executive director for the Frederick County Sanitation Authority did little to help the County’s case when he reported the County’s project for water and sewer services still required completion of a feasibility study and if “feasibility is proven, the service will be provided in two years.”⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, October 15, 1970.

⁶⁴⁷ *Winchester Evening Star*, December 31, 1970; January 27, 1971.

⁶⁴⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, October 17, 1970.

⁶⁴⁹ *Winchester Evening Star*, October 19, 1970.

The judges awarded Winchester 5.9 square miles of County property. Frederick County's area declined by 1.3 percent, leaving 425.8 square miles of land. The judges believed a city must have room for expansion and that reduction in size left the County "sufficient area to develop." The judges reasoned that since subdivisions in the annexed area were adjacent to the city limits, Winchester could provide services easily and was financially able to do so. As conditions of annexation, Winchester had to assume \$1,022,988 or 27 percent of the County's debt, make five equal payments to Frederick County of \$525,000 for loss of tax revenue, and make capital improvements in the annexed area expected to total around \$3,500,000.⁶⁵⁰ Winchester gained approximately 5,000 citizens, increasing the city's population by 34 percent.⁶⁵¹ Children in the annexed area would stay in County schools for the rest of the school year and Winchester would pay tuition for these students.⁶⁵² Winchester had to provide water and sewer services to the annexed area. Effective date for the annexation was set at December 31, 1970. The Board of Supervisors appealed to the State Supreme Court of Appeals. Despite the appeal, Winchester proceeded and published guidelines for new citizens, detailing the impact of the change.⁶⁵³ On January 26 1971, the appeal was denied.

Winchester's success in achieving annexation was a wake-up call for Frederick County, which suffered the loss of real and personal property taxes and business license fees as well as state funds. The loss of the Industrial Park at the south end of Winchester

⁶⁵⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, October 21, 1970.

⁶⁵¹ *Winchester Evening Star*, December 19, 1970.

⁶⁵² *Winchester Evening Star*, December 31, 1970; January 27, 1971.

⁶⁵³ *Winchester Evening Star*, December 31, 1970; January 2, 1971.

and other areas that produced business tax revenue was a serious concern.⁶⁵⁴ As the Frederick County executive secretary stated, “We’ve got to be able to provide a new industrial park...to recoup the tax loss.”⁶⁵⁵ The County had to face demographic reality. There was no going back to the old days of minimal needs for government services by a scattered population. Families living on quarter-acre lots in a subdivision had quite different needs and expectations than families living on a farm with a dirt road leading to the farmhouse.⁶⁵⁶ A major priority, if another annexation was to be forestalled, was water and sewer capability. Plans and regulations of all kinds needed to be in place including plans for education, zoning, subdivision land development, environmental control, and land use. The county lacked recreational facilities and with more urban-like neighborhoods, would need to expand trash, police, and fire services. By 1975, it was obvious the old county courthouse was not adequate to serve the growing County government and the Board of Supervisors was considering a new office building.⁶⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Frederick County quickly compensated for population loss. Despite the loss of approximately 5,000 citizens, Frederick County population grew by 18.2 percent between 1970 and 1980.

Virginia did not allow another annexation for five years but County leaders feared Winchester would eventually want to annex again. This fear was allayed in 1980 when both jurisdictions agreed to build the joint Frederick–Winchester Judicial Center. As part of the agreement, the two jurisdictions shared costs and Winchester agreed not to annex

⁶⁵⁴ *Winchester Evening Star*, January 27, 1971.

⁶⁵⁵ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 8, 1971.

⁶⁵⁶ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 8, 1971.

⁶⁵⁷ Board of Supervisors Minutes, February 12, 1975.

land for twenty years. There have been other joint efforts, some of which include Clarke County. Among these projects are the Dowell J. Howard School, a visitor center, the water treatment plant, the library, and a regional jail.⁶⁵⁸

In 1971, the Virginia General Assembly, acknowledging annexation suits were expensive, time-consuming, and divisive, placed a moratorium on annexations that essentially remains in effect. Before 1970, an important argument for annexation was that rural counties did not provide municipal services. However, as population shifted to the suburbs, many counties began providing services on a par with cities. As suburban population grew, political power in the Virginia legislature shifted to the suburbs.⁶⁵⁹

During this era of population growth, civic leadership became more complicated because of broadening political participation that included the election of Republicans, and greater participation of women and African Americans in both Winchester and Frederick County. Broadening political participation began in 1948 when Mifflin Clowe, a local jeweler and veteran, was elected mayor of Winchester as an independent. Clowe ran in the primary for mayor as a Democrat and after he lost the primary, he ran in the general election as an independent—and defeated Dr. Charles Anderson who had been mayor since 1932.⁶⁶⁰ Clowe served as a captain at the Omaha Beach D-Day landing and remained active in the National Guard after demobilization. Clowe was the first World War II veteran to achieve public office but by no means the last. Four of the five two-

⁶⁵⁸ Rebecca A. Ebert and Teresa Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia, From the Frontier to the Future* (Norfolk: The Donning Company, 1988), 182.

⁶⁵⁹ Andrew V. Sorrell and Bruce A. Vik, "Virginia's Never-Ending Moratorium on City-County Annexations," *The Virginia News Letter* 88, no. 1 (January 2012): 4, accessed September 26, 2012, <http://www.coopercenter.org/sites/default/files/publications/Virginia%20News%20Letter%202012%20Vol.%2088%20No%201.pdf>.

⁶⁶⁰ *Winchester Evening Star*, June 7, 1948; June 9, 1948.

term mayors of Winchester between 1948 and 1988 were veterans.⁶⁶¹ Political participation further expanded in 1965, when the Voting Rights Act outlawed discriminatory practices at the polls although Virginia retained the poll tax for state elections until 1968 when the United States Supreme Court ruled the state poll tax violated the Constitution.⁶⁶² Women and African Americans achieved public office in Winchester and Frederick County in the postwar era. More often than not, civic leaders initiated the participation of women and blacks by appointing them to offices. The first woman mayor, Elizabeth Helm, took office in 1988.

After World War II, Republicans made significant inroads in Virginia politics when Senator Harry Byrd gave Republicans tacit support by his “golden silence” and refusal to endorse Democratic presidential candidates. Republican Linwood Holton took office as governor in 1970. By 1972, Virginia also had an independent Senator, Harry Byrd, Jr., of Winchester. Republican Kenneth Robinson was elected to the State Senate in 1965 and to the United States House of Representatives in 1971.⁶⁶³ Thereafter, neither party dominated state politics.⁶⁶⁴ The political realignment extended into Winchester and Frederick County politics. Republicans were elected to the City Council and the Board of Supervisors. William Mote, a candidate for City Council, observed in 1980, “Republicans

⁶⁶¹ The mayors were Mifflin Clowe (1948–1956), Claude Smalts (1956–1964), William Battaile (1964–1972), Stewart Bell (1972–1980), and Charles Zuckerman (1980–1988). Bell was not a veteran.

⁶⁶² “Evelyn Butts Challenged the Poll Tax, 1966,” Virginia Memory, accessed November 28, 2012, http://www.virginiamemory.com/online_classroom/shaping_the_constitution/doc/poll_tax.

⁶⁶³ “Kenneth Robinson, 73, Former House Member,” *New York Times*, April 11, 1990, accessed September 18, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/04/11/obituaries/kenneth-robinson-73-former-house-member.html>; “Biographical Directory of the United States Congress,” U.S. Congress, accessed September 22, 2012, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=R000337>.

⁶⁶⁴ Douglas Wilder, a Democrat, was elected governor of Virginia in 1990 and was the first African American governor since Reconstruction.

in Winchester no longer meet in a phone booth,” and explained, “We believe our philosophy is the reason.”⁶⁶⁵

Differences of political viewpoint were not deeply divisive since most Democrats and Republicans favored support for business and most were fiscally conservative. Both local members of the United States Congress, Harry Flood Byrd, Jr., and J. Kenneth Robinson, were elected as fiscal conservatives.⁶⁶⁶ In 1978, Harry F. Byrd, Jr., sponsored a bill in the Senate that required a balanced federal budget beginning in 1981, but the law was never enforced.⁶⁶⁷

In 1982, the *Winchester Evening Star* interviewed candidates for City Council and revealed conservative attitudes in both parties. Their number one issue was fiscal or revenue related. A top priority of a number of candidates was to encourage businesses to locate in the area. There was great reluctance to raise taxes, especially property taxes, which affected most people. Several suggested new taxes that would not be onerous, specifically mentioning a tobacco tax. Only one candidate suggested local government needed to “be very humanitarian in their outlook,” although several expressed concern about raising taxes for those on fixed incomes. Several mentioned problems with welfare

⁶⁶⁵ *Winchester Star*, May 18, 1980.

⁶⁶⁶ “Republicans in Area Pay Tribute to Robinson at Dominion Dinner,” *Fredericksburg Free Lance Star*, April 18, 1978, accessed February 14, 2014, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1298&dat=19780418&id=CuZLAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=d4sDAAAIAIBAJ&pg=5211,2335192>.

⁶⁶⁷ “Harry F. Byrd Jr., Former U.S. Senator from Va., dies at 98,” *Washington Post*, July 30, 2013, accessed February 14, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/harry-f-byrd-jr-former-us-senator-from-va-dies-at-98/2013/07/30/54de3f70-c5da-11df-94e1-c5afa35a9e59_story.html.

cheats. One cost-cutting suggestion was for Winchester to work with Frederick County on joint projects.⁶⁶⁸

Despite fiscal conservatism, both Winchester and Frederick County leaders expanded government between 1950 and 1980 to increase support for population growth and new industry. In Frederick County, local leaders transformed the minimal bureaucracy of an agricultural area to a government of professional public servants who could serve a suburban population. While promoting industry may be fiscally conservative over the long run, building infrastructure that could support industry was costly and local leaders had to temper fiscal conservatism to invest in the infrastructure for new population and new industry.

VI. CONCLUSION

Progressive changes in Winchester and Frederick County paralleled national trends during the postwar years. National, state, and local governments expanded and the size of bureaucracies increased. Although funding of local programs by the national government increased local capabilities, it reduced local control and limited options. National policy, including the highway program, mortgage policy, and support for new commercial construction affected trends toward suburbanization, shopping malls, and the decline of downtowns. The national policy for school integration and federal support for civil rights directly influenced education, politics, government, and business in Winchester and Frederick County.

⁶⁶⁸ *Winchester Evening Star*, April 9, 1970.

Recently, there has been renewed consideration of consolidation.⁶⁶⁹ As in the past, County residents resisted consolidation while Winchester citizens, again facing lack of room for growth, tended to be supportive.⁶⁷⁰ In many respects, consolidation would benefit both entities since redundancy of administrative functions and costs could be eliminated. The cost and complexity of government has increased in recent years. The detailed budgets for both Winchester and Frederick County have grown to several hundred pages. For Winchester, the 2013 budget was \$212 million. Frederick County's Total Operating Budget for FY 2012–2013 was \$241 million with an education budget of \$160 million.⁶⁷¹

Both Shenandoah University and Lord Fairfax Community College expanded and now provide jobs as well as education, and both institutions still benefit substantially from local donors and supporters. Today, Shenandoah is a university and one of the largest employers in the area.⁶⁷² Lord Fairfax Community College has campuses in Frederick County, Fauquier County, and Page County.⁶⁷³ Public education systems

⁶⁶⁹ “The Winchester–Frederick County Unification Discussion,” accessed September 15, 2012, <http://www.winchester-frederick.com/steeringcommittee.htm>.

⁶⁷⁰ At present, there is discussion of moving county offices from Winchester to the county. Supporters like the idea of a large complex with ample parking. Reactions are mixed in Winchester. Some see a loss of downtown commerce. Others, including Shenandoah University professor Clifford Theis, believe downtown Winchester might benefit if county facilities are replaced by private sectors ones. *Winchester Star*, April 27, 2013.

⁶⁷¹ “Frederick County Virginia 2012–2013 Annual Budget,” 10, 11, 17, Frederick County Virginia, accessed June 17, 2013, <http://www.co.frederick.va.us/home/showdocument?id=362>.

⁶⁷² Despite generally good relations between town and gown, controversy has occurred recently. The University proposed to change an entrance and alter a highway leading into Winchester. A number of citizens expressed opposition. Although most admit that section of the highway needs improvement, they are not convinced the University's solution is correct. Gorove/Slade Associates, Inc., “Final Report Millwood Avenue Traffic Diversion Study Winchester, VA,” Winchester Frederick Metropolitan Planning Organization, May 3, 2011, accessed October 21, 2013, http://www.winfredmpo.org/Millwood_Final%20Report%20050311.pdf.

⁶⁷³ Tuition is a low \$3,345 per year. The college has open enrollment; virtually all applicants are accepted. In Spring 2012, enrollment was 6,750 students. “LFCC Ranks 1st in Virginia Community College

continue to expand. In the 2012–2013 school year Frederick County had eighteen school buildings, approximately 2,000 employees, and more than 13,000 students. The County systems' education budget was \$161,000,000. Winchester had six schools, approximately 1,300 employees, 4,300 students, and an annual budget of \$141,000,000.⁶⁷⁴

Between 1950 and 1980, Winchester and Frederick County leaders regarded education, health, welfare, transportation, infrastructure, and government as areas of activity that affected efforts to expand and diversify the economy; ironically, in 2014, these areas of activity are mainstays of the local economy. In recent years, primarily due to foreign competition in goods and labor, companies like General Electric have left the community. The Winchester and Frederick County economy now has a greater emphasis on government, service, and white collar employment. Educational and medical institutions are large employers.⁶⁷⁵ According to the Winchester–Frederick County Economic Development Commission, leading areas of employment are health care with 15.5 percent, retail trade with 15.1 percent, and government with 15 percent. Manufacturing employed 14.2 percent of workers. Valley Health System and Frederick County Public Schools have more than 1,000 employees. Ten employers have more than 500 workers. There are five manufacturing firms with more than 250 employees.

Growth,” Lord Fairfax Community College, accessed May 13, 2013, <http://www.lfcc.edu/about-the-college/news/news-releases-and-media-advisories/10478.html>.

⁶⁷⁴ Frederick County Public Schools, “Frederick County Public Schools Fast Facts 2012–2013,” accessed May 28, 2013, http://www.frederick.k12.va.us/files/_iMBZU_/a669a7a90c7c85643745a49013852ec4/Fast_Facts2012-13.pdf; Winchester Public Schools, “Winchester Public Schools Fast Facts 2012–2013,” accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.wps.k12.va.us/sysinfo/facts1213.pdf>.

⁶⁷⁵ Aaron Renn, a commentator on urban affairs, points out many urban areas strengthened “eds and meds” in the face of loss of their industrial base. Renn points out that if these institutions are nonprofit they “reduce the tax base in cities that are dependent on them.” Renn is concerned expansion of these sectors may be nearing its end. Aaron M. Renn, “The End of the Road for Eds and Meds,” *New Geography*, accessed May 31, 2013, <http://www.newgeography.com/content/003076-the-end-road-eds-and-meds>.

Walmart and Home Depot represent the retail sector and the Navy Federal Credit Union has a large contact center in the region. Two large employers are federal government operations. Both local governments have more than 500 employees as does Shenandoah University.⁶⁷⁶

This chapter claims that after World War II, leaders successfully enhanced the region's competitive edge and supported the desires of potential business enterprises for a "pleasant and progressive community" by strengthening local government, improving education, medical care and welfare, transportation, and infrastructure. Leaders encouraged efforts to expand school systems, dealt with federally mandated integration, and attracted institutions of higher education. Civic boosters supported expansion of the hospital and improved transportation and infrastructure. Both city and county governments expanded services and responsibilities to meet the challenges of growth. Despite differences over annexation between city and county, leaders of both jurisdictions jointly supported the Industrial Development Corporation. The initiative for these changes did not originate with elected officials but with business leaders and entrepreneurs who believed the community's best interests coincided with their interests. Evidence of their success was the region's growth in population, industry, jobs, and wages.

VII. AFTERWORD

Unlike many small towns and agricultural areas in the United States, Winchester and Frederick County did not decline between 1870 and 1980 but grew because

⁶⁷⁶ Winchester–Frederick County Economic Development Commission, accessed November 11, 2013, <http://winva.com/>.

progressive business leaders organized to diversify the economy and developed strong agricultural, industrial, and commercial sectors. Leaders realized old ways must be modified to adapt to changes in the landscape, new technology, and national and state actions.

Leaders adopted ideas of New South proponents after the Civil War and those of progressive businessmen in the early 20th century. As progressive businessmen, they valued efficiency, expertise, and corporate business methods. After World War II, leaders adopted progressive notions of strengthening government to deal with the complexities of concentrated population growth and a more urban society.

Winchester and Frederick County had two periods of slow growth and change and two periods of significant economic growth and change. The first relatively weak period, between 1865 to around 1895, was a period of recovery after the Civil War. In the 1890s, the region suffered from the nationwide economic downturn. The second period of slow growth was between 1930 and 1945 when growth was weak because of the Great Depression and wartime constraints. The difficult years added urgency to motivations for change.

The first period of growth for Winchester and Frederick County, before World War I, was characterized by national prosperity. Frederick County farmers established apples as an important agricultural product. This was accompanied by new businesses for apple processing and cold storage. During this period, a group of community investors established and expanded the Virginia Woolen Mill. With philanthropic support, Winchester obtained an impressive city hall, library, and fire station and built Handley

School. Frederick County opened schools for both elementary and high school students. Physicians organized the Winchester Memorial Hospital. Civic leaders made inroads in expanding and diversifying the economy but they faced difficulties despite their “wide-awake and progressive” attitudes. Railroad transportation was not exceptional and during the first quarter of the 20th century, highway transportation was poor. Until the 1920s, population increased more slowly than in the state as a whole; in fact, one of the purposes of the Apple Blossom Festival was to attract new people to the area.

The second period of growth, between 1955 and 1980, was also a time of national prosperity, economic expansion, and social change. In Winchester and Frederick County, this period was characterized by population growth. To provide employment, civic leaders under the aegis of the Chamber of Commerce established the Industrial Development Corporation and attracted outside firms. There was an expansion of government services, educational institutions, and medical facilities. The region benefited from new interstate highways. The community had to face social mores and prejudices heightened by school integration and resolve competing interests of Winchester and Frederick County with regard to annexation. Years later, William Battaile, who had been president of the Industrial Development Corporation, explained why the community attracted industry, “Well they liked us...we had what they wanted.”⁶⁷⁷

The most important legacy of Winchester and Frederick County leaders in the agricultural sector was the development of apples as a commercial crop. Leaders including Lucien Lupton, Harry F. Byrd, Alfred Snapp, and Kenneth Robinson made

⁶⁷⁷ William Battaile, interview by Hersh, 15.

apples an iconic symbol of the region not only when they planted their orchards but when they developed related businesses in Winchester for apple processing and storage. The establishment of the immensely successful Apple Blossom Festival made apples a focal point of community identity and unity.

The use of outside workers during the apple harvest season continues in Frederick County. In 2008, the migrant labor camp housed 1,044 people, mostly Hispanic migrant workers. One worker, William Baker, who had picked apples since the early 1970s, felt that many of his coworkers were like “extended family.” In the 1980s, with funds from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, a group of teachers was organized to teach English to Haitians.⁶⁷⁸ In recent years, the children of some migrants attended local schools during harvest season.⁶⁷⁹

In October 2013, Philip Glaize and Diane Kearns, orchardists in Frederick County, discussed their enterprises and spoke frankly about the possible decline of the apple industry. Both growers are continuing family traditions. The Glaize orchards were started in the 1920s and produce apples primarily for the fresh market where appearance is critical. Many of his apples are exported. Glaize has seen a number of changes; for example, he now grows small trees that mature in two years and are planted two to three feet apart. The smaller trees make picking easier and as a side benefit, insurance costs are cheaper since pickers do not have to climb so high. Glaize annually hires about 100 pickers, mostly Jamaicans. The company also operates a packing house in Winchester and hires temporary workers for that operation. Kearns runs one of the largest apple

⁶⁷⁸ *Winchester Star*, August 12, 1980.

⁶⁷⁹ *Winchester Star*, September 6, 2011.

operations in the Shenandoah Valley, Fruit Hill Orchards, a fourth-generation family operation. Kearns manages orchards on land owned by the company as well as on rented land. Fruit Hill Orchards produces apples for processing only and there are no stringent requirements for appearance. Kearns has about twelve full-time workers, hires fifteen to twenty pruners for seasonal work, and employs about 200 Jamaican pickers. For both growers, costs of operation are high. Besides labor, there are costs for fuel, hauling, chemicals, and equipment. Both growers are realistic about the decline of the apple industry in Frederick County. Neither Kearns nor Glaize expect major expansion of the apple industry and both are starting to diversify: Glaize is growing raspberries and Kearns is producing hard cider. Glaize indicated that Chinese competition has had some impact but growers are beginning to see China as a potential marketplace.⁶⁸⁰

In the business sector of the economy, the Industrial Development Corporation stands out as the most ambitious and successful initiative of the era. Leadership did not come from government, but from citizens, by men like William Battaile, James Wilkins, and E. W. Huntsberry who were supported by the local Chamber of Commerce and who displayed a remarkable unanimity of purpose and the ability to obtain what was essentially volunteer cooperation from the community. In the present day, the region continues to seek business and provide jobs, but the process has been formalized by the establishment of economic development organizations with strong ties to government; for example, Winchester Economic Development members are appointed by City Council.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁸⁰ Philip Glaize and Diane Kearns (Presentation at Feltner Forum, Winchester, Virginia, October 25, 2013); *Winchester Star*, October 29, 2013.

⁶⁸¹ Winchester Virginia Economic Development, "EDA Members," accessed August 19, 2014, <http://developwinchesterva.com/about-the-eda/eda-members>.

The Winchester–Frederick County Economic Development Commission claimed 800 new jobs were added in 2012.⁶⁸² Grants were made to a number of large businesses including Rubbermaid, the Navy Federal Credit Union, and Kraft Food.

Economic development grants could be in the form of “direct transfer of funds, tax breaks, or other forms of financial assistance.” When deciding on an incentive, officials evaluated whether they could “recoup the money through gains in municipal revenue” primarily from the company or from new employees. The unknown is whether incentives are really necessary especially for companies that are already established in the community. Nevertheless, as the region faces competition from other localities, officials can point to successes in terms of job creation, although a recent Virginia study indicated the community’s workforce, education, and transportation infrastructure are more important to companies than incentives.⁶⁸³

Some local businesses have felt the debilitating effect of trends affecting American industry including foreign competition and cheaper foreign labor. In 1982, the Clearbrook Woolen Mill ceased operations. President William Lawrence blamed a “flood of imports from low wage countries” and added “trade with China could very well be the kiss of death on the entire textile industry in this country.”⁶⁸⁴ Capitol Records left the region in 1987; the closing attributed to foreign competition. General Electric closed an incandescent light bulb company in 2010. The United States outlawed production of

⁶⁸² Winchester Frederick County EDC Celebrates Record Year,” Winchester-Frederick County EDC, accessed January 21, 2013, http://winva.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/2013.1.3_EDCCelebratesRecordYear.pdf. This organization is now the Frederick County Economic Development Authority. The website is <http://www.yesfrederickva.com/>.

⁶⁸³ *Winchester Star*, January 12, 2013.

⁶⁸⁴ *Winchester Star* August 2, 2013.

these bulbs and the plant moved to Mexico. Henkel–Harris, a locally owned upscale furniture company, blamed general economic conditions when it closed in 2012.⁶⁸⁵

However, the owner of National Fruit, David Gum, purchased and reopened Henkel–Harris in 2014.⁶⁸⁶

The years between 1870 and 1980 in Winchester and Frederick County affected many aspects of modern life. For example, the Handley Library, City Hall, the Apple Blossom Mall, the downtown mall, and even the water supply systems are still important parts of the regional landscape. The efforts of historic preservationists continue and the most recent success appears to be the restoration of the Taylor Hotel.

Winchester and Frederick County continue to grow in population and the population has become increasingly diverse with a large Hispanic segment. By 2010, Frederick County exceeded its 1950 population by 347 percent. Winchester exceeded the 1950 population by 89 percent and the combined growth was 233 percent with a population of 104,000. Growth in both entities exceeded that of Virginia which grew by 141 percent. In 2010, the African American population was about 9 percent while other minorities, mostly Hispanic, represented 14 percent of the population. Winchester now has a 25-five percent minority population.

⁶⁸⁵ “Capitol Records Leaving Winchester,” *Fredericksburg Free-Lance Star*, December 8, 1987, accessed September 14, 2012, http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1298&dat=19871208&id=U_1NAAAIAIAJ&sjid=tYsDAAAIAIAJ&pg=5492,1506727; *Winchester Evening Star*, November 1, 2012; “Light Bulb Factory Closes; End of Era for U.S. Means More Jobs Overseas,” *Washington Post*, September 8, 2010; September 14, 2012; <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/07/AR2010090706933.html>.

⁶⁸⁶ *Northern Virginia Daily*, March 22, 2013.

Many Winchester and Frederick County citizens regret the loss of the “good ole days,” although no doubt nostalgia has been a common sentiment for every generation.⁶⁸⁷ Urban problems have developed, including traffic jams, narcotics traffic, and loss of natural resources. Frederick County population is no longer predominately rural and Winchester is no longer a small town. The region is undergoing a fate similar to that of Arlington, Fairfax, and Prince William Counties which, as close-in Washington, DC, suburbs, lost their rural economy, became more densely populated, and grew increasingly dependent on the government, government contractors, and the service sector for employment.

Between 1870 and 1980, business leaders informally organized and accomplished initiatives without government involvement. The establishment of the Virginia Woolen Mill, the founding of the Apple Blossom Festival, and the Industrial Development Corporation were not government initiatives. In the 1950s, the Chamber of Commerce was involved in attracting industry and educational institutions.⁶⁸⁸ At the same time, business leaders were influential enough to confidently enlist government support where necessary. The City Council and Board of Supervisor minutes indicate members agreed on most issues, although it is likely that differences were reconciled at committee meetings or in personal interchanges. The tendency of elected leaders was to be responsive and not proactive. This was particularly true in Frederick County until county

⁶⁸⁷ The Facebook group, “If you’ve lived in Winchester a long time you would remember...” has more than 6,000 members. The group posts many old photographs and discusses memories of earlier days. “If you’ve lived in Winchester a long time you would remember...” Facebook, accessed September 2, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?v=10152422506359842#!/groups/172136782859708/?fref=nf>.

⁶⁸⁸ *Chamber of Commerce Newsletter*, January, 1961, 516 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

leaders were faced with rapid growth and concern about future annexation. Virtually all leaders remained politically and fiscally conservative even as the old Democratic politics changed to a mix of Democrat and Republican. In many ways, this singularity of outlook served civic boosters well: Resolution of issues was usually by consensus and seldom bogged down in political fights or turf battles.

Most Winchester and Frederick County leaders between 1870 and 1980 were independent businessmen and believed there was a congruence of their interests and those of the region. Leaders were invested in Winchester and Frederick County and most never sought political office beyond the community. They were involved in multiple civic and social organizations and spent countless hours on community projects. Leaders understood their community and its residents. They knew what would be accepted and what would not. They were comfortable with democratic consensus; they seldom made direct demands but asked for cooperation. Leaders were willing to submit issues, especially critical issues like major indebtedness or consolidation, to a general election or solicit public comment. Leaders of Winchester and Frederick County had no special training in local government, town management, bureaucratic procedures, or municipal planning. Leaders had ambition, native wit, pragmatism, common sense, and community pride. They were involved in community life and able to react to and influence the attitudes of fellow citizens. They were aware of national and international trends. The leaders of Winchester and Frederick County were ordinary people who cooperated to expand and diversify the economy and meet the challenges of change.

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I. POPULATION: 1860 TO 2007

TABLE 1. POPULATION: VIRGINIA, FREDERICK COUNTY, WINCHESTER

YR	VIRGINIA	% CHANGE	FREDERICK	WINCHESTER	FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	% CHANGE
1860	1,219,630		16,546		16,546	
1870	1,225,163	0.5%	12,119	4,477	16,596	0.3%
1880	1,512,565	23.5%	12,595	4,958	17,553	5.8%
1890	1,655,980	9.5%	12,684	5,196	17,880	1.9%
1900	1,854,184	12.0%	13,239	5,161	18,400	2.9%
1910	2,061,612	11.2%	12,787	5,864	18,651	1.4%
1920	2,309,187	12.0%	12,461	6,883	19,344	3.7%
1930	2,421,851	4.9%	13,167	10,855	24,022	24.2%
1940	2,677,773	10.6%	14,008	12,095	26,103	8.7%
1950	3,318,680	23.9%	17,537	13,841	31,378	20.2%
1960	3,966,949	19.5%	21,941	15,110	37,051	18.1%
1970	4,648,494	17.2%	28,893	14,643	43,536	17.5%
1980	5,346,818	15.0%	34,150	20,217	54,367	24.9%
1990	6,187,358	15.7%	45,723	21,947	67,670	24.5%
2000	7,078,515	14.4%	59,209	23,585	82,794	22.3%
2010	8,001,024	13.0%	78,305	26,203	104,508	26.2%

Note: Winchester was not counted separately before 1880.

TABLE 2. POPULATION AND ETHNICITY: VIRGINIA

YR	TOTAL	WHITE	% WHITE	BLACK	% BLACK	OTHER	% OTHER	% MINORITY
1860	1,219,630	691,773	56.7%	527,763	43.3%	94	0.0%	43.3%
1870	1,225,163	712,089	58.1%	512,841	41.9%	233	0.0%	41.9%
1880	1,512,565	880,858	58.2%	631,616	41.8%	91	0.0%	41.8%
1890	1,655,980	1,020,122	61.6%	635,438	38.4%	420	0.0%	38.4%
1900	1,854,184	1,192,855	64.3%	660,722	35.6%	607	0.0%	35.7%
1910	2,061,612	1,389,809	67.4%	671,096	32.6%	707	0.0%	32.6%
1920	2,309,187	1,617,909	70.1%	690,017	29.9%	1,261	0.1%	29.9%
1930	2,421,851	1,770,441	73.1%	650,165	26.8%	1,245	0.1%	26.9%
1940	2,677,773	2,015,583	75.3%	661,449	24.7%	741	0.0%	24.7%
1950	3,318,680	2,581,555	77.8%	734,211	22.1%	2,914	0.1%	22.2%
1960	3,966,949	3,142,443	79.2%	816,258	20.6%	8,248	0.2%	20.8%
1970	4,648,494	3,761,514	80.9%	861,368	18.5%	25,612	0.6%	19.1%
1980	5,346,818	4,229,798	79.1%	1,008,668	18.9%	108,352	2.0%	20.9%
1990	6,187,358	4,791,739	77.4%	1,162,994	18.8%	232,625	3.8%	22.6%
2000	7,078,515	5,120,110	72.3%	1,390,293	19.6%	568,112	8.0%	27.7%
2010	8,001,024	5,486,852	68.6%	1,551,399	19.4%	962,773	12.0%	31.4%

TABLE 3. POPULATION: FREDERICK COUNTY

YR	TOTAL	DIFFERENCE	% CHANGE
1860	16,546		
1870	16,596	50	0.3%
1880	17,553	957	5.8%
1890	12,684	-4,869	-27.7%
1900	13,239	555	4.4%
1910	12,787	-452	-3.4%
1920	12,461	-326	-2.5%
1930	13,167	706	5.7%
1940	14,008	841	6.4%
1950	17,537	3,529	25.2%
1960	21,941	4,404	25.1%
1970	28,893	6,952	31.7%
1980	34,150	5,257	18.2%
1990	45,723	11,573	33.9%
2000	59,209	13,486	29.5%
2010	78,305	19,096	32.3%

Notes: Winchester was included in the Frederick County census until 1890.
Winchester annexed Frederick County land in 1901, 1921, and 1971.

TABLE 4. ETHNICITY: FREDERICK COUNTY

YR	TOTAL	WHITE	% WHITE	BLACK	% BLACK	OTHER	% OTHER	% MINORITY
1860	16,546	13,079	79.05%	3,467	20.95%		0.00%	20.95%
1870	16,596	13,863	83.53%	2,733	16.47%		0.00%	16.47%
1880	17,553	14,997	85.44%	2,556	14.56%		0.00%	14.56%
1890	12,684	11,879	93.65%	805	6.35%		0.00%	6.35%
1900	13,239	12,486	94.31%	753	5.69%		0.00%	5.69%
1910	12,787	12,093	94.57%	694	5.43%		0.00%	5.43%
1920	12,461	11,962	96.00%	499	4.00%		0.00%	4.00%
1930	13,167	12,709	96.52%	458	3.48%		0.00%	3.48%
1940	14,008	13,592	97.03%	415	2.96%	1	0.01%	2.97%
1950	17,537	17,147	97.78%	390	2.22%		0.00%	2.22%
1960	21,941	21,507	98.02%	431	1.96%	3	0.01%	1.98%
1970	28,893	28,427	98.39%	454	1.57%	12	0.04%	1.61%
1980	34,150	33,578	98.33%	430	1.26%	142	0.42%	1.67%
1990	45,723	44,536	97.40%	832	1.82%	355	0.78%	2.60%
2000	59,209	56,240	94.99%	1,550	2.62%	1,419	2.40%	5.01%
2010	78,305	69,934	89.31%	3,175	4.05%	5,196	6.64%	10.69%

TABLE 5. POPULATION: WINCHESTER

YR	TOTAL	DIFFERENCE	% CHANGE
1860			
1870	4,477		
1880	4,958	481	10.7%
1890	5,196	238	4.8%
1900	5,161	-35	-0.7%
1910	5,864	703	13.6%
1920	6,883	1,019	17.4%
1930	10,855	3,972	57.7%
1940	12,095	1,240	11.4%
1950	13,841	1,746	14.4%
1960	15,110	1,269	9.2%
1970	14,643	-467	-3.1%
1980	20,217	5,574	38.1%
1990	21,947	1,730	8.6%
2000	23,585	1,638	7.5%
2010	26,203	2,618	11.1%

Notes: Winchester was included in the Frederick County census until 1890.
Winchester annexed Frederick County land in 1901, 1921, and 1971.

TABLE 6. ETHNICITY: WINCHESTER

YR	TOTAL	WHITE	% WHITE	BLACK	% BLACK	OTHER	% OTHER	% MINORITY
1860								
1870	4,477							
1880	4,958							
1890	5,196	3,773	72.6%	1,423	27.4%		0.0%	27.4%
1900	5,161	4,056	78.6%	1,105	21.4%		0.0%	21.4%
1910	5,864	4,826	82.3%	1,038	17.7%		0.0%	17.7%
1920	6,883	5,949	86.4%	934	13.6%		0.0%	13.6%
1930	10,855	9,811	90.4%	1,043	9.6%	1	0.0%	9.6%
1940	12,095	11,027	91.2%	1,068	8.8%		0.0%	8.8%
1950	13,841	12,689	91.7%	1,152	8.3%		0.0%	8.3%
1960	15,110	13,920	92.1%	1,183	7.8%	7	0.0%	7.9%
1970	14,643	13,316	90.9%	1,308	8.9%	19	0.1%	9.1%
1980	20,217	18,045	89.3%	1,795	8.9%	377	1.9%	10.7%
1990	21,947	19,453	88.6%	2,199	10.0%	295	1.3%	11.4%
2000	23,585	19,355	82.1%	2,470	10.5%	1,760	7.5%	17.9%
2010	26,203	19,532	74.5%	2,864	10.9%	3,807	14.5%	25.5%

TABLE 7. POPULATION: WINCHESTER/FREDERICK COUNTY COMBINED

YR	TOTAL	DIFFERENCE	% CHANGE
1860	16,546		
1870	16,596	50	0.3%
1880	17,553	957	5.8%
1890	17,880	327	1.9%
1900	18,400	520	2.9%
1910	18,651	251	1.4%
1920	19,344	693	3.7%
1930	24,022	4,678	24.2%
1940	26,103	2,081	8.7%
1950	31,378	5,275	20.2%
1960	37,051	5,673	18.1%
1970	43,536	6,485	17.5%
1980	54,367	10,831	24.9%
1990	67,670	13,303	24.5%
2000	82,794	15,124	22.3%
2010	104,508	21,714	26.2%

Note: Winchester was not counted separately before 1880.

TABLE 8. ETHNICITY: WINCHESTER/FREDERICK COUNTY COMBINED

YR	TOTAL	WHITE	% WHITE	BLACK	% BLACK	OTHER	% OTHER	% MINORITY
1860	16,546	13,079	79.0%	3,467	21.0%		0.0%	21.0%
1870	16,596	13,863	83.5%	2,733	16.5%		0.0%	16.5%
1880	17,553	14,997	85.4%	2,556	14.6%		0.0%	14.6%
1890	17,880	15,652	87.5%	2,228	12.5%		0.0%	12.5%
1900	18,400	16,542	89.9%	1,858	10.1%		0.0%	10.1%
1910	18,651	16,919	90.7%	1,732	9.3%		0.0%	9.3%
1920	19,344	17,911	92.6%	1,433	7.4%		0.0%	7.4%
1930	24,022	22,520	93.7%	1,501	6.2%	1	0.0%	6.3%
1940	26,103	24,619	94.3%	1,483	5.7%	1	0.0%	5.7%
1950	31,378	29,836	95.1%	1,542	4.9%	0	0.0%	4.9%
1960	37,051	35,427	95.6%	1,614	4.4%	10	0.0%	4.4%
1970	43,536	41,743	95.9%	1,762	4.0%	31	0.1%	4.1%
1980	54,367	51,623	95.0%	2,225	4.1%	519	1.0%	5.0%
1990	67,670	63,989	94.6%	3,031	4.5%	650	1.0%	5.4%
2000	82,794	75,595	91.3%	4,020	4.9%	3,179	3.8%	8.7%
2010	104,508	89,466	85.6%	6,039	5.8%	9,003	8.6%	14.4%

II. AGRICULTURE: 1860 TO 2007

TABLE 9. NUMBER OF FARMS

YR	VIRGINIA		FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	
	FARMS	% CHANGE	FARMS	% CHANGE
1870	73,849		1,013	
1880	118,517	60.5%	1,437	41.9%
1890	127,600	7.7%	1,420	-1.2%
1900	167,886	31.6%	1,615	13.7%
1910	184,018	9.6%	1,788	10.7%
1920	186,242	1.2%	1,745	-2.4%
1930	170,610	-8.4%	1,756	0.6%
1940	174,885	2.5%	1,674	-4.7%
1950	150,997	-13.7%	1,548	-7.5%
1959	97,623	-35.3%	1,003	-35.2%
1969	64,572	-33.9%	660	-34.2%
1978	49,936	-22.7%	565	-14.4%
1987	44,799	-10.3%	555	-1.8%
1997	41,095	-8.3%	568	2.3%
2007	47,383	15.3%	676	19.0%

TABLE 10. TOTAL ACRES IN FARMS

VIRGINIA			FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	
YR	ACRES	% CHANGE	ACRES	% CHANGE
1870	18,145,011		134,160	
1880	19,835,785	9.3%	280,141	108.8%
1890	19,104,951	-3.7%	220,580	-21.3%
1900	19,907,883	4.2%	247,886	12.4%
1910	19,495,636	-2.1%	242,048	-2.4%
1920	18,561,112	-4.8%	230,964	-4.6%
1930	16,728,620	-9.9%	225,049	-2.6%
1940	16,444,907	-1.7%	199,123	-11.5%
1950	15,572,295	-5.3%	199,760	0.3%
1959	13,125,802	-15.7%	175,770	-12.0%
1969	10,649,862	-18.9%	130,000	-26.0%
1978	9,965,000	-6.4%	123,220	-5.2%
1987	8,676,336	-12.9%	111,116	-9.8%
1997	8,228,226	-5.2%	99,926	-10.1%
2007	8,103,925	-1.5%	98,278	-1.6%

TABLE 11. AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS

YR	VIRGINIA		FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	
	ACRES	% CHANGE	ACRES	% CHANGE
1870				
1880			105.0	
1890	150		155.0	47.6%
1900	118.6	-20.9%	154.5	-0.3%
1910	105.9	-10.7%	136.0	-12.0%
1920	99.7	-5.9%	133.0	-2.2%
1930	98.1	-1.6%	129.0	-3.0%
1940	94.0	-4.2%	119.0	-7.8%
1950	103.1	9.7%	129.0	8.4%
1959	134.5	30.5%	175.0	35.7%
1969	165.0	22.7%	197.0	12.6%
1978	175.0	6.1%	218.0	10.7%
1987	194.0	10.9%	200.0	-8.3%
1997	200.0	3.1%	176.0	-12.0%
2007	171.0	-14.5%	145.0	-17.6%

TABLE 12. VALUE OF FARMS

YR	VIRGINIA		FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	
	DOLLARS	% CHANGE	DOLLARS	% CHANGE
1870	196,906,040		5,177,754	
1880	247,476,536	25.7%	4,779,643	-7.7%
1890	294,487,369	19.0%	5,768,750	20.7%
1900	323,515,977	9.9%	6,132,030	6.3%
1910	625,065,883	93.2%	11,766,812	91.9%
1920	1,196,555,772	91.4%	19,648,691	67.0%
1930	900,168,925	-24.8%	17,611,724	-10.4%
1940	674,975,424	-25.0%	8,844,669	-49.8%
1950	1,277,084,000	89.2%	16,103,844	82.1%
1959	1,819,204,605	42.4%	25,956,637	61.2%
1969	3,047,217,252	67.5%	39,600,000	52.6%
1978	8,571,913,888	181.3%	141,577,135	257.5%
1987	10,410,122,826	21.4%	165,523,755	16.9%
1997	15,820,712,005	52.0%	264,833,976	60.0%
2007	34,141,252,054	115.8%	568,434,880	114.6%

TABLE 13. VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTION

YR	VIRGINIA		FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	
	DOLLARS	% CHANGE	DOLLARS	% CHANGE
1870	51,774,801		994,911	
1880	45,726,221	-11.7%	702,003	-29.4%
1890	42,244,458	-7.6%	654,610	-6.8%
1900	73,545,735	74.1%	997,030	52.3%
1910	100,531,157	36.7%	1,434,589	43.9%
1920	292,824,000	191.3%	4,903,838	241.8%
1929	204,653,013	-30.1%	3,579,685	-27.0%
1939	150,912,239	-26.3%	1,655,411	-53.8%
1950	309,644,442	105.2%	4,589,223	177.2%
1959	423,925,000	36.9%	9,816,000	113.9%
1969	570,335,000	34.5%	8,057,035	-17.9%
1978	1,261,255,000	121.1%	17,710,000	119.8%
1987	1,588,770,000	26.0%	17,659,000	-0.3%
1997	2,343,518,000	47.5%	20,530,000	16.3%
2007	2,906,188,000	24.0%	27,957,000	36.2%

III. MANUFACTURING: 1860 TO 2007

TABLE 14. ESTABLISHMENTS: VIRGINIA, FREDERICK/WINCHESTER

YR	VIRGINIA	% CHANGE	FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	% CHANGE
1860	5,885			
1870	5,933	0.8%	149	
1880	5,710	-3.8%	105	-29.5%
1890	5,915	3.6%	126	20.0%
1900	8,248	39.4%	147	16.7%
1909	5,685	-31.1%		
1919	5,603	-1.4%	79	
1929	3,185	-43.2%	52	-34.2%
1939	2,579	-19.0%	48	-7.7%
1947	3,644	41.3%	46	-4.2%
1958	4,414	21.1%	58	26.1%
1967	4,938	11.9%	62	6.9%
1977	5,519	11.8%	72	16.1%
1987	6,137	11.2%	91	26.4%
1997	5,986	-2.5%	112	23.1%
2007	5,777	-3.5%	116	3.6%

TABLE 15. MANUFACTURING: NUMBER OF PRODUCTION WORKERS

YR	VIRGINIA % CHANGE		FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER % CHANGE	
1860	86,114			
1870	26,974	-68.7%	312	
1880	40,184	49.0%	740	137.2%
1890	53,566	33.3%	809	9.3%
1900	72,702	35.7%	815	0.7%
1909	105,676	45.4%		
1919	119,352	12.9%	839	
1929	116,281	-2.6%	1,329	58.4%
1939	133,894	15.1%	2,348	76.7%
1947	190,635	42.4%	2,426	3.3%
1958	204,337	7.2%	2,584	6.5%
1967	268,200	31.3%	3,700	43.2%
1977	302,000	12.6%	6,200	67.6%
1987	305,300	1.1%	7,100	14.5%
1997	279,682	-8.4%	6,946	-2.2%
2007	199,374	-28.7%		

Note: 2007 not available for Winchester.

TABLE 16. MANUFACTURING: WAGES OF PRODUCTION WORKERS

YR	VIRGINIA	% CHANGE	FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	% CHANGE
1860	8,544,117		98,576	
1870	5,343,099	-37.5%	49,915	-49.4%
1880	7,425,261	39.0%	149,880	200.3%
1890	15,816,930	113.0%	210,379	40.4%
1900	22,445,720	41.9%	217,410	3.3%
1909	38,154,566	70.0%		
1919	120,006,452	214.5%	671,838	
1929	124,388,414	3.7%	1,297,353	93.1%
1939	115,538,622	-7.7%	1,673,499	29.0%
1947	384,441,000	216.2%	4,166,000	148.9%
1958	686,814,000	78.7%	7,625,000	83.0%
1967	1,296,100,000	88.7%	16,400,000	115.1%
1977	2,916,800,000	125.0%	62,900,000	283.5%
1987	5,728,200,000	96.4%	137,500,000	118.6%
1997	7,412,000,000	29.4%	191,981,000	39.6%
2007	7,211,380,000	-2.7%		

Note: 2007 not available for Frederick–Winchester.

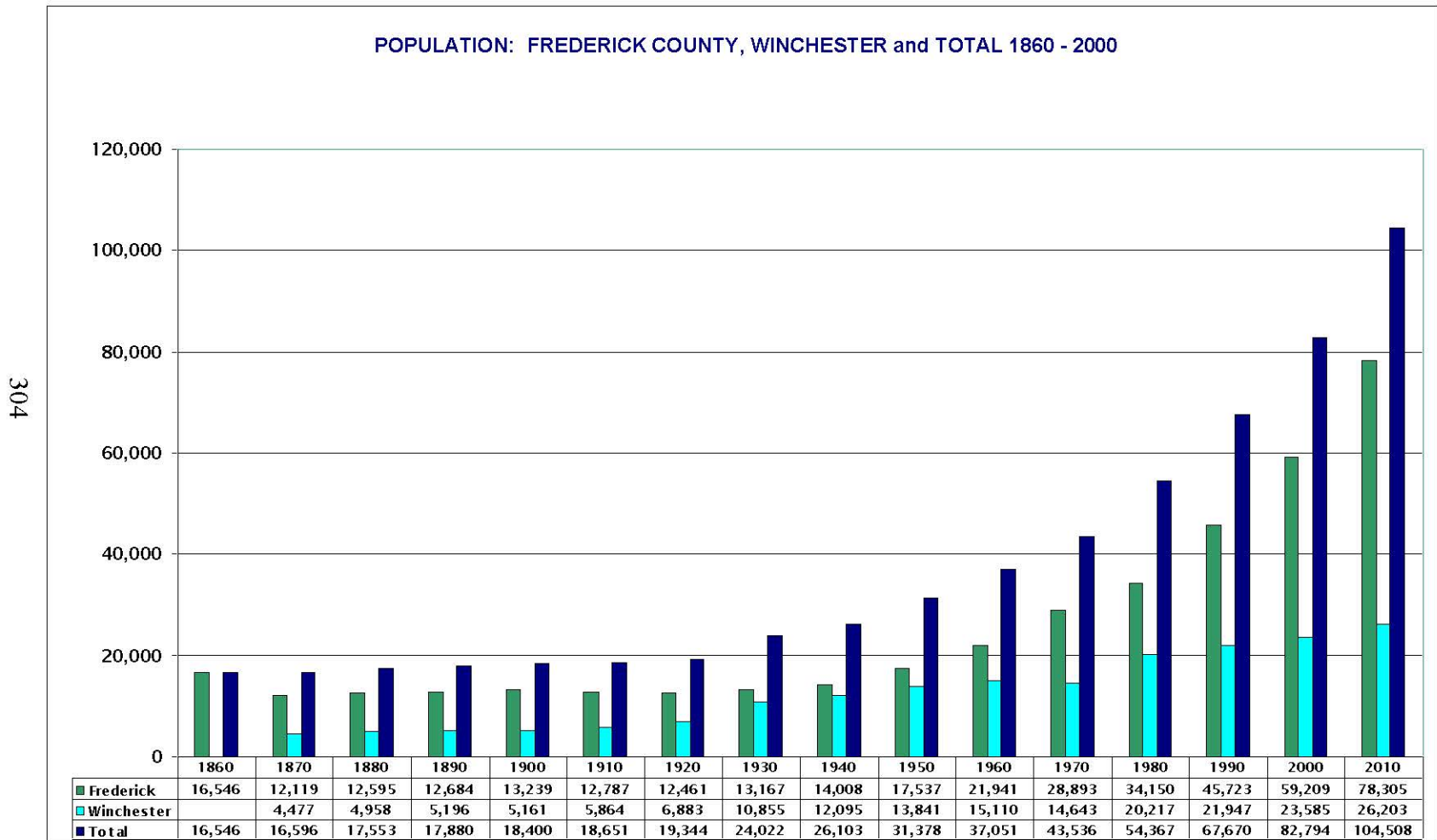
TABLE 17. MANUFACTURING VALUE ADDED

YR	VIRGINIA	% CHANGE	FREDERICK/ WINCHESTER	% CHANGE
1860	19,211,593		229,090	
1870	14,531,938	-24.4%	253,083	10.5%
1880	18,896,119	30.0%	427,520	68.9%
1890	38,215,539	102.2%	419,877	-1.8%
1900	49,285,000	29.0%	416,827	-0.7%
1909	94,211,000	91.2%		
1919	271,131,000	187.8%	1,605,781	
1930	380,086,000	40.2%	3,272,000	103.8%
1939	379,488,055	-0.2%	3,853,000	17.8%
1947	1,051,629,000	177.1%	9,577,000	148.6%
1958	2,122,652,000	101.8%	21,231,000	121.7%
1967	4,067,700,000	91.6%	47,900,000	125.6%
1977	10,882,000,000	167.5%	207,900,000	334.0%
1987	26,857,300,000	146.8%	551,500,000	165.3%
1997	43,563,006,000	62.2%	1,153,234,000	109.1%
2007	50,108,533,000	15.0%	1,686,696,000	46.3%

APPENDIX B: CHARTS

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I. POPULATION



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Figure 1. Population: Frederick County, Winchester, and Total: 1860–2010.

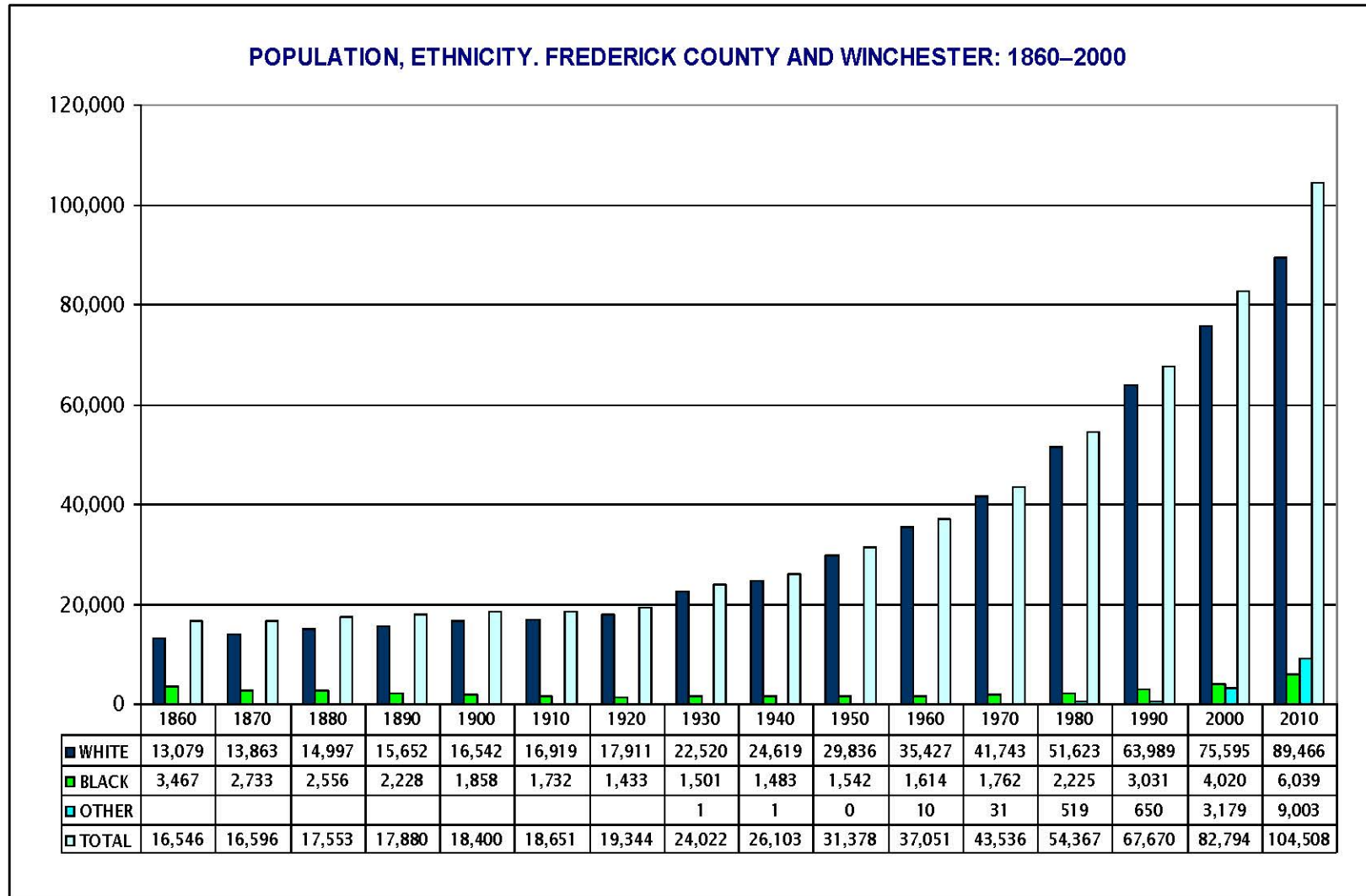


Figure 2. Population, Ethnicity: Frederick County, Winchester, and Total 1860–2010.

II. AGRICULTURE

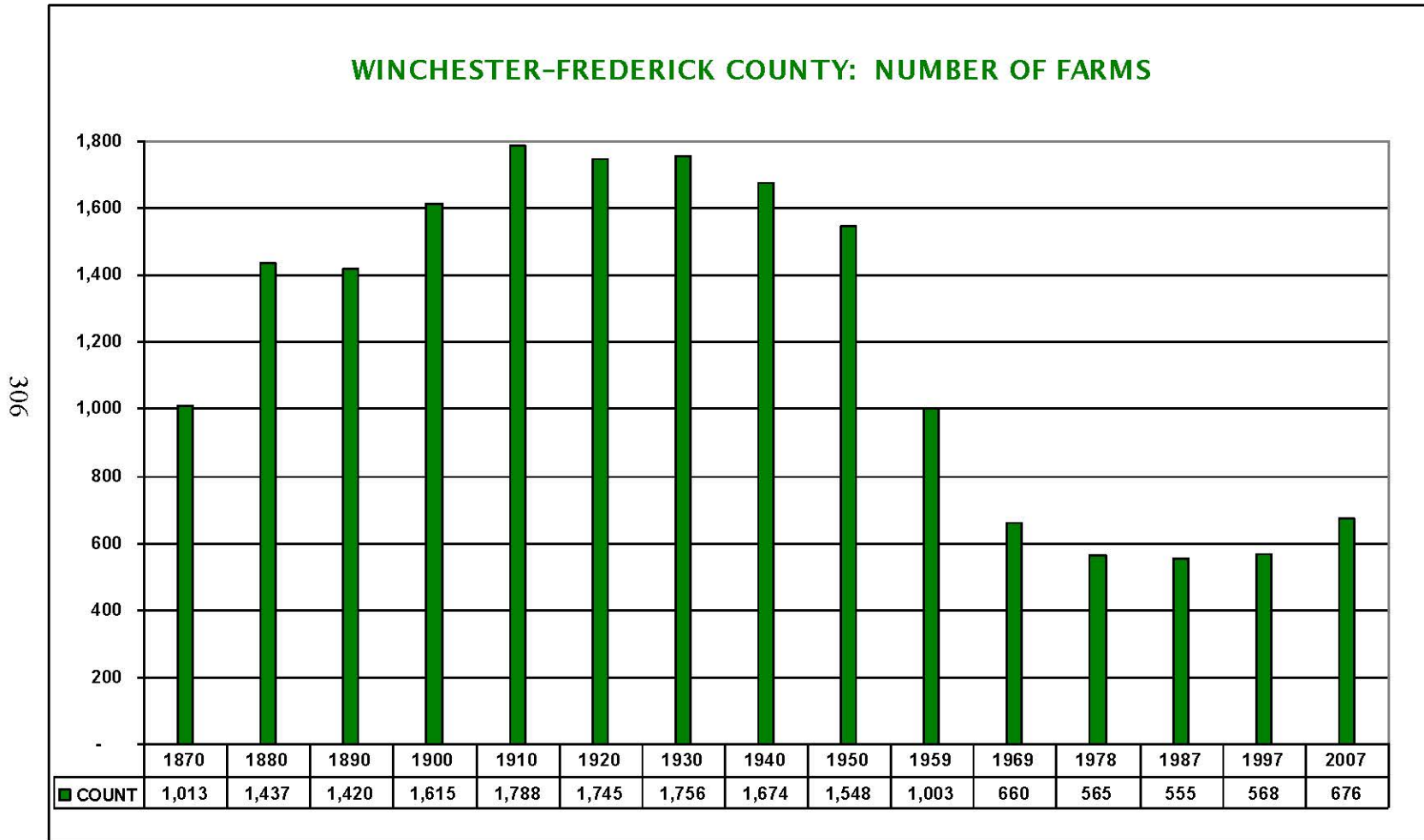


Figure 3. Winchester-Frederick County Number of Farms: 1870-2007.

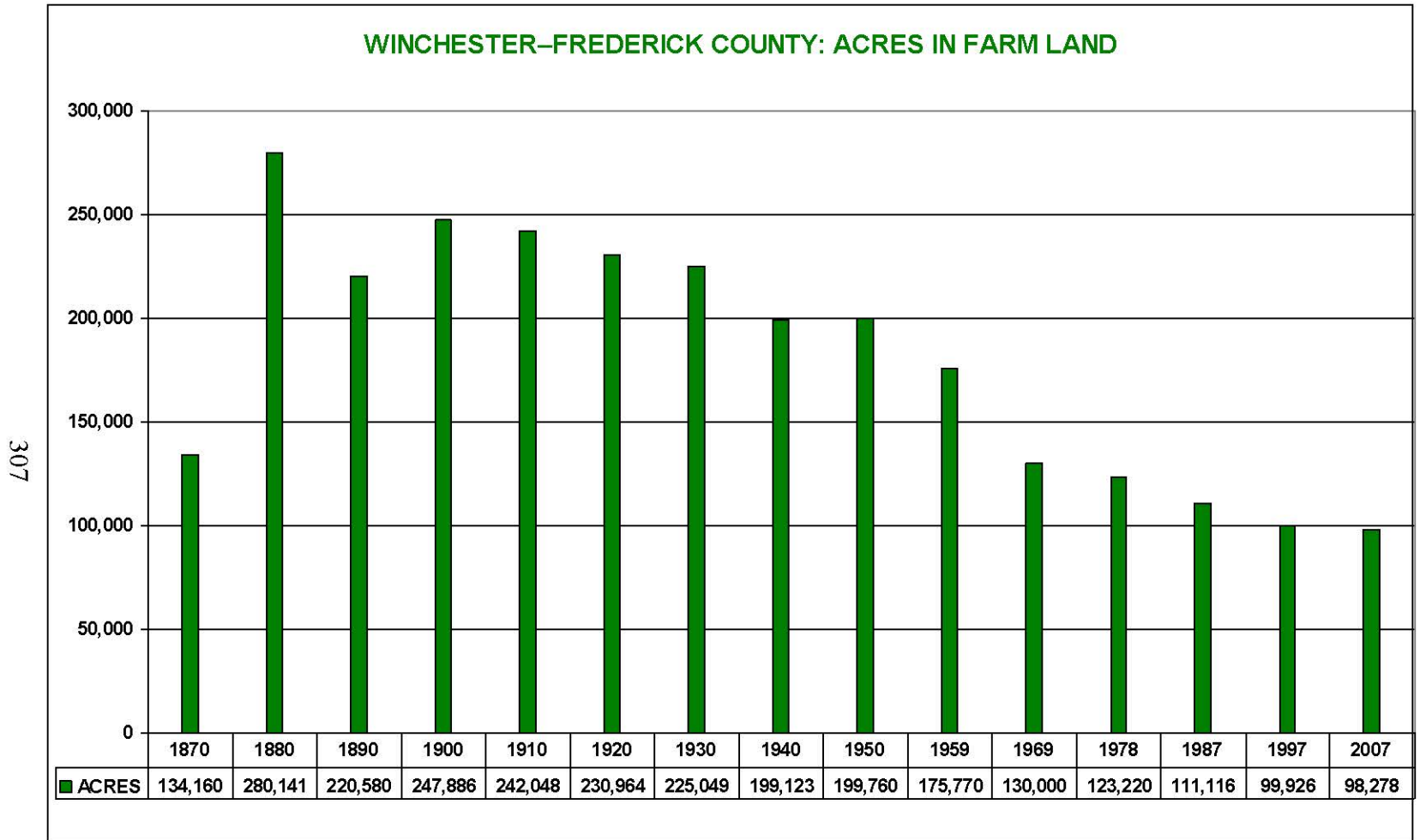


Figure 4. Winchester-Frederick County Acres in Farmland: 1870-2007.

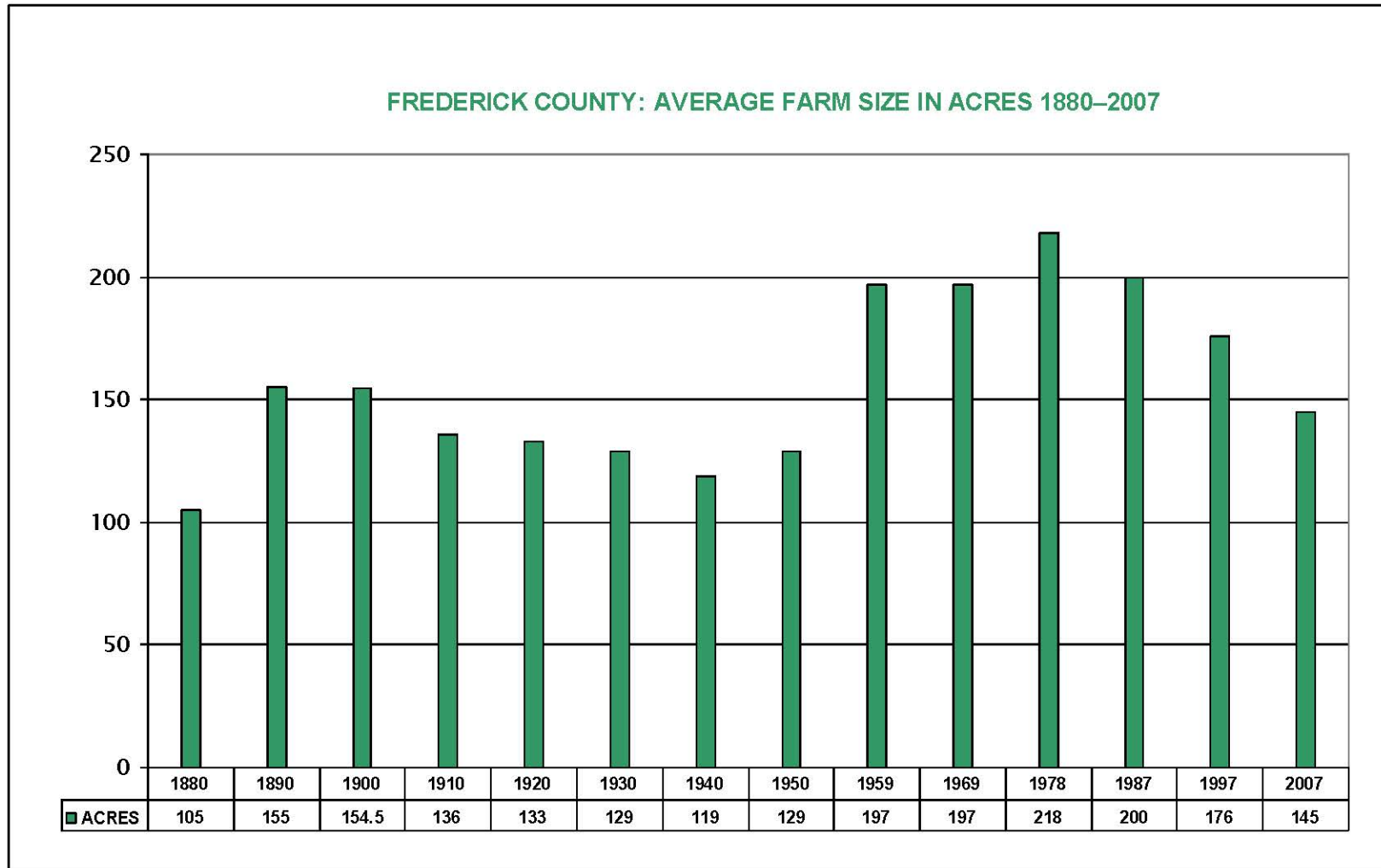


Figure 5. Frederick County: Average Farm Size in Acres: 1870–2007.

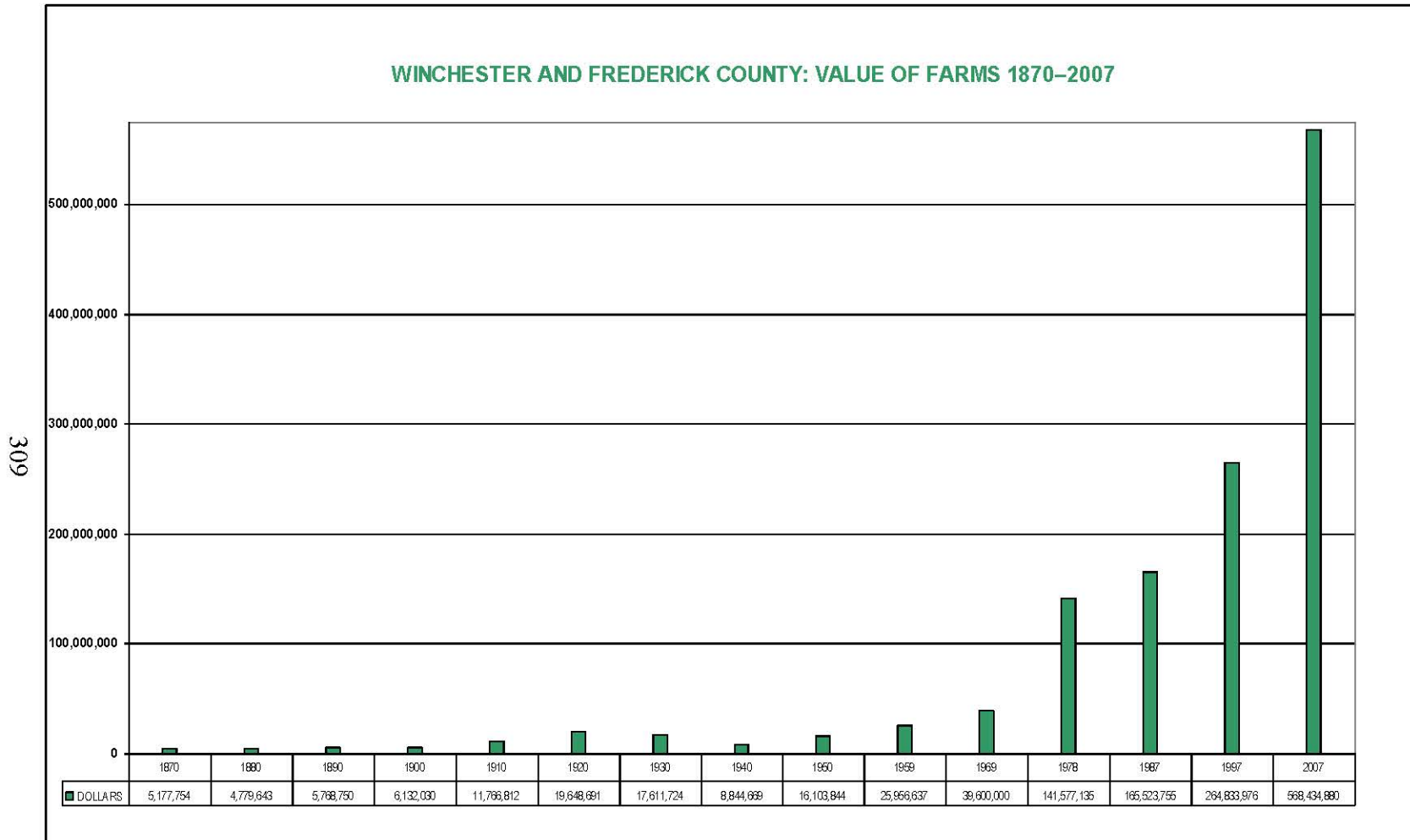


Figure 6. Winchester and Frederick County: Value of Farms: 1870-2007.

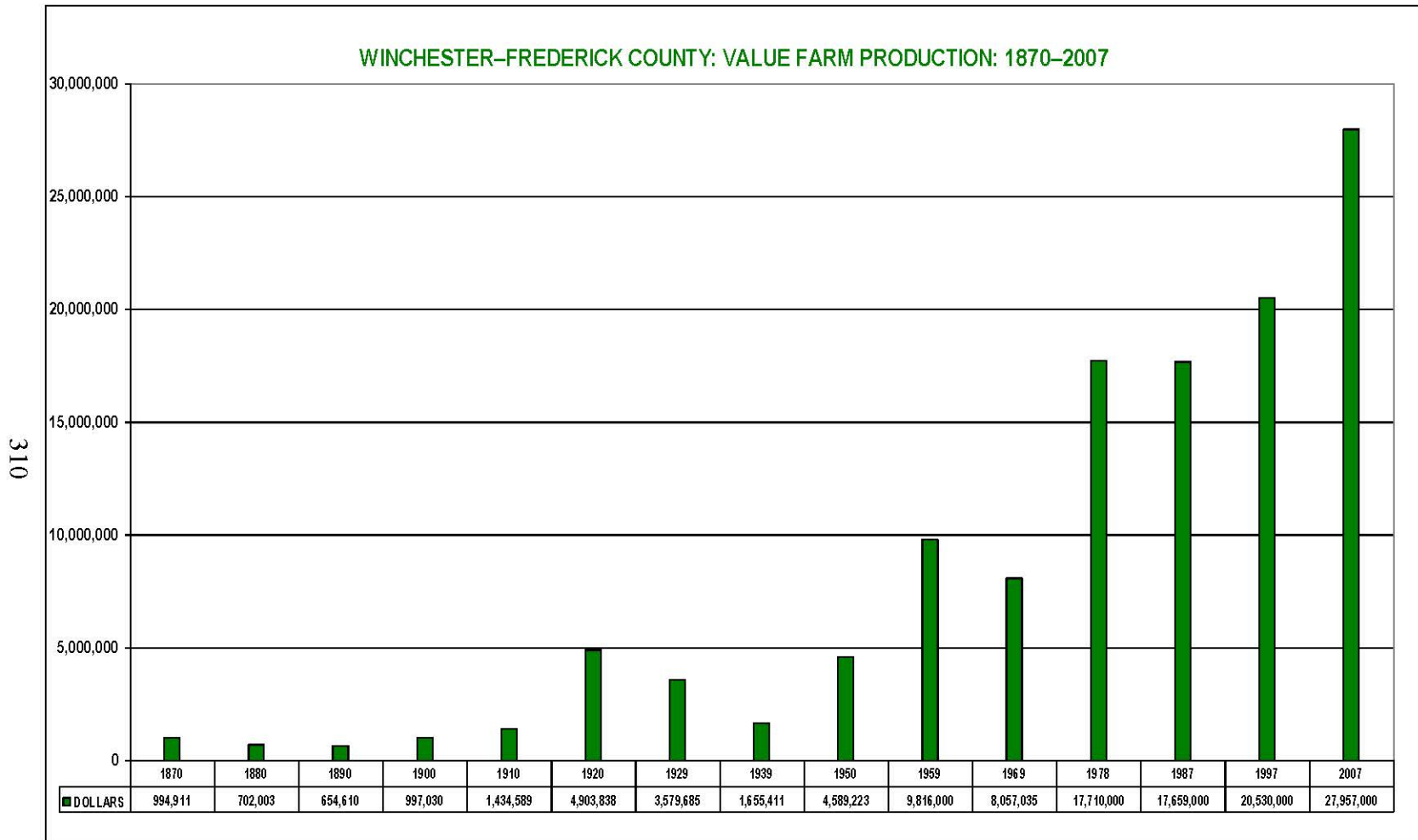


Figure 7. Winchester-Frederick County Value Farm Production: 1870-2007.

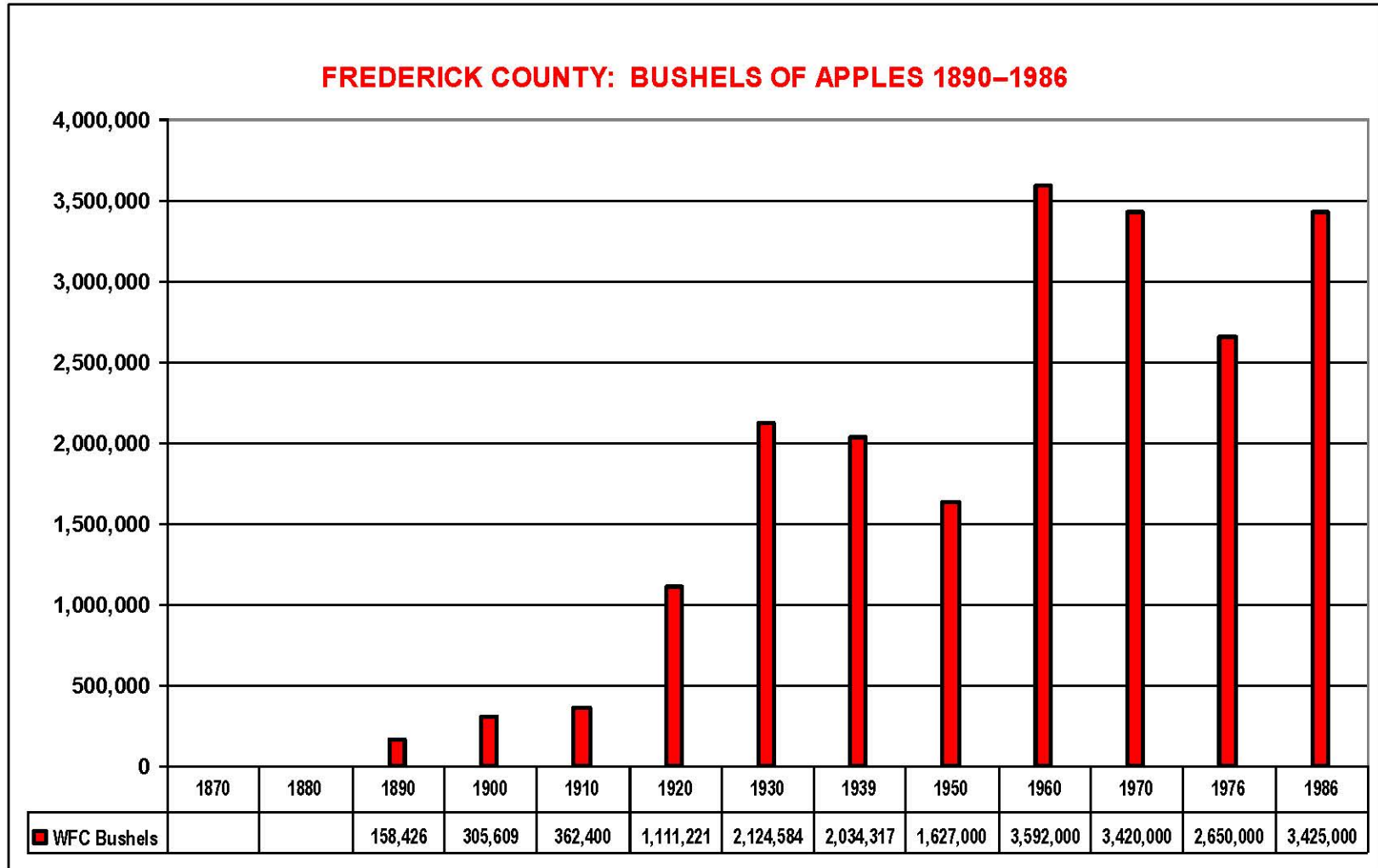


Figure 8. Frederick County: Bushels of Apples 1890–2007.

III. MANUFACTURING

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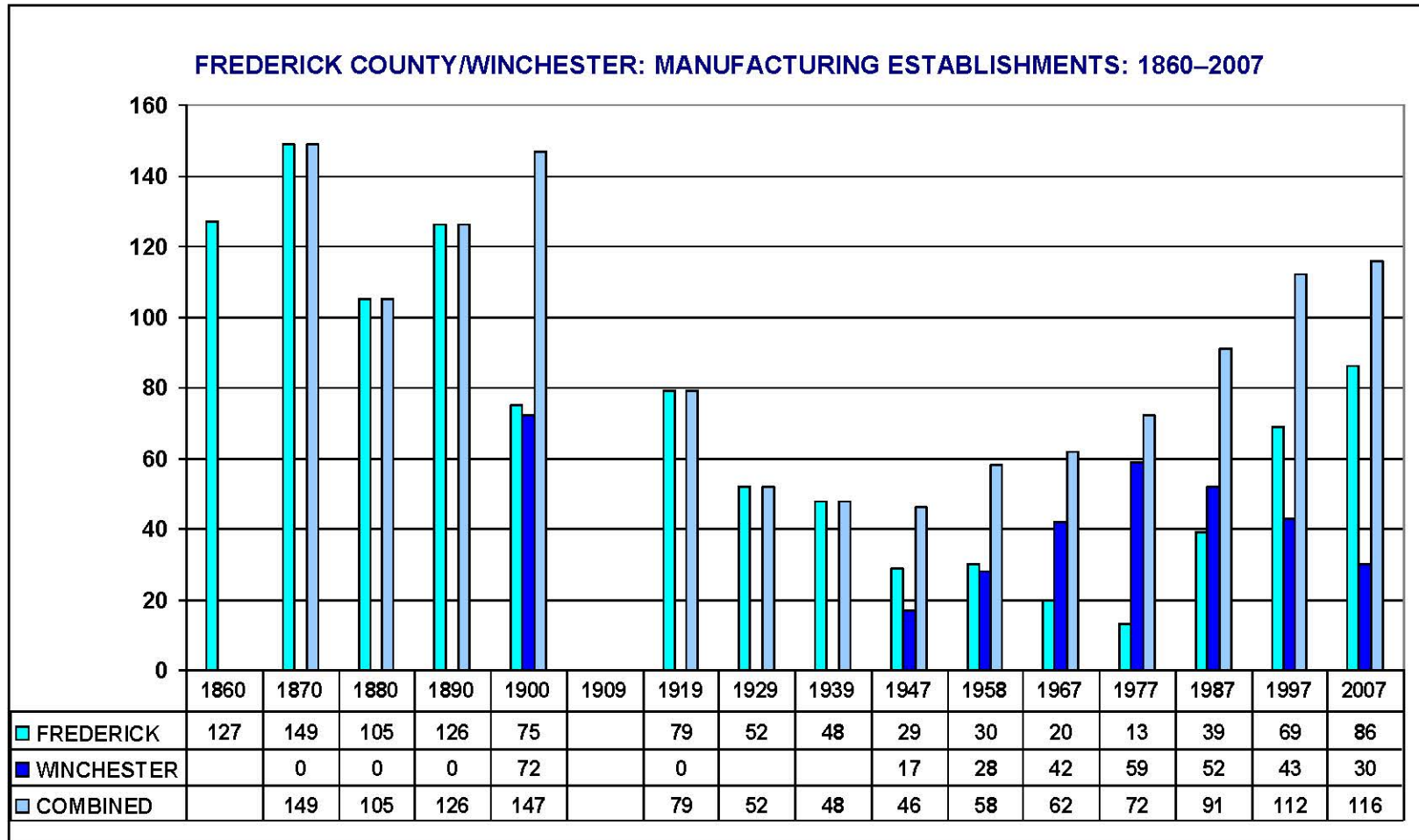


Figure 9. Frederick County, Winchester, Number of Manufacturing Establishments: 1860–2007.

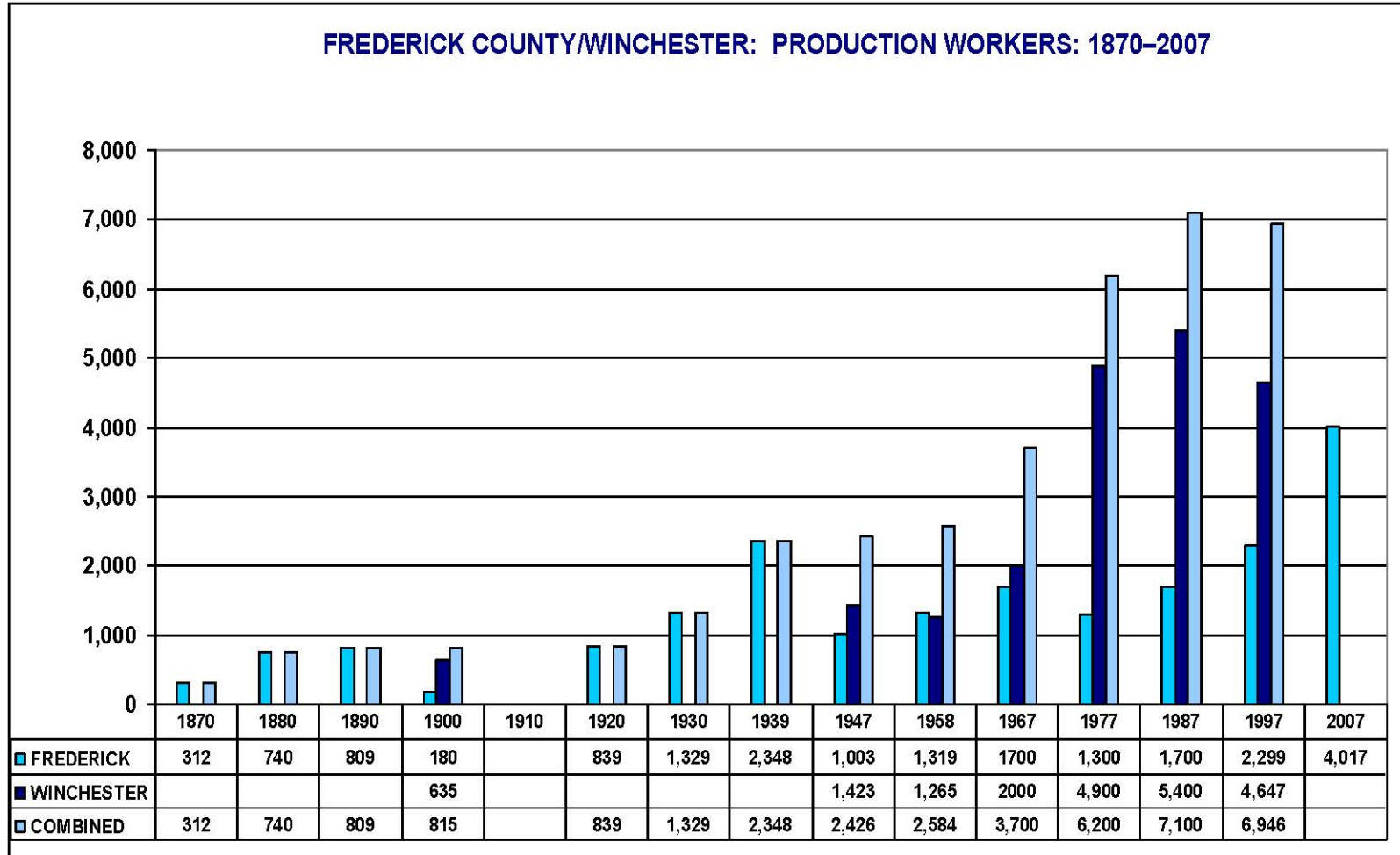


Figure 10. Frederick County/Winchester/Combined Production Workers: 1860–2007.

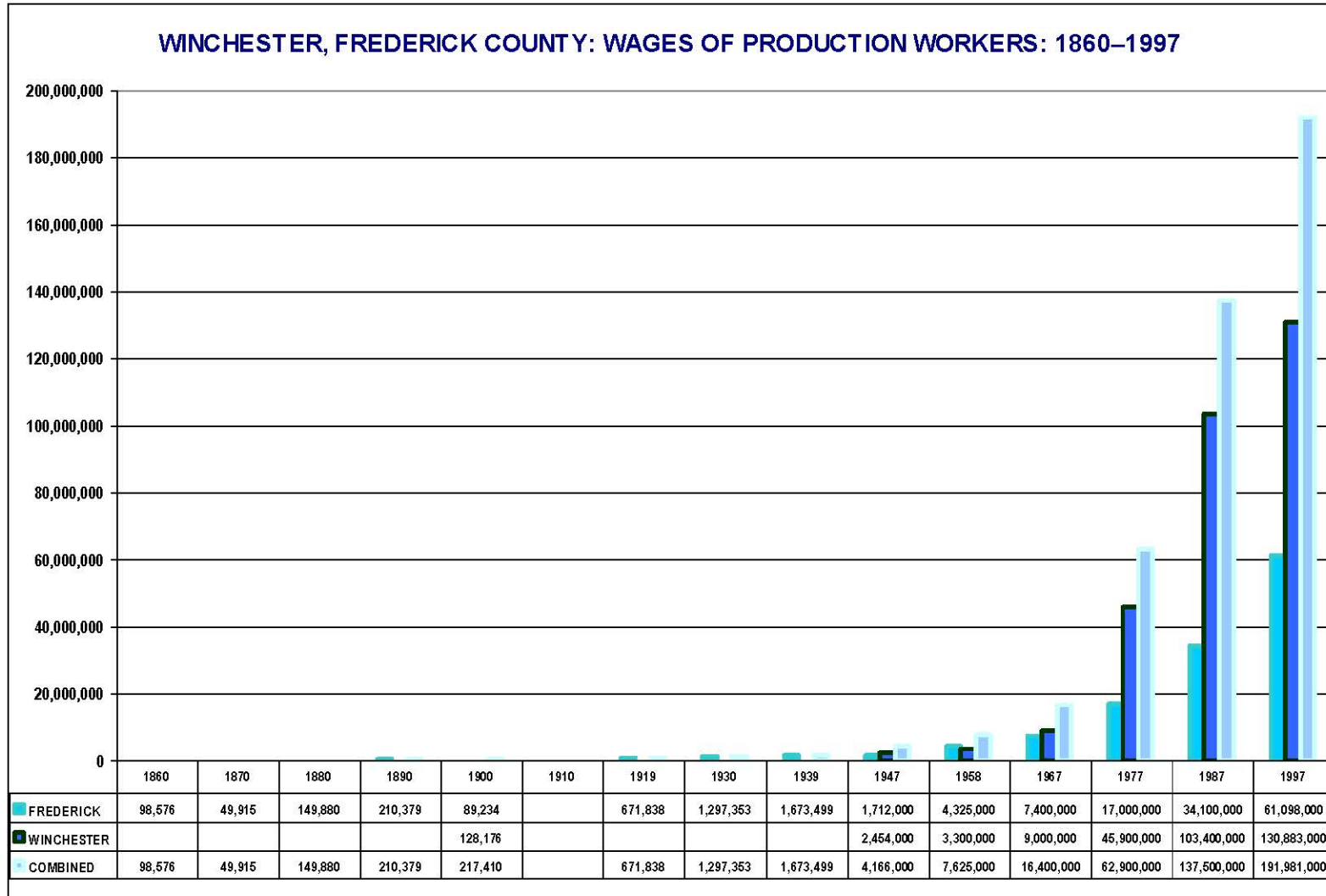


Figure 11. Frederick County/Winchester/Combined Wages of Production Workers: 1860–1997.

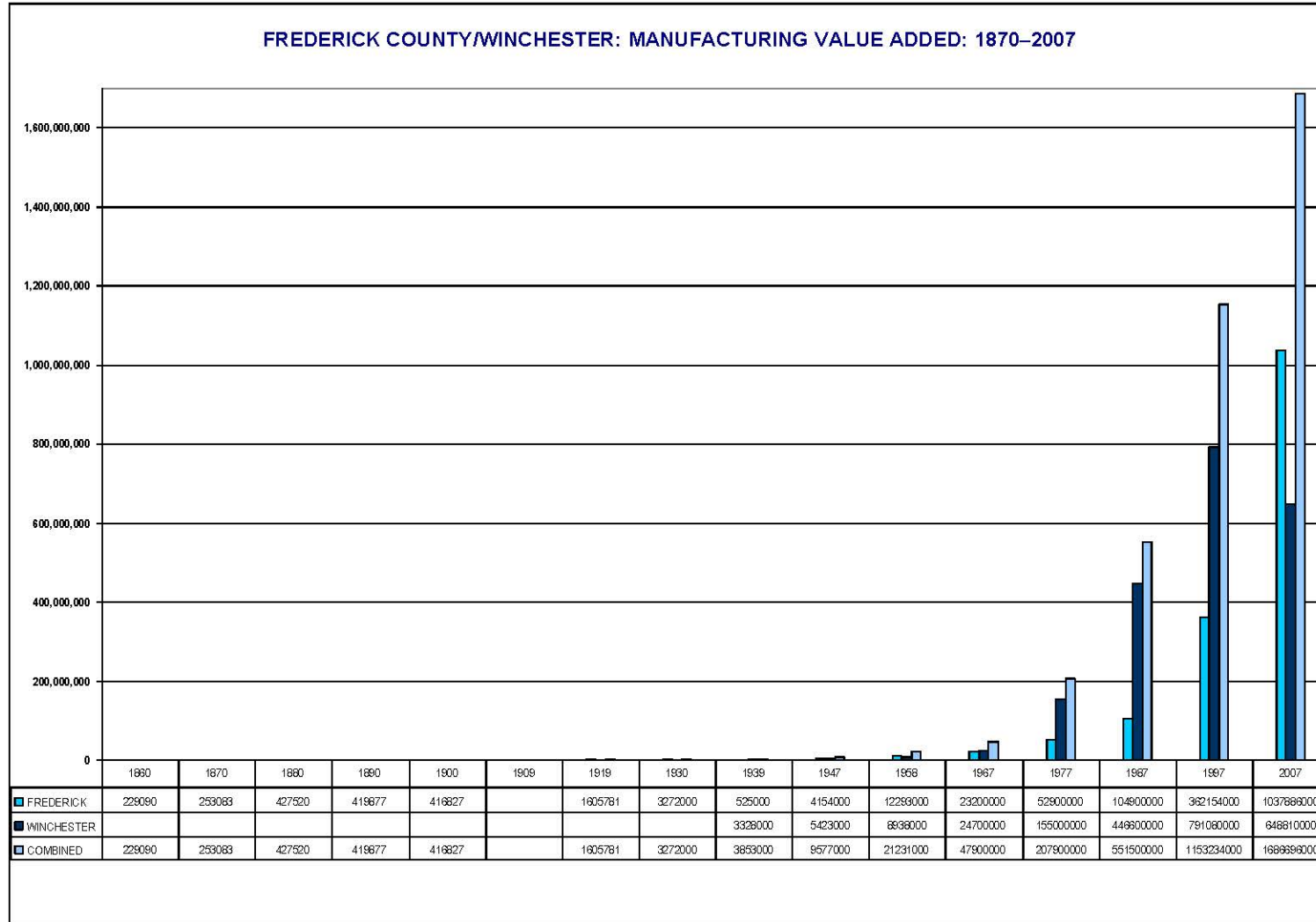


Figure 12. Frederick County and Winchester Value Added: 1860–2007.

APPENDIX C: FIGURES

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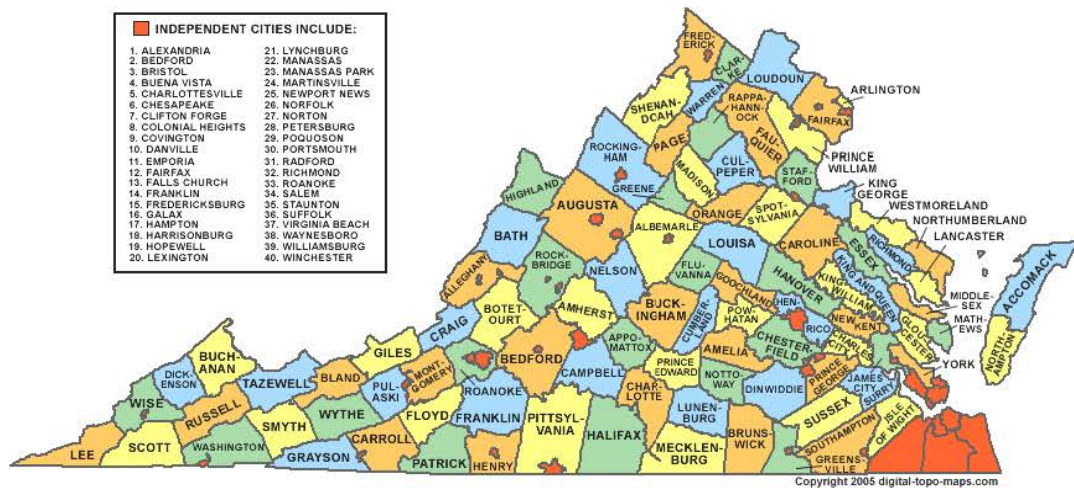


Figure 1. Virginia with Counties Map.⁶⁸⁹



Figure 2. Shenandoah Valley.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁹ “Virginia County Map,” Digital-Topo-Maps.com, accessed October 13, 2014, <http://www.digital-topo-maps.com/county-map/virginia.shtml>. Frederick County is located at the northern point of the state.

⁶⁹⁰ “Shenandoah Valley,” United States Geological Survey, accessed October 15, 2014, http://va.water.usgs.gov/bib/bib/words_shen.html.

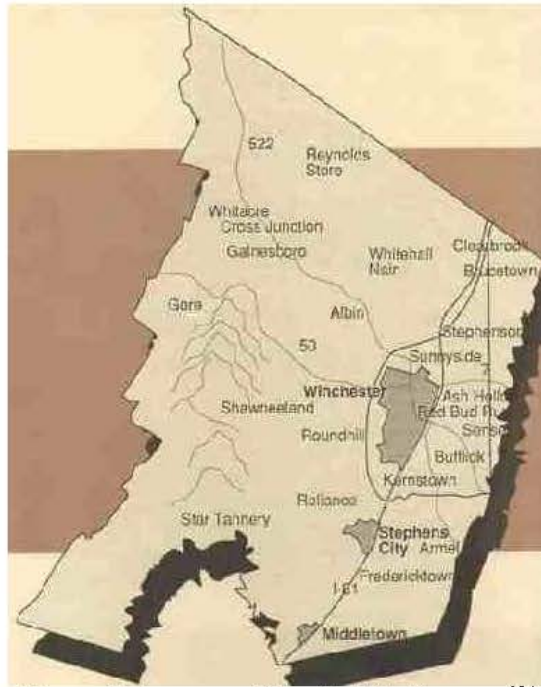


Figure 3. Towns of Frederick County.⁶⁹¹

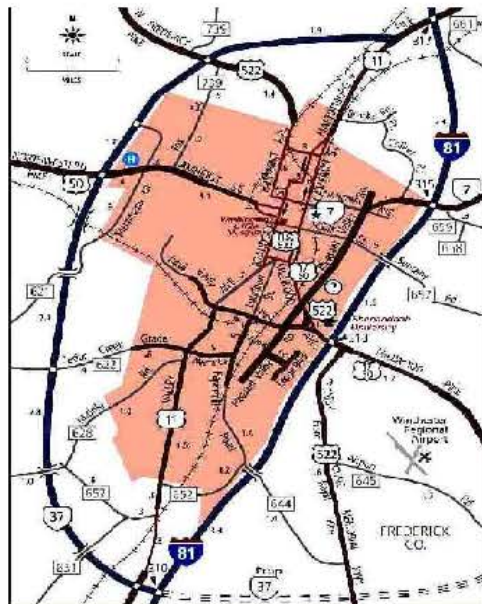


Figure 4. Roads in Winchester Area, Map.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹¹ Rebecca Ebert and Teresa Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia, From the Frontier to the Future* (Norfolk: The Donning Company, 1988), inside front cover.

⁶⁹² "Winchester Map," Virginia Department of Transportation, accessed October 9, 2014, http://www.virginiadot.org/VDOT/Travel/Winchester_Map.html.



Figure 5. Main Street, Winchester, circa 1940.⁶⁹³



Figure 6. Frederick County Courthouse in Winchester.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹³ David A. Taylor, "Exploring Virginia Life through the WPA Writers' Project," Virginia Tech Digital Library and Archives, accessed October 14, 2014, http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/VALib/v56_n4/taylor.

⁶⁹⁴ Photograph by author, October 2004.



Figure 7. Lucien Lupton.⁶⁹⁵



Figure 8. Holmes Conrad.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁵ Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society Collection, 69-1158 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁶⁹⁶ “Office of the Solicitor General,” US Department of Justice, accessed October 16, 2014 <http://www.justice.gov/osg/aboutosg/osghistlist.php?sortby=id>.

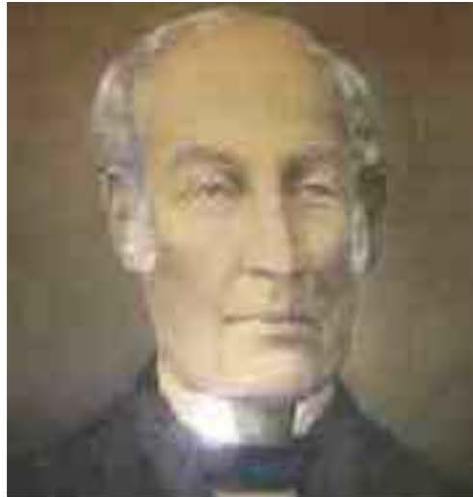


Figure 9. John Kerr, Philanthropist, circa 1840s–1850s.⁶⁹⁷



Figure 10. Charles Rouss, Philanthropist.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ Ben Ritter Collection, 12-72 WFCBS, Stewart Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁶⁹⁸ *Winchester Star* May 23, 2013, accessed October 13, 2014, http://www.winchesterstar.com/article/rouss_day_highlights_water_project.



Figure 11. Rouss Fire Hall, Winchester. Charles Rouss provided funding. The weather vane on top, known as “Old Jake” was recently valued at over \$1 million.⁶⁹⁹



Figure 12. Rouss City Hall, Winchester. Charles Rouss provided some funding.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁹ Rouss Fire Company, accessed October 14, 2014, http://roussfirecompany.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=1.

⁷⁰⁰ Photograph by author, October 2004.

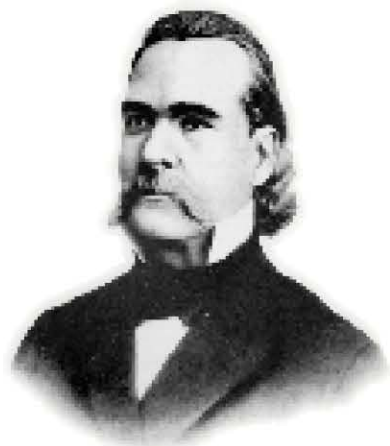


Figure 13. John Handley, Philanthropist.⁷⁰¹



Figure 14. Handley Library. John Handley donated funds to construct the building.⁷⁰²

⁷⁰¹ John Handley High School, accessed October 13, 2014, <https://www.wps.k12.va.us/jhhs/Judge/Judge.html>.

⁷⁰² "Handley Regional Library History," Handley Regional Library, accessed October 13, 2014, <http://www.handleyregional.org/Handley/anniversary%20plans/library%20history.htm>.



Figure 15. Handley School. John Handley donated funds to construct the building.⁷⁰³



Figure 16. Virginia Woolen Mill, circa 1932.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰³ “John Handley High School,” Wikipedia, accessed October 13, 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Handley_High_School.

⁷⁰⁴ C. Fred Barr Collection, 106-117 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Archives Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.



Figure 17. O'Sullivan Corporation, 2011.⁷⁰⁵



Figure 18. Old Stone Presbyterian Church.
First public school for African Americans in Winchester.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁵ NVDaily.com, September 10, 2011, accessed October 14, 2014,
<http://www.nvdaily.com/news/2011/09/osullivan-unveils-new-product-line.php>.

⁷⁰⁶ "Old Town Winchester," Wilderness Road, accessed October 14, 2014,
<http://www.virginia.org/wildernessroad/wrSites.asp?comm=Winchester+Frederick+County&commid=1&site=63>.



Figure 19. Winchester Memorial Hospital, circa 1905.⁷⁰⁷



Figure 20. Winchester Medical Center, circa 2014.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁷ Ben Ritter Collection, 12-80 WFCBS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁷⁰⁸ Winchester Medical Center, accessed October 13, 2014, <http://www.valleyhealthlink.com/WMC>.



Figure 21. National Fruit, circa 2004.⁷⁰⁹



Figure 22. Apple Pickers, 1976.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁹ Photograph by author, 2004.

⁷¹⁰ Stewart Bell Jr. Collection, 7-84 WFCMS, Stewart Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.



Figure 23. Trucks Delivering Apples for Processing, 1926.⁷¹¹



Figure 24. Apple Sorting and Boxing at National Fruit, 1960.⁷¹²

⁷¹¹ C. Fred Barr Collection, 106-160 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁷¹² National Fruit Product Company Collection, 44-4 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.



Figure 25. Apple Blossom Festival Pageant Finale at Handley School, circa 1960.⁷¹³



Figure 26. Apple Blossom Festival, circa 1960.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹³“Apples Winchester and Frederick County Virginia,” accessed October 13, 2014, http://mason.gmu.edu/~mlichart/Linhart_Hist697_2005/App_Festival_pic.htm.

⁷¹⁴“Apples Winchester and Frederick County Virginia.”



Figure 27. Apple Blossom Grand Feature Parade, 1953.
Grand Marshal, movie star Hopalong Cassidy (William Boyd), on Main Street.⁷¹⁵



Figure 28. William Battaile, circa 1956.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁵ Benjamin Belchic Collection, 1-22 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.

⁷¹⁶ Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society Collection, 69-420 WFCHS, Stewart Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, VA.



Figure 29. James R. Wilkins.⁷¹⁷



Figure 30. Winchester Skyline, circa 2012. The large building near the middle is Roush City Hall.⁷¹⁸

NOTES:

These images are a sampling of the many available pictures. The Handley Library Archives has a large collection of pictures online that may be accessed at this address: <http://handleyregional.org/handley/services.asp?loc=5>.

⁷¹⁷ “The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933–42,” National Park Service, accessed October 14, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/ccc/ccc/images/fig38.jpg.

⁷¹⁸ Winchester Virginia, accessed October 14, 2014, <http://www.winchesterva.gov/visitors>.

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BIOGRAPHY

Mary Sullivan Linhart was born in Winchester, Virginia and attended the College of Mount Saint Vincent in Riverdale, New York where she majored in History. She received a Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Virginia where her thesis was *The Association in Virginia, 1774–1776*. She worked as a teacher in Winchester, Virginia. She worked as programmer, analyst, and manager in the computer field in the Washington, DC area and co-authored a number of publications describing the use of the computer for carcinogenesis and mutagenesis research data while employed at the National Institutes of Health. She has 3 children, Catherine, Susan, and Jennifer.