FINAL REPORT

IDENTIFICATION AND APPLICATION OF CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBILITY OF ROADS IN VIRGINIA

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ABSTRACT

At present, there are no clear standards for applying National Register criteria to roads and for objectively researching and determining the National Register eligibility of roadways in Virginia. Basic historic documentation of Virginia roads is often poor, incomplete, or incorrect. These facts, along with the large number of old roads that lie within the borders of the Commonwealth of Virginia, necessitate the identification of standards for historical documentation and a rating system for accurately and objectively determining the historic significance of roads in Virginia.

This project identified standards for historical documentation and for the identification of objective criteria for determining the historic significance (i.e., National Register eligibility) of roads in Virginia. A general historical background of roads in Virginia, procedures for their evaluation for historic significance, and a number of case studies of various types of Virginia roads are included in this report. A series of recommendations are offered to address (1) inconsistencies in the evaluation of Virginia roads for historic significance and (2) misconceptions concerning various aspects of National Register designation.

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INTRODUCTION

Virginia's cultural landscape since the 17th century has been largely defined by transportation corridors. The Commonwealth's history has been heavily shaped by roads (from the early county road systems through turnpikes, the state highway system, and the interstate highway system), as well as navigable waterways, canals, railways, and airports.

As is noted in this report, most early roads have undergone numerous alterations from their original locations and configurations. In many cases, the precise original route of an early road is no longer known and may never have been documented in either public or private records. In recognition of this, this report uses the terms "corridor" and "road" to describe different transportation elements.

"Road" is used to connote a specific physical structure, whether in the past or the present. "Corridor" is used in reference to the general or approximate location of a route. The term is especially useful in describing the approximate locations of early roads that today may not be represented by a coherent roadway or discernable road trace. Thus, notations that, for example, "the 19th century Northwestern Turnpike was located in the modern Route 50 corridor," "Route 250 occupies the same general corridor as the 18th century Three Notched Road," "some portions of the Blue Ridge Turnpike were located in the corridors of modern Routes 231 and 670," give approximate locations to older roads that no longer exist in their original state. However, using the term "corridor" avoids the misinterpretations that the Northwestern Turnpike is identical with modern Route 50, that the Three Notched Road and modern Route 250 are interchangeable, and that the Blue Ridge Turnpike ran on the exact routes of modern Routes 231 and 670.

Roads in the United States can be divided into two general types: evolved roads and engineered roads. *Evolved roads* are those that have developed over time from earlier routes (in some cases, trails or colonial roadways) to their present configurations. This category includes current roads in Virginia that developed from the old county roads (17th through early 20th centuries). Some primaries and the majority of secondary roads in Virginia can be placed in this category. The development of these roads generally has involved extensive rebuilding, change in surface materials and treatment (i.e., from dirt to more modern paving materials), and at least some realignment of portions of the road, if not a major repositioning of the entire route. Available documentary materials on evolved roads vary greatly—dates of origin and/or change

may or may not be recorded or identifiable. Surveys and construction drawings were rarely made prior to the early 20th century.

Engineered roads are those that were planned, designed, and built to particular specifications and for a stated purpose usually within a single building campaign. This category includes older turnpikes and parkways and most roads of modern construction (including the post-1918 primary roads, post-1932 secondary roads, and interstate highways built to standard specifications). Older turnpikes in Virginia, particularly those that subsequently reverted to county road status after the Civil War, have sometimes undergone considerable changes (becoming, in effect, evolved roads). Changes to other roads in this category vary according to the individual situations and pressures that have been applied to them. However, in the case of engineered roads, the dates of design, construction, and/or change are usually recorded and well documented. Surveys and construction drawings frequently were made and still exist.

Historically Significant Roads Nationwide

The majority of roads that have been determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (hereinafter National Register) in other states are engineered roads, largely from the early and mid-20th century, such as portions of the Lincoln Highway and U.S. Route 66 in various states, New York's Bronx River Parkway, Connecticut's Merritt Parkway, and Montana's Going-to-the-Sun Road. A lesser number of listed roads are significant evolved roads that are said to retain much of their integrity, such as Vermont's Historic Crown Point Road, which is an unimproved route that reportedly dates back to the colonial era. Other roads are contributing elements in historic districts, in which the road may or may not be the primary feature. The objectivity of evaluation and quality of background research vary, however, and some heavily evolved older roads such as Rhode Island's Great Road Historic District and South Carolina's Ashley River Road (both of which trace their general routes back to 17th century precedents but have undergone considerable alterations and changes to their historic fabric and context over the years) have also been determined eligible.

Historically Significant Roads in Virginia

In Virginia, the Department of Historic Resources (DHR) determines a property's eligibility for both the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register. A National Register Nomination Form is then prepared (usually by the owner or agent of the property or by a consultant) and serves as the nomination form for both the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register. After a property is placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register, its nomination is forwarded to the National Park Service for final review and placement on the National Register. In cases of questionable eligibility or nominations, the owner/agent for the property can ask that the matter be referred to the Keeper of the National Register for a final decision.

To date, fewer than a dozen roads in Virginia have been determined to be individually historically significant (i.e., individually eligible for, or placed on, the National Register). The

George Washington Memorial Parkway (placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register in 1991 and the National Register in 1995) and the Mount Vernon Memorial Parkway (placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register in 1981 and formerly part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway) are located in Fairfax County. Both opened in 1932, they are engineered roads that were the first scenic parkways serving the nation's capital, and in addition to their historical and engineering importance, they retain considerable physical integrity.

Georgetown Pike (Routes 193 and 123 between Route 7 and Chain Bridge) in Fairfax County was determined eligible in 1993, and Old Colchester Road (Route 611), also in Fairfax County, was determined eligible in 1995. Neither road has had a final nomination to the National Register completed, and accordingly neither has been listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register or the National Register. Both are fairly attractive, scenic roads that approximate the general locations of older routes. Old Colchester Road, in particular, has undergone realignment during the 20th century and no longer follows portions of its early route.

In 1998, the Hollow Road (Route 707), a secondary road in Frederick County, was judged eligible based on information that it was a portion of the Romney Road, an early route from Winchester to the west. However, documentation problems with this application were subsequently identified, and the nomination is currently on hold.

Other roadways in Virginia have been determined to be contributing elements to historic districts. A particularly intact example is the route of the Mud March, an evolved road in Stafford County that figured in a significant action during the Civil War and currently retains excellent physical integrity. In March 2000, the Keeper of the National Register, as part of the studies relating to the proposed Outer Connector project in Spotsylvania and Stafford counties, determined this route eligible as a contributing element to the Salem Church Battlefield.

An excellent example of an engineered road that forms a major component of an historic district is the Skyline Drive. This carefully planned scenic highway, designed as a transportation route through the Shenandoah National Park, was completed in 1939, and it passes through eight counties in the course of its 105-mile route along the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains. It is the central feature of the Skyline Drive Historic District (placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register in 1996 and the National Register in 1997).

Of the roads noted, the Mud March and the Hollow Road are included among the case studies in this report.

Need for Clear Criteria to Determine National Register Eligibility

Preservation plans, geographic surveys, historic community identity, the Secretary of the Interior's Standards (Morton et al., 1992), and academic programs generally do not recognize roads as potential historic structures and rarely address how such features might be identified, evaluated, or treated. There are no clear standards for objectively determining the eligibility of roadways for the National Register, and historic documentation of these roads is often poor, incomplete, or incorrect. In the early 1990s, the DHR commissioned a private consultant to draft

a methodology for evaluating the historic significance of roads (i.e., how to determine whether a road is eligible for the National Register). The recommendations in this report, which contained particular gaps in its documentation and depended heavily on a number of subjective interpretations and assertions, were never formally implemented. However, a copy is on file with the DHR and, as the only existing document to address this subject, it does set a precedent of sorts. More recently, a number of citizens' groups and individuals have shown interest in nominating roads or portions of roads to the National Register. The driving force behind such nominations is often a mistaken impression on the part of these citizens that listing on the National Register will stop any changes to the roadway and will prevent any future development along the right of way. One such case is that of Hollow Road (Route 707), as mentioned previously.

Clearly, these facts, along with the large number of old roads that lie within the borders of the Commonwealth of Virginia, necessitate the development of standards for historical documentation of roads and of criteria and a rating system for accurately and objectively determining the historic significance of roads in Virginia.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

This project had two objectives:

- 1. Develop standards for historical documentation of roads in Virginia.
- 2. Identify objective criteria for determining the historic significance (i.e., National Register eligibility) of roads in Virginia.

The concept of this project had support from the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT), the DHR, and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). The final documentation and eligibility criteria are applicable to any road in Virginia. The format of the study and final report were based on the successful studies of early bridges and the standards for determination of historic significance of bridges previously developed for Virginia through the Virginia Transportation Research Council (VTRC) (Miller, McGeehan, and Clark, 1996; Miller and Clark, 1997; Miller and Clark, 2000). As with the historic bridge studies, evaluation for individual National Register eligibility of each road was a primary consideration in this project. Also as with the historic bridge projects, the Historic Structures Task Group (HSTG), a preexisting group composed of representatives from VDOT, the VTRC, the FHWA, and the DHR was involved. The DHR provided specific input regarding standards for both documentation and final criteria for historic significance. A number of case studies of early roads in various parts of Virginia were used in the course of this study. Several of these case studies were conducted through the VTRC; others represent research done by VDOT cultural resource personnel or by other organizations or individuals.

METHODOLOGY

This project consisted of the following tasks:

- 1. *A literature review*. The literature review examined current issues, theory, and practice in determining the historic significance of roads, both in Virginia and elsewhere in the United States, to determine if other states have specific guidelines for evaluating the historic significance of roads.
- 2. Preliminary historical research to identify potential case study subjects. In order to identify potential subjects for case studies, historical research on significant roads in Virginia was identified and evaluated. This was done in concert with members of the HSTG, the DHR, VDOT cultural resource personnel, and other historical researchers as needed. Information on roads in various parts of Virginia relating to various periods and types of historic significance was examined. Documentary and field research was then undertaken to analyze and assess the degree, completeness, and accuracy of existing documentation and suitability of various roads as potential subjects for the study. A variety of types, ages, and areas of significance of roads was sought for the case studies.
- 3. Selection of the roads for case studies, an assessment of their suitability, and additional historical/documentary research. The author submitted to the HSTG a preliminary list of potential case study roads based on the results of Task 2. Six roads were selected for the case studies by the HSTG from this list, and they represent a variety of time periods, types of construction, and historic significance criteria. Once the case study roads were selected, the existing documentation on these roads was subjected to further analysis, and additional research and historical documentation were undertaken as needed. The research sources, methods, and conclusions that were identified formed the basis for establishing standards and methods for the accurate and objective documentation of potentially historic roads in Virginia.
- 4. *Identification of potential National Register evaluation methods and development of the final criteria to determine eligibility.* The procedure for identifying and assessing criteria to determine National Register eligibility followed the similar procedure already developed to establish the criteria for determining National Register eligibility of bridges in Virginia. As with the bridge eligibility criteria, it was initially intended that the National Register eligibility criteria and evaluation form for roads in Virginia would be adaptations of the existing criteria used by the DHR to evaluate structures. However, in the late 1990s, the DHR made a number of changes to its evaluation form. After examination and discussion of the new form, the HSTG agreed that the new form (the Preliminary Register Evaluation Sheet), discussed later, provided an objective format for evaluating different types of structures and adopted the DHR form with no changes.
- 5. Determination of the eligibility of the case study roads using the identified documentary and evaluation methods and criteria. Historical documentation on each

of the case study roads was submitted to the HSTG, and the group made a site visit to each road. National Register criteria were applied, and the Preliminary Register Evaluation Sheet was used to evaluate each case study road for eligibility for the National Register.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Literature Review

The literature review revealed that no other states have specific guidelines for evaluating the historic significance of roads; the historic preservation offices in each state use the same evaluation forms used for buildings and other structures.

Preliminary Historical Research

A variety of ages, types, locations, and areas and periods of significance was desired for the case study roads. Examination of published and manuscript material, including preliminary information forms and National Register nominations, and querying of the HSTG, the DHR, VDOT cultural resource personnel, and other historical researchers yielded a number of potential roads for case studies. These roads were located in various areas of Virginia and dated (or were reputed to date) to various time periods ranging from the early 18th century to the mid-20th century. Some of these roads had developed over time (evolved roads); others represented a single construction episode (engineered roads). The documentary records regarding these roads varied in degree and completeness, but all were sufficiently intact to allow a reasonable documentation and assessment of the significance of the road.

Selection of Case Study Roads and Review of Existing Documentation

Six roads were chosen for the case studies:

- 1. *Hollow Road (Route 707, Frederick County)*. This is claimed by some to be a portion of the Romney Road (the predecessor of Route 50, the Romney Road was a major early route from the northern Shenandoah Valley westward, running between Winchester and Romney, now in West Virginia).
- 2. Three Notched Road route (predecessor of Route 250 in Albemarle, Fluvanna, Louisa, Goochland, and Henrico counties). This is the route of the old Goochland County Mountain Road, which was a major 18th and 19th century route between Richmond and the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Three Notched Road has been the subject of considerable research, including ongoing work through the VTRC. Little additional research except for reviews of the various maps pertaining to the road and site visits to the identifiable, surviving portions of this road was required.

- 3. Blue Ridge Turnpike route (predecessor of Route 231 in Madison and Orange counties). This was the route of an 1850 turnpike from the Blue Ridge Mountains to Gordonsville. A wealth of research has also been done on the Blue Ridge turnpike, including ongoing work through the VTRC and research for in-progress histories of the early roads in the area and of the turnpike itself. The authors of these in-progress histories generously made their notes and files available for the case study.
- 4. The "Mud March" route (now a farm road in Stafford County). This antebellum county road played a significant role in the attempted federal advance on Fredericksburg in January 1863. The interest in this route related to the important role this road played during the Civil War. This was already well documented, and no additional research was necessary except for reviews of the wartime map evidence and a site visit to the surviving portion of the road.
- 5. Route 340 (Page and Warren counties). This 1930s' road overlays and replaced the routes of a series of earlier roads. At the time this study began, research into the history of Route 340 was being undertaken by both the VTRC and VDOT cultural resource staff. This was used in the case study.
- 6. Route 5 (Henrico, Charles City, and James City counties). Formerly a series of local roads, this is now a scenic route that connects Richmond and Williamsburg, running through a significant area of the James River plantations. It is a Virginia Byway. Various historical publications have repeated (and perhaps fueled) the public perception that this is a virtually unaltered, major 18th century transportation route. This perception is not supported by documentation, and additional research for this case study involved identification of the 20th century highway projects that altered the road.

Of these roads, considerable background research on the Romney Road was included in a 1998 Preliminary Information Form submitted in support of National Register eligibility for the Hollow Road. However, much of the research equating the Romney Road with the Hollow Road was open to reinterpretation. The case study for this road involved a complete reexamination of the information submitted with the 1998 Preliminary Information Form and an examination of additional deeds, maps, and atlases.

Research sources and methods that were identified and used during this and the previous tasks formed the basis for accurate and objective documentation of these and other potentially historic roads in Virginia. The Preliminary Register Evaluation Sheet is reproduced along with a brief explanation of the rating system in Appendix A. Resources and a discussion of documentation of roads in Virginia are given in Appendix B; brief overviews of the history of roads and paving in Virginia are included in Appendices C and D. The historic backgrounds, discussions, and evaluations of the case study roads are included as Appendix E.

National Register Criteria

To be eligible for the National Register, a property must meet one of the four National Register Criteria for Evaluation. To do so, it must possess both *significance* and *integrity* (i.e., the property not only must have a recognizable association with particular well-defined criteria regarding historical or structural importance, but must also be reasonably intact). National Register guidelines (National Park Service, 1995) note:

For a property to qualify for the National Register it must meet one of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation by:

- Being associated with an important historic context and
- Retaining historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance.

Four Criteria for Evaluation

The National Register criteria are established by federal regulations (36 CFR Part 60). National Register criteria and guidelines are readily available in a variety of the National Park Service's National Register bulletins, particularly in bulletins 15, 16A, and 30 (National Park Service, 1995; National Park Service, 1997; McClelland et al., n.d.). Although there are no separate guidelines for determining National Register eligibility of roads, National Register criteria with particular application to roads are identified and discussed here.

The National Register has four specific criteria for evaluation, as defined by 36 CFR Part 60:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

In addition, there are "Criteria Considerations" (i.e., particular kinds of properties not usually considered eligible for the National Register, with the following exceptions):

- A. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- B. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- C. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life; or
- D. A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

- E. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- F. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or
- G. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Significance

National Register guidelines define the period of significance as

the length of time when a property was associated with important events, activities or persons, or attained the characteristics which qualify it for National Register listing. Period of significance usually begins with the date when significant activities or events began giving the property its historic significance; this is often a date of construction (National Park Service, 1997).

The National Register also specifies the guidelines for selecting periods of significance, and these are dependent upon the applicable criteria:

Criterion A: For the site of an important event, such as a pivotal five-month labor strike, the period of significance is the time when the event occurred. For properties associated with historic trends, such as commercial development, the period of significance is the span of time when the property actively contributed to the trend.

Criterion B: The period of significance for a property significant for Criterion B is usually the length of time the property was associated with the important person.

Criterion C: For architecturally significant properties, the period of significance is the date of construction and/or the dates of any significant alterations and additions.

Criterion D: The period of significance for an archeological property is the estimated time when it was occupied or used for reasons related to its importance, for example, 3000-2500 B.C. (National Park Service, 1997).

In addition:

- The property must possess historic integrity for all periods of significance entered.
- Continued use or activity does not necessarily justify continuing the period of significance. The period of significance is based upon the time when the property made the contributions or achieved the character on which significance is based.
- Fifty years is used as the closing date for periods of significance where activities begun historically continued to have importance and no more specific date can be defined to end the historic period. (Events and activities occurring within the last 50 years must be exceptionally important to be recognized as "historic" and to justify extending a period of significance beyond the limit of 50 years ago.)

GUIDELINES FOR IDENTIFYING SIGNIFICANT DATES

- The property must have historic integrity for all significant dates entered.
- The beginning and closing dates of a period of significance are "significant dates" only if they mark specific events directly related to the significance of the property, for example, the date of construction that also marked the beginning of an important individual's residency, or the closing of a mine that ended a community's growth.
- For a property significant for Criterion C, enter the date of the construction of alterations through which the property achieved its importance. Enter the dates of alterations only if they contribute to the property's significance.

• For districts, enter the construction dates of only those buildings that individually had an impact on the character of the district as a whole. Enter dates of events for which the district as a whole and not individual buildings is significant, for example, the opening of a trolley line that spurred a community's suburban development (National Park Service, 1997).

Integrity

The various elements that are considered in assessing historic integrity are as follows:

- Association. This is the direct link between an important historic event or person and
 an historic property. This relates to the property's association with pertinent National
 Register historic themes (in the case of roads, usually engineering or transportation),
 but it conveys little or no historic significance by itself. The period of significance
 for the resource also identifies associations.
- *Design*. This is the combination of elements that creates the form, plan, space, structure, and style of the property. In the case of roads, this refers to alignment, grading, response to terrain (i.e., cut and fill), guardrails, surface drainage, ditches, curb and gutter, sewers, etc., as well as to bridges, embankments, causeways, and related structures.
- Feeling. This is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Integrity of feeling is perhaps the most difficult element to quantify and can be the most subjective. It is the quality of evoking the sense of the period of significance. It is generally present if the other elements are there (particularly integrity of setting, integrity of design, integrity of location, etc.). The structure has integrity of feeling when the property is able to evoke its period of significance.
- Location. This is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. It is the physical place where the road was constructed. Either a road is in the same location as it was during its period of significance or it is not. The National Register is specific on the requirements that to be eligible for the National Register, a road must be in its original location. Such transportation structures as bridges can often have integrity of location after being moved (since many types of bridges, particularly truss bridges, were designed so that they could be moved and re-erected at other sites); roads cannot.
- *Materials*. These are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration. For roads, these include the physical materials used for paving, subsurface preparation (if any), curbing, culverts, causeways, etc. If historic materials are covered or buried, determining if there is integrity of materials may be impossible, unless later materials are removed to assess the integrity of materials and/or design.

- Setting. This is the physical environment of an historic property (i.e., the surroundings of the property, as opposed to location, which is the actual area that it occupies). The features of the setting may be natural or man-made. Like association, setting may be somewhat difficult to define. For a setting to possess integrity, it should be consistent with the setting during the period of significance. Integrity of setting does not by itself make a property eligible; similarly, loss of integrity of setting does not by itself make a property ineligible.
- *Workmanship*. This is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory. This generally refers to physical evidence of hand workmanship and/or skilled craftsmanship. In the case of roads, integrity of workmanship has primary application in the case of roads considered to have good integrity of materials.

However, regarding integrity, National Register guidelines caution: "Because feeling and association depend on individual perceptions, their retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility of a property to the National Register" (National Park Service, 1995).

Examples of Circumstances Under Which a Road Might Satisfy National Register Criteria

The following are examples of circumstances under which particular types of roads might satisfy each of the four National Register criteria (based on examples in *National Register Bulletin 15*) (National Park Service, 1995).

Criterion A: Associated With Events That Have Made a Significant Contribution to the Broad Patterns of Our History

- A road might satisfy Criterion A if it is directly associated with events or themes that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of American history.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion A merely by being associated with the theme of transportation. Patterns of travel are not intrinsically significant. Every road, of every time, is associated with the theme of transportation. The unique pattern of travel associated with a unique road must be demonstrably significant in history.
- A road that allows travel between, for example, Kentucky and Virginia is not conclusively significant. But if historic documentation shows that the road was used by 18th century explorers to cross the mountains and establish the initial settlements in Kentucky, the road may satisfy Criterion A. Similarly, if historic documentation shows that the road was the primary migration route from Virginia to Kentucky during the 18th century, the road may satisfy Criterion A.
- A road used by armed forces en route to a conflict is not conclusively significant. But, if historic documentation shows that the use of this unique road had a direct and significant influence on the outcome of the conflict, the road may satisfy Criterion A.

• A road does not satisfy Criterion A if its associations with historic events are speculative.

Criterion B: Associated With the Lives of Persons Significant in Our Past

- A road might satisfy Criterion B if it is associated with the lives of persons significant in American history.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion B merely by being associated with an important person. The road must be directly associated with that person's productive life.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion B merely by association, for example, with 19th century engineer Claudius Crozet. But, if historic documentation shows that Crozet designed the road and that the road's design is exemplary of Crozet's engineering genius, the road may satisfy Criterion B.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion B merely because, for example, it was mapped by Confederate cartographer Jedediah Hotchkiss or traveled on by Confederate General Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson. But if historic documentation shows that the mapping of the road by Hotchkiss was the critical factor that allowed Jackson and his forces to carry out a significant action, the road may satisfy Criterion B.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion B if its associations with historic persons are speculative.

Criterion C: Embody the Distinctive Characteristics of a Type, Period, or Method of Construction or That Represent the Work of a Master, or That Possess High Artistic Values, or That Represent a Significant and Distinguishable Entity Whose Components May Lack Individual Distinction

- A road might satisfy Criterion C if it embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. A road might satisfy Criterion C if it represents the work of a master or if it possesses high artistic values.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion C merely by being an example of, or a good regional example of, a type, period, or method of construction. Every road, of every time, is an example of a type, period, or method of construction. A road does not satisfy Criterion C merely by having some of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. A road must clearly contain enough of the distinctive characteristics to be considered a true representative of a particular type, period, or method of construction.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion C merely by having, for example, some macadam broken-stone paving. But, if the road has all of the distinguishing characteristics of

macadam paving (including the layers of broken rock of graduated size built up, rolled, compacted, and water bound into a smooth surface) and the road can be used to demonstrate how macadam paving revolutionized road construction and maintenance, the road may satisfy Criterion C.

- A road does not satisfy Criterion C merely by allowing travel through scenic countryside. But, if it can be demonstrated that the road was deliberately and artfully designed to allow the motoring public to enjoy scenic vistas in a way that ordinary roads might not, the road may satisfy Criterion C as a property that possesses high artistic value. Similarly, a road whose physical features are carefully and deliberately integrated with the qualities of a scenic environment may satisfy Criterion C. For example, a road recognized by highway engineers as a unique, beautiful, and elegant expression of highway design and construction may satisfy Criterion C.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion C merely because its designer was prominent, well known, or successful. A road that is an exemplary work by a recognized master engineer, architect, or landscape architect, e.g., a road whose design can demonstrate why the designer is recognized as a master of the profession, may be eligible under Criterion C.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion C if its embodiment of distinctive characteristics is speculative. Where distinctive characteristics are covered, obscured, or not clearly in evidence, the road does not satisfy Criterion C.

Criterion D: Yielded, or May Be Likely to Yield, Information Important in Prehistory or History

- A road might satisfy Criterion D if it has yielded, or if it may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion D merely by having the potential to yield information. All roads and all properties, of every time, have the potential to yield information. The potential must be identified as strong, and the information likely to be yielded must be recognized as important. The information must have a significant bearing on a research design that addresses such areas as (1) current data gaps or alternative theories that challenge existing ones, or (2) priority areas identified under a state or federal agency management plan.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion D merely by having the potential to yield information on, for example, Telford or Macadam paving systems. But, if testing shows that the road may yield important information on how availability of materials or construction expertise affected its design or construction, the road may satisfy Criterion D.
- A road does not satisfy Criterion D if its associations with important information are speculative.

Other Considerations

Specific References to Roads and Trails and References to Boundaries

National Register guidelines indicate that roads can be considered as individual properties, as contributing elements to individual properties, as contributing elements to historic districts, or as districts themselves (National Park Service, 1995, 1997). The National Register also includes general instructions regarding criteria for historic significance of roads and trails, although no separate bulletin specifically addressing roads has been issued to date. *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* states: "Trails and roads require verification that the land nominated be the actual location of the trail. Eligibility requires integrity of setting and location" McClelland et al., n.d.).

However, *Bulletin 30* is ambiguous and contradicts other published National Register guidelines regarding boundaries of nominated roads and trails:

Boundaries commonly encompass the length and width of the byway and a margin of land, for example, 40 feet, on both sides. Boundaries may be widened to take in encampment sites, mountain passes, fords across streams, and sites marked by trail ruts, arroyos, and surface disturbances associated with historic activity. Boundaries may also include land that forms a historically and intact setting, for example, the hillsides and rock formations rising from an important pass on a frontier trail. Where the continuity of a byway has been interrupted by non historic development, segments retaining significance and integrity can be nominated together in a multiple property submission (McClelland et al., n.d.).

These examples suggest that trails in the western United States were a major consideration. It is unclear whether the reference to the "length and width of the byway and a margin of land" refers to the right of way or to property in addition to the right of way. For the nomination of historically significant roads that pass through large areas of open (or even public) land with relatively few different landowners (as is common in the western United States), the inclusion of additional land outside the right of way may not be problematic, assuming that the landowner is supportive. However, in more densely populated areas, such as the eastern United States, including a small strip of land outside the right of way would entail the inclusion of a patchwork of small strips of private land, ranging from farmland to portions of village, town, and city lots. Along a typical secondary road in Virginia with a standard 30-foot right of way, for instance, the slavish following of this guideline would result in the nomination of conceivably hundreds of strips of land attached to the historic road. The recordation and notification aspects of such a procedure, the need to secure permission from each owner whose property is to be included (along with the perhaps justified objections of landowners who question the historicity of a small strip of their land), and the objections of various landowners who object to being placed in such a situation raise doubts as to the feasibility of this practice in a state such as Virginia.

Other National Register bulletins indicate that the legal right of way is a much more accepted, defensible—and less inflammatory—boundary. *National Register Bulletin: Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties* notes the following regarding California's Crawford Ditch, an aqueduct (Seiffert et al., 1997):

The legal right-of-way of the ditch was used to define the National Register boundaries....

The boundaries encompass the ditch and the right-of-way historically associated with it.

Also, *National Register Bulletin 16A* states:

- Carefully select boundaries to encompass, but not to exceed, the full extent of the significant resources and land area making up the property.
- The area to be registered should be large enough to include all historic features of the property, but should not include "buffer zones" or acreage not directly contributing to the significance of the property (National Park Service, 1997).

Retention of Physical Features

National Register Bulletin 15 (National Park Service, 1995) also notes the following regarding definition of essential physical features:

All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain, however, the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance). They are the features without which a property can no longer be identified as, for instance, a late 19th century dairy barn or an early 20th century commercial district.

Further, regarding visibility of physical features, *Bulletin 15* notes:

Properties eligible under Criteria A, B, and C must not only retain their essential physical features, but features must be visible enough to convey their significance. This means even if a property is physically intact, its integrity is questionable if its significant features are concealed under modern construction. Archaeological properties are often the exception to this; by nature they usually do not require visible features to convey their significance

Here it may be useful to reiterate the physical features that make up a road. A road is not the four-dimensional corridor through which parties have passed; rather, it is a tangible, physical structure with alignment, grade, cut and fill, drainage, pavement, and various other associated physical features. These are the features that will characterize a road's integrity. This is the fact frequently ignored in National Register nominations for roads and canals: they omit the identification of the physical features. One might as well nominate a sea lane (the corridors through which the *Titanic* and the *Lusitania* traveled, for example), air lane (the corridor of the Wright brothers' first flight), or space lane (such as the flight corridor of the *Challenger*). There are no tangible physical features of these "corridors" that could convey the purported significance.

In regard to structures within historic districts, U.S. Department of the Interior regulations, although nominally aimed at buildings, provide a precedent for consideration of other types of structures (including roads) and reiterate the requirement of integrity; 36 CFR Part 67.5(a), states:

- (1) A building contributing to the historic significance of a district is one which by location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association adds to the district's sense of time and place and historical development.
- (2) A building not contributing to the historic significance of a district is one which does not add to the district's sense of time and place and historical development; or one where the location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association have been so altered or have so deteriorated that the overall integrity of the building has been irretrievably lost.

These applications of the integrity question are useful to remember in the consideration of roads where modern features such as realignment, grading, and paving have so altered the old road that even though the modern route is attractive, and in some places still overlays the earlier road, the overall integrity nevertheless has been irretrievably lost. Among the case study roads covered in Appendix E, the Blue Ridge Turnpike illustrates this point well.

Clause (e) of 36 CFR Part 67.5 notes:

If a nonhistoric surface material obscures a facade, it may be necessary for the owner to remove a portion of the surface material prior to requesting certification so that a determination of significance or nonsignificance can be made. After the material has been removed, if the obscured facade has retained substantial historic integrity and the property otherwise contributes to the historic district, it will be determined to be a certified historic structure.

The clause is applied to properties where historic integrity *might* be there, but one cannot tell if it is because the original fabric is covered by later materials. Integrity cannot be assumed. This clause is also applicable when assessing the integrity of a road that has modern paving, grading, cut and fill, etc. It cannot be assumed that the old roadbed is still there, dormant, under the asphalt; by the same token, it cannot be argued that such a property is National Register eligible on presumption of historic integrity.

Inconsistent Application and Misunderstanding of National Register Criteria

Although National Register guidelines are well established, they have not always been applied consistently in the case of roads. Liberal application of the criteria, integrity standards, and period of significance has been made in the case of a number of roads. In Virginia, this is illustrated by the case of Old Colchester Road in Fairfax County, which was originally determined eligible for the National Register by the DHR in December 1995. The Preliminary Information Form for the 4.2-mile-long road included a period of significance that was confined to the colonial and early Republic eras, specifically from ca. 1662 to the decline of the town of Colchester (1807). The 1662 date was derived from the assertions that the road was developed in response to the 1661/1662 road legislation (which expanded upon the 1657/1658 legislation requiring yearly appointment of road overseers) and that it followed an older Native American trail. (Settlement of that region along the Potomac River had barely begun in the 1660s.) The road was afforded particularly high scores for integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. Extensive support came from politicians and citizens who stated their belief that National Register eligibility for the road would keep the appearance of the road relatively unchanged. The Preliminary Information Form was submitted without the review or approval of VDOT (the administering agency with oversight for this road). Although VDOT was listed as

the owner of the property, and VDOT's chief engineer was listed as the contact person, the space for the signature of the owner or owner's agent was blank, with "N/A" written in immediately above the notation "Signature required for processing all applications."

Subsequently it was documented that the road in the vicinity of Fort Belvoir had been realigned in 1942, at the request of the U.S. Army. Based on this information, in 2001, a review of National Register eligibility was requested by the U.S. Department of the Army, in reference to an out grant of land from the Army to VDOT to allow alterations to Route 1 (at its intersection with Old Colchester Road) near Fort Belvoir. The Army also hired an independent consultant to examine the historical documentation and evaluate the historic significance of the road (URS Corporation, 2002). In March 2002, the DHR reported that it declined to revise its earlier assessment of the road as eligible for the National Register, stating that in spite of the 1940s' realignment the "colonial transportation corridor remains essentially intact and recognizable and continues to convey the historic character of Old Colchester Road. Additionally, the change took place over fifty years ago and represents an event in the history of the resource. It is the recommendation of the [DHR] Architectural Evaluation Team that the period of significance for Old Colchester Road should extend to 1942 in order to reflect this event" (URS Corporation, 2002).

Although some change is recognized as allowable for historic properties, *National Register Bulletin 15* (National Park Service, 1995) and *National Register Bulletin 16A* (National Park Service, 1997) plainly state the requirements for integrity, including integrity of location. This is further specified by *National Register Bulletin 30* (McClelland et al., n.d.). National Register guidelines make no provisions for assessing a corridor in lieu of the road itself. In addition, extending the stated period of significance to encompass a period of continued use *without regard to dates relating to significant activities* contradicts the National Register guidelines for this element, particularly the instructions that:

- The property must possess historic integrity for all periods of significance entered.
- Continued use or activity does not necessarily justify continuing the period of significance. The period of significance is based upon the time when the property made the contributions or achieved the character on which significance is based.

Claims of significance that have been made, and accepted, for much-changed evolved roads or for roads that cannot be well documented (as well as cases where roads are sentimental favorites in an area, and where public and/or political pressure has been brought to bear in support of a designation) raise questions of differing standards of evaluation for roads versus other structures and underscore the need for stringent standards for documenting and evaluating roads.

In assessing the historic significance of a road, careful research and documentation must be undertaken to establish whether a road is truly "historic" or merely "old." In assessing integrity (particularly integrity of feeling, setting and association), sufficient research must be done to compare objectively the present appearance and tangible, physical features of the road with its documented historical appearance.

Similarly, nostalgia and affection for pastoral or familiar surroundings often produce a public perception that an attractive (often secondary) road, particularly in a wooded or pastoral area, must be little changed from its earlier appearance. Sometimes this perception is spurred by a real or perceived threat posed by encroaching development or proposed improvements to the road and by an attendant wish on the part of localities, individuals, or groups to preserve an attractive, scenic route in what is perceived to be its original appearance. In assessing historic significance, it is important to separate "scenic" from "historic."

It is also important to remember that the original appearances of most early roads were usually not aesthetically appealing to modern sensibilities. Given the reality of the appearance of most early roadways in graphic images pre-dating the mid-20th century, the perception that attractive and scenic rural roads are in their pristine original condition can be shown to be a false one. A comparison of the current appearances of many roads with photographs showing the roads' late 19th century and early 20th century appearance often will indicate that the roads have changed to a degree that renders the present routes unrecognizable as the roads pictured in century-old photographs. Early roads were utilitarian landscape elements, and the appearance of these routes was usually decidedly non-aesthetic. Trees often were severely cut back from early roads to minimize the fallen trees and branches blocking the roads. Surfaces were usually of the native soil and were heavily rutted and in wet weather deep in mud. Even on city streets, paving was rare until the late 19th century, and improvements to most town and village streets came later still. Most rural roads were unimproved until well into the 20th century (see Appendices C and D).

Where citizens do not desire change to a roadway or intensive development in their area, claiming that a road is historically significant in the belief that this will halt the proposed project is seldom a productive means to halt the undesired changes. The major "protection" conferred by the National Register is Section 106 review (so-called from the relevant section of the National Historic Preservation Act), which is invoked when federal funding is being expended to impact on an eligible historic resource or when federal permits are involved. (For state-funded highway projects, State Environmental Review Process [SERP] also provides for review.) This review requires consultation with the state historic preservation office (in Virginia, the DHR) to lessen adverse effects on the resource if possible. Far from stopping a project, this review usually results in few, if any, substantial changes, with mitigation often being accomplished by research and documentation of the impacted resource(s). A most significant impact in these cases is usually delay and additional expense of the project.

The issue of land use planning is a complicated one and beyond the scope of this report. However, more productive ways to preserve an area's desired appearance include such tools as careful comprehensive planning, specific local zoning ordinances, conservation easements, and pressure on local politicians. Citizens are urged to become familiar with, and avail themselves of, such planning tools. Where desired and appropriate on secondary roads, non–hard surface road treatments or pave-in-place (improvement and paving within the right of way) treatments of roadways might be considered. By an April 2002 amendment to Section 33.1-70.1 of the *Code of Virginia*, the pave-in-place treatment will be formalized into the Rural Rustic Road Program beginning in July 2003. Such treatments must be considered on a case-by-case basis after consideration and consultation between VDOT and the localities in question.

Interest in nominating a road to the National Register may also stem from a desire on the part of individuals or groups merely to commemorate an earlier road (intact or not) that has (or is perceived as having) significance in local, state, or national history. In such cases, an alternative to the National Register is Virginia's highway historic marker program (jointly administered by the DHR and VDOT), which is available even in cases where historic resources have been considerably altered or even obliterated over the years. Where recognition of current routes with particular scenic or historic interest is desired, such roads may be eligible for designation as Virginia Byways (*Code of Virginia*, §§ 33.1-62 through 66).

Most evolved roads in Virginia have seen enough changes to bring to mind the following analogy: In the mid-18th century, a small frame one-story house was built. Additions were added to the house over the years, and these included the destruction or obliteration of much of the original house. The foundation was rebuilt. The roof was raised. Parts of the frame underwent extensive rebuilding. The building was moved some distance from its original site. The chimney, cladding, and roofing were replaced several times. The original structure, removed from its original site, is now buried in the middle of numerous additions. All or virtually all original materials, as well as the elements of the house that could yield architectural evidence to allow fairly precise dating of the original construction and many of the additions, were eliminated over the years. The majority of the structure now dates to the last three quarters of the 20th century.

If the claim is made for historic significance of the structure on the grounds that it is an "original 18th century house," it is a "highly evolved 18th century house," or it "has good integrity," the claim would be greeted with disagreement, if not outright derision, in the preservation community. In such a case, one needs to ask how this hypothetical small house differs from a mid-18th century road:

- for which the exact original route and profile are not known
- that has changed many times over the years
- that, as with many early roads, had a "winter" and a "summer" route (i.e., alternate routes for use in wet and dry seasons)
- that has been moved many times
- that has been widened
- for which the surface treatment has been changed (even modern "unpaved" roads are not their original native soil surface but have had some work done and some sort of surface application).

If National Register standards are relaxed for roads (i.e., if a road can be considered eligible merely because there was a road somewhere in the vicinity during an earlier period and parts of the new route may overlay the old route), this is analogous to declaring that a modern building is eligible merely because there was a building nearby during an earlier period or

because some materials from the older building were re-used in the new. By any standards, this is an indefensible position.

Evaluation of Case Study Roads

As noted previously, the HSTG agreed that the DHR Preliminary Register Evaluation Sheet provided an objective format for evaluation of different types of structures and adopted the DHR sheet with no changes. A discussion of the sheet is included in Appendix A.

After historical documentation on each of the case study roads was submitted to the HSTG, the group made a site visit to each case study road. Following the site visits, each case study road was evaluated for eligibility for the National Register. After evaluations of the case study roads, the HSTG made the following recommendations regarding the historic significance of each road:

- 1. *Hollow Road (Route 707, Frederick County):* Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.
- 2. Three Notched Road route (Albemarle, Fluvanna, Louisa, Goochland, and Henrico counties): Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.
- 3. Blue Ridge Turnpike route (Madison and Orange counties): The section of the route within the Shenandoah National Park was recommended as individually eligible for the National Register. The other sections of the route were recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.
- 4. *Mud March route (Stafford County):* Recommended as individually eligible for the National Register.
- 5. Route 340 (Page and Warren counties): Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.
- 6. Route 5 (Henrico, Charles City, and James City counties): Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.

The case studies, including historical documentation, discussion, and commentary on the physical and documentary evidence, and more complete results of the evaluations of these roads, are given in Appendix E.

CONCLUSIONS

Although there are virtually no National Register guidelines specifically addressing roads, the general National Register guidelines provide adequate guidance to determine objectively the historic significance of roads.

As is the case nationally, the past quality of background research and objectivity of evaluation have varied with regard to determining the historic significance of roads in Virginia. Previous evaluations of potential National Register significance of roads in Virginia have not always been made from an informed perspective. Historical background information and careful application of the National Register criteria and guidelines appear to have been lacking in several cases, resulting in more lenient application of the standards than is usually tolerated in the evaluation of structures. At least two preliminary information forms on public roads were submitted (contrary to state requirements for owner/administrator approval of property nominations) without the review or approval of VDOT, the administering agency.

There is considerable misperception among the general public of the National Register program. In particular, there is a mistaken assumption that listing in the National Register provides protection to the property in question. This impression has been a significant factor in several applications to have roads evaluated for historic significance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. The HSTG and the DHR should use the standard Preliminary Register Evaluation Sheet (see Appendix A) for any evaluation of potential National Register eligibility of roads in Virginia. In addition, to produce an objective evaluation, roads must be carefully and thoroughly researched and documented, particularly as to the significance and integrity of the route(s) in question (to this end, a discussion of resources and documentation issues is included as Appendix B). Only after a road is carefully documented can it be objectively evaluated. In order to assess integrity (particularly integrity of feeling, setting and association, and design and materials), sufficient research must be done to compare the present appearance of the road and its documented historical appearance. Roads should be held to the same documentation and evaluation standards as buildings. Alterations must be carefully scrutinized for their impact on integrity.
- 2. The DHR's National Register Program Manager should solicit review and comments from the HSTG and VDOT's cultural resource staff on all National Register nominations or other information submittals relating to public roads but not originating within VDOT before these are acted upon by the DHR. This recommendation should apply to any individual or organization outside VDOT that submits to the DHR any National Register Preliminary Information Forms, National Register Nomination Forms, and/or inventory records for public roads under VDOT's purview. The opportunity for review and comment by the HSTG and VDOT's environmental/cultural resource staff will help ensure the accuracy and merit of the material before it is entered into the DHR's inventory or otherwise acted upon.
- 3. VDOT's environmental staff should work with VDOT's public affairs staff to adopt a proactive stance in educating individuals or groups concerned with the preservation and/or recognition of historic roads. Public meeting announcements, written brochures, and/or electronic formats can assist in providing accurate information to citizens interested in preserving or recognizing early roads or routes. Citizens could thus become familiar with the

- various aspects of National Register listing to understand what such a designation will (and will not) accomplish
- 4. VDOT's environmental staff should work with VDOT's public affairs staff to adopt a proactive stance in educating individuals or groups wishing to commemorate or honor an early road. As in Recommendation 3, public meeting announcements, written brochures, and/or electronic formats can provide accurate information to citizens interested in commemorating early roads. Citizens wishing to undertake commemorative activities have various avenues other than the National Register. Virginia's highway historic marker program (jointly administered by the DHR and VDOT) is available and applicable in cases when historic resources, including roads, have been considerably altered or even obliterated over the years. Modern routes with sufficient scenic or historical interest can also be designated as Virginia Byways.

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APPENDIX A

PRELIMINARY REGISTER EVALUATION SHEET

VIRGINIA DEPT. OF HISTORIC RESOURCES PRELIMINARY REGISTER EVALUATION SHEET

Property Name								File No 3. Area/s of Significance:					
2. Period/s of Signific	ance:						_						_
National Register Criteria									Criteria Exceptions:				
Criterion A- Broad Patte Criterion B- Important I Criterion C- Architectur Criterion D- Archaeolog	erson e/Crafts	manship		nation									-
Level of Significance Local State National/ Adequacy of Existing Survey (Circle one) ASSIGNMENT OF BASIC POINTS										В	С	D	Е
1. Rarity of Property /Resource Type in Context				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Integrity A) Association	0	1	2	3	4	E) M	aterials		0	1	2	3	4
B) Design	0	1	2	3	4	F) Setting G) Workmanship		0	1	2	3	4	
C) Feeling	0	1	2	3	4			0	1	2	3	4	
D) Location	0	1	2			,		•					
3. Contextual Integrity: Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources					0	1	2	3	4				
4. Historical Associative	· Value												
Criterion A/History			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Criterion B/Person			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Criterion C/Architecture	/Crafts		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Criterion D/ Archaeology- Yield - Potential Only 0					1	2	3						
ASSIGNMENT OF EXT	RA POII	NTS											
1. Unusually Good Representative of Type						0	1	2	3				
2. Illustrates History of Ethnic Cultural Minorities						0	1	2	3				
3. Illustrates Distinctive Ways of Life						0	1	2	3				
Under-Represe	nted on	Register											
4. Offers Exceptional Potential for Study & Interpretation 0								2	3				
5. Visual Prominence as Landmark						0	1	2	3				
6. Regional Representation on Register						0	1	2	3				
7. Landscape Features of Exceptional Quality						0	1	2	3				
												Score	
Date							Chair	airman Evaluation Team					

The HSTG determined that the DHR Preliminary Register Evaluation Sheet, as revised in the late 1990s and shown on the previous page, is appropriate for evaluating roads. The specific application of the sheet to the case study roads is covered in Appendix E.

The sheet is based on a simple numerical rating scale. The Level of Significance and Adequacy of Existing Survey categories are informative only and are not scored. Basic points are assigned for specific National Register criteria (significance and integrity). These include:

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context (scored on a range of 0 to 8)
- 2. Integrity (each element [Association, Design, Feeling, Location, Materials, Setting, Workmanship] scored on a range of 0 to 4)
- 3. Contextual Integrity: Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources (scored on a range of 0 to 4)
- 4. Historical Associative Value: Criterion A, B, C, and D (Criteria A, B, and C are scored on a range of 0 to 8; Criterion D is scored on a range of 0 to 4).

The assignment of extra points is optional if a property possesses additional attributes. Thirty points is the minimum for National Register eligibility.

APPENDIX B

MAJOR RESOURCES FOR IDENTIFYING AND DOCUMENTING EARLY ROADS

A general historic context for roads in Virginia is established by a variety of publications (brief overviews of the history of roads and paving in Virginia are included as Appendices C and D). In contrast to the availability of general historic information on roads, however, documenting exact dates of construction and changes to early roads in Virginia (particularly to old county roads, i.e., owned by the counties until 1932, now part of the state secondary system) can be difficult because of the lack of precise records in many cases. However, various resources can be helpful in documenting roads in Virginia. The following are some of the most useful.

- County records. Particularly important for the identification of early roads are the "road orders" and related records; other records (condemnations and plats and land records [landowner/deed/tax records]) may also contain information on roads. A number of counties have suffered losses of all or part of their early records, and accordingly, surviving records may vary from county to county. Because of the inexact nature of the early road descriptions, these records are most useful for identifying general road locations or corridors rather than the exact location of the course of an early road.
- Patent and land grant records. These records occasionally mention roads, usually in the context of metes and bounds of land.
- *Colony/state records*. Examples are Hening's (1969) *Statutes at Large* (17th and 18th century), the *Acts of Assembly* (late 18th century to present), and the various editions of the *Code of Virginia*, which refer to statutes regarding road laws and sometimes contain enabling acts pertaining to major roads.
- Plats/surveyors' books. Some county clerks kept collections of such records, but
 except when recorded along with a land transfer, most colonial and early Republicera surveyors' records remained the property of the surveyor or his client. If such
 records survive, they may be deposited within historical archives or remain within
 family hands.
- Board of Public Works Records. These include reports and maps/plats for the larger internal improvement projects that were under the purview of the Board of Public Works (1816-1902). Variety and completeness of the records for the various companies and projects vary. This collection is maintained at the Library of Virginia in Richmond.
- *Town/city records*. Incorporated cities and towns often maintained separate records for city streets and related improvements. By the mid- to late 19th century, some

larger urban centers had a city engineer, whose records included street and bridge construction and/or improvements.

- *Town/city maps*. Specific maps of some Virginia towns and cities were drawn as far back as the 18th century. By the later 19th century, commercial atlases were being issued for a few of the largest cities. Detailed maps of many towns and cities in Virginia were produced by O. W. Gray in the 1870s. Insurance maps produced by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map Company beginning in the early 1900s also exist for many towns and cities in Virginia.
- Early maps (17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries) are of varying reliability and are often too vaguely drawn or of too small a scale for precise road locations or identification. Often, they show either no roads or only the major routes. Most counties in Virginia were mapped between the 1810s and the Civil War. The Library of Virginia, Virginia Historical Society, National Archives, and Library of Congress have the best collections of Virginia state and county maps. Universities, regional libraries, and county historical societies may also have useful material.
- County maps. Few detailed maps of Virginia counties were produced before the first quarter of the 19th century. Wood/Böye maps were part of the first attempt to produce a detailed map of Virginia; these county maps, dating from 1819 to 1825, are of variable quality. Probably due to the death of the original cartographer, John Wood, before the project was completed, some maps are sketchy and lack detail. These maps generally show major roads, churches, mills, taverns, towns, and major residences. A state map, completed from the county maps by Herman Böye, was published by the Board of Public Works in 1827 and was updated and reissued in 1859. The state map shows major roads and localities. By the mid-19th century, specialized firms had produced maps of a number of Virginia counties.
- Civil War maps. Detailed maps of many Virginia counties were produced during the Civil War, most notably under the auspices of Confederate cartographers Jeremy F. Gilmer and Jedediah Hotchkiss. These maps show roads, wooded and cleared areas, watercourses, houses, water features, mills, towns, and geographic features. Other army maps, largely showing battles and troop movements, are collected in the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Cowles, 1891-1895).
- Early county atlases. Commercial atlases were issued for a number of Virginia counties (usually including town/city maps) in the later 19th century, particularly the last quarter of the century.
- *U.S.G.S. Topographic Maps*. The earliest United States Geological Survey (U.S.G.S.) topographic map quadrangles for Virginia date from the late 1880s, and the entire state had been mapped by the early 20th century. Topographic maps have been updated on a periodic basis since then. The Library of Virginia has a complete collection of the Virginia maps on microfilm. These are often the most accurate

- sources for tracking late 19th and early 20th century construction and changes to roads, or for narrowing down the time frame for the changes.
- *Early state road maps*. These were issued in the 1920s and reflect the state highway (primary) system established in 1918.
- Secondary road system maps. These were first issued in 1932 to document the county roads being taken into the newly created state secondary system. These maps provide an overall image of the county road systems at the time and can help identify changes to roads. A comparison of the 1932 maps, current secondary road maps for the county/area in question, and the other sources noted here will quickly identify any differences and thus help document changes to a road and provide at least an approximate time frame for these (including indicating any major changes to a road after 1932, in addition to anything that may have been done previously).
- *Unpublished materials/histories*. These are variously in private hands or in institutional collections
- *Published histories*. These may be early or current; sometimes material on roads is published in county histories; sometimes the sources are road specific.
- Family records. These sources can vary widely and may include family papers, plats, images, etc. These may be in private hands or in public repositories.
- *Historical Society and library files*. These include county and regional historical societies and museums, local and regional libraries, special-interest societies, and larger institutions such as academic libraries, the Virginia Historical Society, the Library of Virginia, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress.
- *Photographs*. These can be found in various public and private repositories and published compilations.
- Highway Dept. Annual Reports (including some photos). The early annual reports can be extremely helpful. From 1906 until the mid-1920s, these were very detailed and contain references to the reworking and construction of various roads and bridges for which state plans or matching funds were furnished. The roads will have to be identified by verbal description, as county roads did not generally have road numbers before the beginning of the secondary system in 1932. Unfortunately, after the mid-1920s, then-Commissioner Henry G. Shirley felt that the report format was verbose and the annual reports were severely cut into what were basically short financial reports, with few projects discussed, and few photographs. The reports thereafter became much more efficient but much less of a goldmine for historical documentation.

- Newspaper articles and photos. These can be excellent sources for material on local
 or regional roads; however, accessibility can be a problem if specific dates are not
 known or if the material is not indexed.
- *Oral history*. This can be invaluable for items within recent memory ("recent memory" being within the last 100 years or so because present "old folks" may remember hearing things from the "old folks" of their generation). Various published sources and county historic material (see above) may also contain reminiscences of people now deceased.
- *VDOT records and plans*. For changes after 1918 for primaries, or 1932 for secondary roads, the appropriate VDOT district or residency office, or the central office plan room, would be the repository for surviving plans for the project in question.

The following points are particularly important to consider in identifying and documenting historic roads:

- Location should be thought of in general, not specific, terms in documenting early travel routes. Early routes often see re-use in a general sense, but the exact routes and road profiles change over time. In order to avoid worn or wet areas that had developed from overuse or poor planning or to reach a better ford, a new bridge, a tavern, a town, a railroad, etc., roads were often moved (from several feet to up to a mile or more from their previous location) or sometimes abandoned outright. Because of the ephemeral nature of early roads, the improvements in road-building equipment (particularly power equipment) during the 20th century, and the lack of exact surveys, maps, and other records for most early Virginia roads, it is difficult (not to mention unlikely) to document that any modern road exactly follows the original course of a colonial or antebellum road. Even when travel corridors can be documented in the approximate area as a modern road, this does not equate the two. Without evidence that the road is unchanged, it is always the safest course to assume that the road has changed (perhaps several times) and that its integrity is likely compromised. An example is the Three Notched Road (see Appendix E), an 18th century route that no longer exists as a coherent roadway, although some short fragments of the road still occupy locations close to the original route. The old route was altered at various times over the years, and 20th century roads (Route 250 and I-64) also now occupy its general corridor. However, the later roads cannot be considered altered versions of the Three Notched Road, and the remnants of the Three Notched Road do not retain much integrity.
- *Topography is vitally important*. Outside of the flat Tidewater, early roads usually kept to ridges, thus providing drainage and keeping the crops hauled over the roads reasonably dry. There were sometimes different roads for different times of year, and many roads had separate "winter" and "summer" routes for use in wet and dry seasons.

- Early roads and early sites are intertwined. Roads went from Point A to Point B; people lived along roads; settlements grew up at crossroads.
- "Ground truthing" (i.e., getting out to the site and looking around) is vital. Is the topography likely for an old road? Is there a road trace?
- Road traces may or may not be evidence of extremely early road locations. It should not automatically be assumed that a road trace marks the original road; particularly since the advent of modern power equipment, it may merely be evidence of the immediate past road alignment in a road that has been realigned several times. Other factors (physical features, materials, cultural resources, written records, maps and plats, oral and written histories, etc.) should be used to attempt to document the age of road traces.

Specific Points Regarding County Court Records

Because county records are the main (and in many cases the only) documentation for most roads in Virginia well into the early 19th century, if not later, it is important to realize what these records can and cannot do and how they must be used.

As noted elsewhere in this report, the establishment and maintenance of public roads were major functions of the county court during the colonial and antebellum periods in Virginia. If county records survive, the various steps in creating a road of the era (petitions of inhabitants of an area for a road; the justices' order that a proposed route be viewed and, when this was accomplished, their order that the new road be cleared; and the appointment of an overseer and "laboring male tithables" [able-bodied men, both free and slave, in the vicinity] to work the road) should be extant; they were usually recorded in the county court order books. Typically, no maps or plats were made in concert with the viewing or clearing of early roads. The routes were marked at the time that the roads were laid out, usually by blazing trees or by other physical means. The county court records relating to roads and transportation (known collectively as road orders) include not only information on early roads, their overseers, and the laboring male tithables and other inhabitants who lived and worked along the roadways, but also on houses; plantations and farms; ferries; fords and bridges; and places, landforms, and bodies of water. Much of this information is found nowhere else in early records, making it invaluable not only to historical and cultural resource research, but also to other disciplines, including architectural history, archaeology, social history, environmental science, and genealogy.

Early road orders can be important sources in documenting old roads. The VTRC's ongoing *Historic Roads of Virginia* series, begun in 1973 (VTRC, 1973-), involves the early transportation records for major parent counties in Virginia. In a typical project, the 18th century county court records concerning roads and transportation are transcribed, indexed, and published using a straightforward and well-established methodology (consisting of full, exact transcriptions and multi-subject indices).

However, using this information to locate the early roads of a given county or region is fairly complicated and must involve an interdisciplinary analysis of the data contained in the road orders and in other county records. Early roads were identified in the records not by number and seldom by a name, but rather by references to landmarks along the route and sometimes to the name of the overseer of the road. To identify, for instance, the road described in a 1747 Louisa County order as the "road from Mr. Martins rol[1]ing path over the north River below William Carr's quarter into Buck mountain road" (Louisa County Order Book 1742-1748, p. 248), one must be able to identify the location of Mr. Martin's tobacco rolling route, the North River, William Carr's quarter (or secondary landholding, as opposed to his main plantation of residence), and the route of the Buck Mountain Road. Once these have been identified, to identify the approximate route of the road one must then proceed in a connect-the-points fashion. This requires an extensive knowledge of the region and its history. The analysis of road orders also requires a comparative analysis of both primary and secondary sources, including land records (patent, deed, land tax); court records; geologic and landscape data; any surviving plats or maps; and data on early settlers, settlement patterns, kinship networks, and social history. All of these records can yield information that will help further identify and document landowners and the location of their properties, the location of settlements, geologic and landscape features, and other elements that will help place the location of the road within the natural and cultural landscape. Throughout the course of the investigations, field work should also be undertaken to provide clues, to evaluate theories, and to corroborate evidence gained from documentary sources: this work involves on-site surveys of roads, road traces, and associated architecture and sites.

Not surprisingly, the identification of early roads and their context also involves the identification of a large part of the related natural and cultural landscape, an important consideration since few detailed maps of 18th and early 19th century Virginia counties or plantations survive. Road orders, taken in concert with other records, can help identify not only transportation and migration corridors, but also architectural patterns, habitation sites, and plantations and landholding patterns and thus can add greatly to the accurate documentation of the historic context and landscape for a given region. However, because of the inexact nature of the early road descriptions, these records are most useful for identifying general road locations or corridors rather than the exact location of the course of an early road.

After 1870, the old county court system was replaced by the modern system of elected county supervisors in Virginia, although the process for clearing and maintaining roads was similar. After 1870 and before 1932, county road records sometimes were kept in the general Supervisors' Minutes; sometimes a separate book was kept. Generally these are not indexed, and locating such information can be difficult (i.e., work on a specific project might be well described or it might be buried in the records as a generality, noting that work was done on a road near a particular locality, which may or may not refer to the exact area of interest). The existence of maps for most Virginia counties by the mid-19th century assist greatly in the identification of roads, landowners, and natural features, although details would not be precise until the introduction of topographic maps beginning in the 1880s.

Additional Facets of Early Road Documentation

Documentation of Road Widths

One of the few constants between Virginia's early county roads and the modern secondary system is the 30-foot road width now manifested in the presumed 30-foot prescriptive easement for secondary roads. A statutory 30-foot width harks back to one of the first extensive pieces of Virginia road legislation, passed in 1705 (Hening, 1969, Vol. III, pp. 392-395). The 30-foot width was reiterated in legislation of the later 19th century, in which the standard 30-foot width for roads was in force (see, for instance, Section 23 of the post-Reconstruction *An Act in Relation to the Public Roads of the Commonwealth of Virginia in Force November 10, 1870* (1870). The 30-foot width remained standard for county roads well into the 20th century (see *Code of Virginia,* 1904, Section 944a(2); *Code of Virginia,* 1919, Section 1977). This width refers to the right of way and not to the actual width of the improved roadway (most roadways in those days being decidedly *un*improved). The right of way was kept cleared of trees and brush to minimize the roadway being blocked by fallen timber and to allow the sunlight access to the roadway to keep it as dry as possible.

The legal widths of turnpikes can be determined from the specific enabling *Acts of Assembly* (i.e., the General Assembly of Virginia) and/or the Virginia Bureau of Public Works records. These widths were sometimes altered, and so all entries for the turnpike in question should be checked. Turnpike widths were also noted on the 1928 map of early turnpikes issued by the Department of Highways (Virginia Department of Highways, 1928).

Primary route widths, secondary widths that have been adjusted over the years, and more modern road widths can be determined from VDOT construction and right-of-way records.

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in Historic Road Documentation

With the advent of geographic information systems (GIS), there were great expectations that this technology would revolutionize the study and location of early roads and sites via plotting the early routes and sites using information from older maps. Unfortunately, this expectation did not come to fruition.

Del Castillo (2000) in an undergraduate thesis undertaken under VTRC auspices in 1999-2000 identified problems in trying to equate historical maps with physical data. The inexact nature of early maps, even reasonably detailed ones, negated their use to locate early roads and related sites precisely. The routes of the Blue Ridge Turnpike in Orange and Madison counties and the Three Notched Road east of the Blue Ridge were used as case studies (and are also case studies in this report). Specific and supposedly identical points (houses and other buildings that still stand in their original locations, as well as points on the roads that remain in their original location) in the original survey for the turnpike and on Civil War—era maps were equated on modern U.S.G.S. topographic maps and on the modern routes. However, the original and modern routes were rendered by GIS as two roughly parallel roads, even in areas where it could

be documented by map comparison that the location of the road had not changed. The problem was identified as the inexact nature of the plotting and drafting of the original documents.

With present technology, a major place of GIS in early road research seems to be the location and mapping of early road traces and related sites, which will allow comparison of physical data with historic maps and other records.

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APPENDIX C

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ROADS IN VIRGINIA

An historic context for roads throughout Virginia's history is well established by a variety of publications, including works sponsored by VDOT and the VTRC. Particularly useful are such works as *A Brief History of the Roads of Virginia 1607-1840* (Pawlett, 1977), *A History of the Roads of Virginia: "the most convenient wayes"* (VDOT, 2002), and the collected *Backsights* series (Newlon et al., 1985), as well as the various other sources cited therein. The following brief overview of the history of roads in Virginia was taken from these sources:

In the early days of settlement in the Virginia Tidewater, the first highways were rivers and forest paths. The colony's first roads were the "Rhoade along the River Bank" (the path that led from the James River to the fort at Jamestown) and the "Greate Road" (the main street at Jamestown); the first "bridge" in Virginia, also at Jamestown, was built in 1611 (although referred to as a bridge, this was actually a wharf).

Virginia's (and probably the New World's) first highway legislation, the 1632 road law, stated—in its entirety—that "Highwayes shall be layd out in such convenient places as are requisite accordinge as the Governor and Counsell or the commissioners for the mounthlie corts shall appoynt, or accordinge as the parishioners of every parish shall agree" (Hening, 1969, Vol. I). There were subsequent additions to the legislation, but in general the road system was organized on the English system, taking its precedents from the Elizabethan road statutes. Bridges and ferries were also regulated by law.

After the mid-17th century (and continuing until the early 20th century), Virginia's roads were under county control. The full text of the 1657/1658 statute that placed roads under county jurisdiction read "That surveyors of highwaies and maintenance for bridges be yearly kept and appointed in each countie court respectively, and that all generall wayes from county to county and all churchwaies to be laied out and cleered yeerly as each county court shall think fitt, needfull and convenient, respect being had to the course used in England to that end" (Hening, 1969, Vol. I). With its specifications to follow the English model, this legislation also formalized the system of requiring the "laboring male tithables" (able bodied men of the county, both slave and free) to provide manpower for road construction and maintenance. The 1657/1658 legislation was expanded somewhat in 1661/1662 and in 1705 (Hening, 1969, Vols. II, III).

During Virginia's first century, when settlement was then confined to Tidewater, roads were merely an adjunct to water transportation. As settlement passed the Fall Line in the early 18th century, roads became the primary means of travel in the Piedmont and, eventually, in the region west of the mountains.

The establishment and maintenance of public roads were among the most important functions of the county court during the colonial and antebellum periods in Virginia. The inhabitants of a county petitioned the court for a road to be cleared; viewers were then appointed to determine if the road was necessary and feasible and to lay out the route. Each road was

opened and maintained by an Overseer (or Surveyor) of the Highways appointed yearly by the Gentlemen Justices. For these purposes, he was usually assigned all the laboring male tithables living on or near the road. These individuals then furnished their own tools, wagons, and teams and were required to work on the roads for six days or more each year. This system was in force in Virginia from the mid-17th century until 1894.

The term "road" was sometimes relative. Most roads were made of the native soil. In the early days, "clearing" a road often meant cutting down bushes and cutting the tree stumps low enough that carts and wagons could pass over them and foot and horse traffic could go around them. Even the better roads were often impassable part of the year. Paving (gravel, macadam and other broken-stone roads, plank, etc.) was unknown before the early 19th century and was a novelty before the early 20th century. In December 1821, Virginia politician John Randolph of Roanoke, traveling from Fredericksburg to Washington, noted in his diary "from Dumfries to Neabsco, sixty-five minutes three and a half miles. The five miles beyond Dumfries employed nearly two hours. Roads indescribable."

County roads continued little changed through the 19th and early 20th centuries, but beginning in the late 18th century, some public and private toll roads began to be constructed. The first toll road in Virginia, and possibly in the nation, was established in 1772: it ran from Jennings Gap to Warm Springs in what was then Augusta County. The road included parts of the general routes of present-day Routes 250, 629, and 39 in Augusta and Bath counties.

The Board of Public Works was established in 1816: this body was concerned with major internal improvements to facilitate transportation and commerce; larger transportation projects generally had some state backing or were private corporations (requiring Acts of Assembly). Large scale transportation improvement projects in the 19th century were a mixture of turnpikes and similar for-profit improved roadways, as well as canals and railroads.

The heyday of Virginia's "canal era" was the early to mid-19th century. These improvements were soon challenged, and eventually overtaken, by railroads (the "railroad era" beginning in the 1830s and lasting well in to the mid-20th century). Despite enjoying widespread political support (with a corresponding lack of political encouragement for railroads), canals were superseded by railroads by the mid-19th century. Contemporary with these was the "turnpike era" (early 19th century to ca. 1860). Turnpikes were incorporated, for-profit roads that ranged from short, virtually unimproved routes to the equivalents of early "superhighways." Some were unpaved; some were quite well paved; however, in all cases paving was a technological advancement that was unknown in Virginia before the 19th century.

Although the majority of roads in 19th century Virginia continued to be merely cleared from the native soil, a few improvements were seen. Various broken-stone paving systems were used in a relatively few number of roads, primarily on turnpikes, beginning in the early 19th century. The first paved or "artificial" road in the state was the gravel surface of the Manchester Pike near Richmond, which was installed in 1808. These systems ranged from a mere scattering of gravel to improve the road surface to such relatively sophisticated operations such as the Telford system or Macadam system (in which layers of broken rock of graduated size were built up on the road bed and rolled and watered ["water bound"] until they presented a fairly smooth

surface). With the advent of mechanical rock crushers, this technology became more accessible and continued in use until well into the mid-20th century. Some private companies operated plank roads (with the roadway surface consisting of thick planks supported on timber stringers), which enjoyed a brief vogue from ca. 1840 until the Civil War. Corduroy roads (with the roadway consisting of logs, either partly or wholly covered with earth) were commonly used in wet places or as the base for causeways from the period of early settlement until the early 20th century.

The end of the Civil War also signaled the decline of the turnpike era. Most turnpikes and plank roads were damaged or destroyed, and the companies bankrupted, in the Civil War; following the war, most of these roads reverted to the counties through which they ran; only a few turnpike companies continued into the late 19th or early 20th centuries. The old system of county road upkeep by able-bodied male taxpayers continued for three more decades after the war and Reconstruction, although with the added factors of the abolition of enslaved labor and the replacement of the old county courts (and their Gentleman Justices) with the new administrative system of county supervisors.

The last years of the 19th century and the very beginning of the 20th century saw the demise of two venerable transportation traditions in Virginia. The laboring male tithable system was declared unconstitutional by the Virginia Supreme Court in 1894. After this system (which had been in operation in Virginia since the mid-17th century) ended, the upkeep of county roads became a problem for many Virginia counties, with the result that roads and bridges were often badly neglected. The Board of Public Works, too, underwent a period of alteration and eventually elimination. After the creation of the office of railroad commissioner in 1877, the Board of Public Works moved its emphasis away from transportation and in 1884 became responsible for the registration of real and personal property within the state. In 1902, it went out of existence following the drafting of the new Virginia Constitution and its remaining duties were assumed by the State Corporation Commission.

The beginnings of Virginia's modern transportation organization date from the establishment of the Virginia State Highway Commission (now the Commonwealth Transportation Board) in 1906. State aid from the State Highway Commission (including road and bridge design assistance and matching funds for construction) was available in Virginia from 1906 on, provided that the localities followed particular standards in construction. The legislation also provided for the use of convicts as a source of labor on roads.

However, most county roads remained little changed from their earlier appearance until at least the second quarter of the 20th century. The rise of the automobile in Virginia established the need for improvement of roads; the advent of improved road-building equipment, including power equipment, enabled the improvements to be made and maintained. During the 20th century, older earth surfaces and broken-stone road systems were gradually replaced by surface treatments (initially bituminous binder over soil or broken stone roads, and later concrete and asphalt paving systems). Early reports of the State Highway Commissioner contain numerous images of older roads being radically changed and often wholly relocated and rebuilt. It was at this time that many roads irretrievably lost their earlier features and appearance (Figures C1 through C4).



Figure C1. The "Tidewater Trail" (predecessor of Route 17), 1918.

Major reorganization of the highway department occurred during the late 1910s and 1920s. The designated state highway (primary) system came into being in 1918 to meet the requirements of the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916 in order for Virginia to be able to get federal funds. The creation of Virginia's state highway system made more than 4,000 miles of significant roads in the state the direct responsibility of the highway commissioner and his staff. Modernizations and improvements were slowly effected on these roads. The way the Highway Commission was constituted was changed in 1919. It had been a technically oriented body, composed initially of the State Highway Commissioner and three civil engineers: the heads of the engineering departments of Virginia Military Institute, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and the University of Virginia. In 1919 the commission shifted to a more political orientation. Its members had to be private citizens, representatives from the major geographical areas: Piedmont, Southside, Valley, Tidewater, and Southwest Virginia.

Virginia's highway construction districts came into existence as a result of the 1922 departmental organization. (Earlier attempts to develop construction "divisions" in Virginia had failed primarily because of the shortages and disruptions in materials and manpower imposed by World War I.) The establishment of the 1922 construction districts likely grew out of the needs of the State Highway System, created four years earlier. Two more years would see the creation of then-Commissioner Henry Shirley's departmental structure, most of which remains in place today, along with its attendant construction districts. As part of a larger reorganization of state government, in 1927 the Department of Highways was formally established as a state agency (although the Highway Commission staff had been informally known as the "highway department" since 1906).









Figure C2. Route 1 near Dumfries, 1919 (top left), ca. 1930 (top right), 1989 (bottom left), and 1999 (bottom right). The 18th century Williams's Ordinary is the only constant element; the road and landscape have changed dramatically.

The Byrd Road Act (1932) enabled the creation of the state secondary road system, ending most county road systems. Most of the roads and bridges remaining under county control became part of the state secondary system when this was created in 1932. Only Arlington and Henrico counties continue to operate their own roads.

On both the primary and secondary systems, paving began to be more widespread during the second quarter of the 20th century. However, a considerable portion of these "paved" roads were simply water-bound macadam, a technology virtually unchanged from the early 19th century. This constituted the most prevalent paving material in Virginia until the mid-20th century. The common and widespread use of asphalt and concrete road paving throughout Virginia was largely a feature of the last half of the 20th century.





Figure C3. Road in Amherst County before (top) and after (bottom) state aid improvements, ca. 1907.



Figure C4. Road between Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, before improvements, ca. 1910.

Although many modern roads still follow early corridors (and *corridors*, not precise roadways, must be stressed), the Virginia transportation system as it is today—carrying traffic year-round, in all kinds of weather—is largely a function of the creation of the state primary and secondary systems, the interstate system, and the rise of the use of personal automobiles during the early and mid-20th century.

The mid-20th century saw the implementation of perhaps the most radical transportation change of all: the creation of the interstate system. The United States Interstate Highway System was begun in 1956; by the late 1950s, the first section of interstate in Virginia, a portion of I-95 (Emporia bypass), was nearing completion. Construction of interstate highways proceeded over the next three decades. Currently, interstates running through Virginia include such major transportation routes as I-95, I-85, I-81, I-77, I-66, and I-64.

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APPENDIX D

PAVING

Overview

Prior to the mid-20th century, Virginia was an overwhelmingly rural state, with relatively few urban centers. Road paving was rare in rural sections of the state well into the 20th century and was not common except in the wealthier sections of cities. Although relatively little work has been done on the history of city paving in Virginia, an historic context for urban paving methods in the Richmond area was recently produced and is helpful in providing a background for this topic; it is the basis for much of this Appendix (Wells, 2002).

From colonization through the 19th century and well into the 20th century, most roads in Virginia had no permanent paving or surface treatment but were surfaced with the native soil of their regions. Materials used for road paving in the 19th century included petrolithic surfaces (soil, sand, clay, burnt clay, and stone—primarily broken-stone systems such as gravel and macadam) and wood (plank roads and corduroy roads). There were also a few opportunistic uses of miscellaneous materials such as chalk, shell, and straw and charcoal, iron slag, and copper slag.

However, at the same time that most Virginia roads were still surfaced with soil, cities across the nation experimented with new paving methods. Cobblestones (undressed, naturally rounded rock), pebble stone (gravel), and broken quarry stone were used for street paving in Boston, New York, and some other cities prior to 1840. By the mid-19th century a variety of newer urban paving materials were in use, primarily in urban settings, including the following:

- Macadam (broken-stone road) (developed in Scotland ca. 1810; in use in the United States by 1832)
- Wood blocks (in use in New York City by 1840)
- Concrete (concrete made with lime-based mortar was used as a foundation for stone, wood, and brick paving during the mid-19th century; portland cement, a major component in modern concrete, was first produced in America in the early 1870s; concrete was first used a street wearing surface in 1893 in Bellefontaine, Ohio; the first concrete road in Virginia was not constructed until 1913)
- Asphaltic or bituminous concrete (a.k.a. tarmac or blacktop; first used in Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1866; in use in Washington, D.C., by 1870)
- Asphalt block (first used in San Francisco in 1869)
- Brick (first used as street paving in 1870)

- Natural rock asphalt (also known as bituminous rock; in use in Washington, D.C., by 1876)
- Artificial sheet asphalt (in use in Washington, D.C., by 1876)
- Bituminous macadam (first used in 1894 in Santa Barbara, California).

Urban Street Paving

Cobblestone, macadam, broken quarry stone, and pebble stone (gravel) pavements did not provide ideal surfaces for city streets; they had inherent problems for traction, for footholds for horses, and for cleaning. Advancements in stone quarrying and shaping technology allowed for mass production of dressed stone in the early 19th century, and dressed stone paving was in use in Boston by 1840. Granite was the preferred stone for paving, although some other types of stone were also used.

A patented stone paying system called Russ blocks, consisting of small granite blocks placed diagonally atop a segmental concrete foundation, was in use in New York in 1845. Russ blocks were 4 to 5 inches wide, 10 to 12 inches long, and 10 inches deep. A further improvement was the Guidet granite block, a slightly narrower and longer block laid in courses perpendicular to the street line. About 1850, a pavement of roughly cubical granite blocks, developed in Europe and popular in Belgium, was first used in New York; this pavement was called Belgian Block. Early forms of Belgian Block were slightly pyramidal, tapering from a large base to a smaller top (surface) plane. An improved, more cubical form of Belgian Block, measuring between 5 and 7 inches along each side, was more widely used in the United States. By 1905, a Standard Stone Block was identified as the best for urban streets; this was a coarse granite block, 3 to 4 inches wide, 8 to 10 inches long, and 7 to 8 inches deep, placed with its longest dimension perpendicular to the line of the street. In some period sources, "Belgian Block" was used to describe all first-class stone pavers, including the rectilinear Standard Stone Block, as well as the cubical pavers. A less common variant, "Durax" paving, used smaller, 3inch cubical granite blocks, set in a distinctive parabolic arc pattern, with a concrete underlayment. Such paving was used in Washington, D.C., in 1917.

Urban Street Paving in Virginia: The Richmond Example

The city of Richmond is particularly well documented among Virginia's urban areas with regard to the history of its street paving, and one of the significant early engineering treatises saw publication there. John Millington, a professor at the College of William & Mary, wrote *Elements of Civil Engineering*, published in Philadelphia and in Richmond in 1839. Millington set forth standards for design and construction of roads, bridges, canals, sewers, and other structures. For paving city streets, Millington recommended squared blocks of granite, 12 inches long, 8 inches wide, and at least 9 inches deep, set in sand with the longest dimension perpendicular to the roadway. Henry J. Miller of the Richmond City Engineer's Office inscribed his name inside the cover of a copy of Millington's book in 1858. But most streets in Richmond

were not well paved at the end of the Civil War. Michael B. Chesson, in *Richmond After the War*, 1865-1890 (1981), noted "The common council made sporadic efforts to improve conditions, experimenting with concrete sidewalks, granite paving blocks, macadamized streets, and cobblestones [ca. 1867]."

Col. Wilfred Emory Cutshaw (1838-1907) served as Richmond's City Engineer from 1873 to 1907. He was largely responsible for the systemic improvement of the city's streets, including grading, paving, curbs, gutters, sidewalks, and street trees (Richardson, 1996). "In the spring of 1885 the council appropriated funds for cobblestones in major streets" (Chesson, 1981). By "cobblestones," this citation may have been referring to Belgian Block or other dressed granite paving. By 1892, Richmond had 16.58 miles of granite pavement; by comparison, Washington, D.C., had 23.2 miles and Chicago had 20.48 miles of granite streets (Byrne, 1892). In an 1899 account of the Richmond city government, Robert R. Nuckols wrote that Col. Cutshaw's accomplishments included "splendidly paved roadways," as well as street trees, sewers, parks, and schools (Nuckols, 1899). Many late 19th- and early 20th-century photographs (Sanford, 1975) show the city's granite street paving; the Standard Stone Block is the predominant paver.

The Annual Reports of the City Engineer/Department of Public Works (1903–1948) document the continuing efforts to improve Richmond streets in the early 20th century, with granite, asphalt, and gravel among the preferred paving treatments. Granite curbs, granolithic (i.e., concrete) and brick sidewalks, and granite "corporation stones" marking the boundaries of the expanding city were also described. It was noted in 1909 that some city streets were still in wretched condition, impassable in bad weather; and that the streets in the annexed territory required much improvement. Asphalt block, vitrified brick, and gravel were also common paving materials in Richmond during these years.

Granite paving was being superceded by new materials, especially asphalt and synthetic paving, in the 1920s. In 1919, City Engineer Charles E. Bolling (1852–1929) noted that most of the Richmond-area granite quarries had shut down. "Smooth-paving" of Broad Street was generally complete by 1924. Granite pavers were still used for lesser streets and alleys in the early and middle 20th century. During the Great Depression, granite paving stones were re-used for retaining walls and other structures in Richmond.

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APPENDIX E

CASE STUDIES

Overview

The six case study roads in this study were:

- 1. *Hollow Road (Route 707, Frederick County):* claimed by some to be a portion of the Romney Road (the predecessor of Route 50, running between Winchester and Romney, now in West Virginia)
- 2. Three Notched Road route (predecessor of Route 250 in Albemarle, Fluvanna, Louisa, Goochland, and Henrico counties): a major 18th and 19th century route between Richmond and the Blue Ridge Mountains
- 3. Blue Ridge Turnpike route (predecessor of Route 231 in Madison and Orange counties): an 1850 turnpike route between the Blue Ridge Mountains and Gordonsville
- 4. The Mud March route (now a farm road in Stafford County): an antebellum county road that played a significant role in the attempted federal advance on Fredericksburg in January 1863
- 5. Route 340 (Page and Warren counties): a 1930s' road that overlays and replaced a series of earlier roads
- 6. Route 5 (Henrico, Charles City, and James City counties): formerly a series of local roads this is now a Virginia Byway between Richmond and Williamsburg, running through a significant area of the James River plantations.

Each road represents a different type of road and research question. As the case studies indicate, different types of roads/research projects call for different types of documentation. Each case study includes an historical background; a description of the modern route; and commentary/evaluation, which presents the evaluation of the road for historic significance.

Hollow Road (Route 707, Frederick County)

Historical Background

The Hollow Road in western Frederick County is claimed by some to be a fragment of the Romney Road (also known as the Romney Wagon Road), the predecessor of Route 50 between Winchester and Capon Bridge and Romney (now in West Virginia), which was a major route from the northern Shenandoah Valley to the west in the 18th and early 19th centuries. However, the assertion equating the Romney Road with the Hollow Road is largely subjective and dependent upon a broad interpretation of the early references to the road. Hard documentation to support this assertion regarding the age and origins of the Hollow Road (Route 707) is lacking.

In 1998, the Hollow Road (Route 707) in Frederick County was judged eligible for the National Register based on information furnished by William Chapin, a private citizen; however, procedural and documentation problems with this application were subsequently identified. The application was written by Mr. Chapin, signed by the county administrator, and submitted without the review or approval of VDOT (the administering agency with oversight for this road). Moreover, VDOT researchers have raised serious questions regarding both the integrity and documentation of this road. The application has been placed on hold.

Route 707 is an evolved road that can be documented at least to the first quarter of the 19th century. Only a 2-mile-long unimproved portion of Route 707, between Route 50 and Route 610, was nominated. Of this section, present Route 707 is not in its original location for at least 50 percent of its present alignment. Traces of the previous route of the road are visible on both sides of the present road. In some cases the earlier roadbed is now occupied by Dry Run, which flows parallel with a portion of the road.

Documentary Evidence for the Hollow Road and the Route of the Romney Road

Eighteenth century documentation for a westward road in this area generally takes the form of unspecific road orders, indicating that in the 1740s a road was cleared to run westward from the Winchester vicinity to Capon Bridge (now West Virginia). In his recent history of early Frederick County, Cecil O'Dell documented that portions of the route of this road can be placed near Winchester, at present day Gore, and at Capon Bridge (O'Dell, 1995). Dr. Wilmer Kerns has also done considerable research on early settlement in the area and has stated his belief that the Hollow Road is the original Romney Road (Kerns, 1988). However, in an interview conducted for this study, Dr. Kerns noted that his assertion that the present Hollow Road is the original westward road from Winchester to Romney is based on "largely empirical" reasoning and on the deed cited by Quarles and noted here, not on locations provided by precise written documentation (Kerns, unpublished data, 2001).

Garland R. Quarles, a county historian, identified portions of the Romney Road between Winchester and Hayfield and at Gore. He also cited an 1810 deed for 222 acres adjoining "the

old road leading to Romney" and equated this with the tract surrounding the early 19th century brick Thomas Anderson house now standing on the south side of the Hollow Road (Quarles, 1990). Based on a boundary point described in the deed as "on the South side of the old road leading to Romney," Quarles identified the entire tract as being on the south side of the "old road." However, platting the metes and bounds of the tract revealed that this point refers only to the southernmost point of the tract, and that most of this tract actually was located on the north side of the "old road." In this deed, the "old road leading to Romney" is near the southern boundary of the tract in question; a "new road to Romney" is noted near the northern boundary of the tract (Frederick County Deed Book 32, p. 73). Platting the 1810 metes and bounds against the modern 7.5 U.S.G.S. Gore quadrant map so as to include the Anderson house and assuming a "new road to Romney" approximately in the present Route 50 corridor leaves the location of "the old road leading to Romney" far south of present Route 707 and suggests that the "old road" was in the vicinity of the present Route 259 corridor. Similarly, positioning the plat to include the Anderson house and assuming that the "old road leading to Romney" was in the vicinity of present Route 707 leaves the "new road to Romney" located in steep, broken terrain unsuited for locating a road and bearing no trace of an earlier roadbed. It should also be noted that in the 18th and 19th centuries, "old road" merely referred to a previously existing route: an "old road" could be 1 year old, or many years old. Thus, the "old road" mentioned in the 1810 deed is not necessarily the 1740s' route.

The Charles Varle 1809 map of Frederick County, although slightly vague in detail, shows a road from Winchester running through what is now Gore (then represented by the Lockhart property) and then roughly due westward (Varle, 1809). A nearly identical route is shown on the Jedediah Hotchkiss map of the 1860s, "from Wood's map." Assuming that Hotchkiss refers to John Wood, this suggests that he used a John Wood map of ca. 1820 as a source; unfortunately, no Wood map for Frederick County is known to survive today, eliminating this possible source for comparison (Hotchkiss, 186_). Modern Route 50 in western Frederick County runs slightly northwest from Gore before continuing westward; the Hollow Road runs slightly southwest from Gore before continuing westward. Thus, it is uncertain which road is being represented on these maps. However, the Hotchkiss map (using data taken "from Wood's map" but not purporting to be an exact reproduction of it) was drawn approximately 40 years after the construction of the Northwestern Turnpike. This would argue that the route shown on the maps is the Northwestern Turnpike, which was in the modern Route 50 corridor.

A sketchy representation of a road that appears to correspond to the Hollow Road, running south of the route that later became the Northwestern Turnpike is shown in Claudius Crozet's survey for the Northwestern Turnpike between Winchester and Romney (Crozet, 1823). The Hollow Road is shown in approximately its present configuration in the 1885 Frederick County Atlas (repr. Hammond, 1997). These works appear to be earliest graphic representation of this road. Routes called the Hollow Road, the Northwestern Turnpike, and the "Double S" (all identified by Mr. Chapin as separate roads, with the "Double S" identified by Mr. Chapin as a now-abandoned road off the Hollow Road), are accorded brief references in Willa Cather's last novel *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (1940).

The description of the Hollow Road in Willa Cather's novel states plainly that the road underwent considerable re-engineering during the 20th century. Assuming that her description

of the road is accurate, without artistic license, a re-reading of the text quoted in the Preliminary Information Form, in concert with map references, actually suggests that the "Hollow Road" and the "Double S" are parts of the Northwestern Turnpike:

The winding country road which climbed from the post office [Gore] to Timber ridge was then, and for sixty years afterward, the most beautiful stretch in the Northwestern turnpike. . . on the left side of the road, going west, the hillsides fell abruptly down to a mountain stream flowing clear at the bottom of a winding ravine. . The country people called this the Hollow, or "Holler," road. . . . The road followed the ravine, climbing all the way, until at the "Double S" it swung out in four great loops round hills of solid rock; rock which the destroying armament of modern road-building had not yet succeeded in blasting away. The four loops are now denuded and ugly, but motorists, however unwillingly, must swing round them if they go on that road at all.

Interestingly, the 1937 topographic map of the region (from surveys of 1927) shows the "Northwestern Turnpike" (Route 50) corresponding very closely to Cather's description: running west from Gore through a ravine, parallel with Dry Run and one of its tributaries on the left, and swinging out in four sharp curves as it ascends Little Timber Ridge (U.S. Geological Survey Topographic Map, Capon Bridge, 1937). The road was straightened in the mid-20th century, but the curves are still visible in trace (U.S. Geological Survey Topographic Map, Gore, 1972).

Until recently, the Hollow Road was surrounded by a largely rural and undeveloped part of the county. However, tracts of land in the area are currently being subdivided for housing developments. Mr. Chapin, the private citizen who prepared the Preliminary Information Form for the Hollow Road, believed that placing the road on the National Register would restrict road changes and development in the area. (Subsequently, Mr. Chapin placed his property under conservation easement, which will effectively preserve its rural character.) The text of the historical background sections of the DHR Preliminary Information Form submitted by Mr. Chapin provides a good historical overview of the Romney Road and is reproduced here, although the author of this report does not agree that the documentary evidence supports Mr. Chapin's equating the Romney Road with the present Hollow Road.

Historical Background Sections, Preliminary Information Form, Romney Wagon Road (Romney Road)

(prepared by Mr. William Chapin [975 Hollow Road/P.O. Box 70 Gore, VA], 1998)

Section 5

Virginia and West Virginia county Route 707, which runs from its junction with US 50 and Route 259, about one mile west of Gore, to Christian Church Road at a point near Capon Bridge, West Virginia on the west, is an unpaved, usually single-lane road that is one of the few unimproved sections of the old Romney Wagon Road. The total distance of the road is 6.25 miles, of which 3.85 miles are in Virginia.

The Romney Wagon Road or the South Branch road, the precursor of the Northwestern Grade and US 50, was built in the early 1740s from a point a short distance south of present-day Winchester to the South Branch of the Potomac near

present-day Romney. The early road, which covered a distance of about 40 miles, was an important route for western settlement and for George Washington's military communications during the French and Indian wars. A two-mile section of this road, now named Hollow Road in Virginia, running from Route 707's eastern end to Bethel Church at its junction with Route 610 on Timber Ridge, is proposed for designation as a Virginia historic landmark. This section (with a small exception to be noted later) is closer to the original state of the old Romney Road than the rest of the road in Virginia. It shares in the historic interest of the old Romney Road in general and has special scenic and literary interest. Much of this section of the road, bordered by deep ravines and steep hillsides in the hollow, is unsuited for residential development. The section of the road west of Route 610 to the state line, a distance of one-and-a-half miles, though unpaved, has been widened in parts to two lanes and some of the adjoining land has been subdivided for residential development, a condition that in time will lead to pressure for the paving of that section of the road. But development along that section of the road may not lead to much greater use of the eastern sections between Rts. 259 and 610, since Route 610 offers the best access to US 50 from the developed area on the western section of Route 707 or Hollow Road.

This section of Hollow Road, owing to its unimproved condition, carries little traffic. The highway department usually grades the road once a year and occasionally applies a gravel dressing. But heavy rains often cause deep rutting and ice on the grades discourages through traffic for weeks at a time. After heavy snows plowing is sometimes limited to the eastern and western ends. Hollow Road at its eastern end has an elevation of about 800 feet and at its junction with Route 610 on the west about 1150 feet. The road follows a fairly level path from its eastern end for about two-thirds of the way and then makes a steep climb to the higher level. Dry Run and smaller creeks flow along the length of the hollow and cross the road under culverts at several points. Much of the original roadbed in the hollow area was probably very close to Dry Run but was later moved a few yards to higher ground along the north and west creek bank. Signs of an old roadbed are evident along the stream's south bank from a point near the 90-degree turn of the road to a ford about a half-mile downstream. A small access road, perhaps a logging road, plainly evident, ran south from the ford to Capper Ridge, the course of Route 259 at its northern end. An alternate section of the Romney Wagon Road, probably constructed in the late eighteenth century, branched from the Hollow Road a short distance west of Route 259 and followed a northerly course as far as Capon Bridge. A small section of this road, no longer maintained, is still in use as an access to a farm. The Double-S, a road that figures prominently in Willa Cather's novel Sapphira and the Slave Girl, apparently branched from this road. A paved section of the Double-S, no longer maintained, runs north from its junction with US 50, makes a large loop and ends again at US 50 a short distance from Timber Ridge, covering a total distance of less than a mile. At the top of the steep grade Hollow Road follows a fairly level course to its junction with Route 610. Here the road is bordered by pasture land and orchards. The open land here offers fine views of North Mountain to the east.

Four houses are on this two-mile section of Hollow Road. Near the eastern end is the unoccupied Anderson house, which was badly damaged by fire in 1994 and is now undergoing slow repair. It is one of the few early brick houses in the western section of the county.² The house served as an inn in the early nineteenth century and according to some local reports was the site of occasional slave auctions. The field adjoining the house south of the road was sometimes called the "slave camp." Two other houses of recent construction are situated a few hundred yards up the road from the Anderson house. Near the western end is Sunrise, a log and frame house whose first section was probably built about 1818.³ This house is registered as a Virginia landmark. Bethel Church is located at the junction of Hollow Road and Route 610. The church, an early nineteenth-century frame building with a recent brick veneer, and its small church yard border orchard land. It figures in a minor incident in *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* that illustrates the hard life and rough country manners along Timber Ridge.⁴

Section 6

The first extant record of the Romney Wagon Road appeared in an Orange county court order dated March 25, 1742 directing Jeremiah Smith, perhaps the oldest settler in Back Creek valley and a famous Indian fighter, and a certain James Eaton "to view and lay" a road from James Caudy's residence on the Cacapon river near present-day Capon Bridge, West Virginia to Isaac Perkins's mill, located a short distance south of present-day Winchester (founded in 1744). In December 1742 the Orange court ordered the laying out of a road from the South Branch near present-day Romney (founded in 1756) to James Caudy's ford on the Cacapon and thence into "the other road," i.e., the road leading east to Perkins's mill.⁵

The road was probably intended chiefly to further settlement along the South Branch. Settlement did indeed advance steadily in the years immediately following the building of the road, but many of the settlers were dispersed in the area served by the road, especially in the west, during the French and Indian wars. After General Braddock's disastrous defeat near Fort Duquesne in 1755 security throughout this area deteriorated rapidly. George Washington's letters from Winchester to the governor of Virginia in the fall of 1755 and spring of 1756 describe heavy loss of life and virtual depopulation of the region. But settlement resumed rapidly after the war and the Romney Wagon Road was later extended to the Ohio valley. In the late 1740s and 1750s, George Washington as a young man was active in surveying the Lord Fairfax land grants along the South Branch and the Cacapon rivers. The road was probably the chief connection to his office in Winchester.

The road assumed critical military importance during the French and Indian wars. In the mid-1750s, Washington, by then a colonel in the Virginia regiment, was commander, with headquarters at Fort Loudon in Winchester, of the forts along this road and its northwest extension from Romney to Fort Cumberland on the Potomac via Fort Ashby. Fort Edwards, near present-day

Capon Bridge on the Cacapon, was twice attacked. The first attack in April 1756 led to heavy friendly casualties. Captain Daniel Morgan, who later distinguished himself as a general in the Revolutionary War, repulsed another attack on the fort a year later.⁷

The Joshua Frye and Peter Jefferson map of Virginia, based on surveys conducted in the late 1730s and 1740s and published in 1755, though crude, shows a single road leading west and north from Winchester, no doubt the Romney Wagon Road. The Charles Varle map of 1809 and the James Wood map of 1820 show Frederick County in some detail, but they are not fully reliable in the Back Creek district. The first detailed and accurate map of the area served by the road was Claude Crozet's survey of 1823, which laid the basis for the construction of the Northwestern Grade in the early 1830s. These maps taken together reveal the changes made in the course of the Romney Wagon Road in the eighteenth and perhaps early nineteenth centuries.

The Wood and Varle maps still show a road leading west from Winchester along the early route. They also show a northern exit from Winchester that became known as the Wappacomo Road (the original Indian name for the South Branch) and, at a later date, as Indian Hollow Road, now county Route 679. This road, ordered in 1745 and designated a "public road," became the chief point of departure to the west from Winchester.⁸ It joined the old road and what is now US 50 near present-day Hayfield. The Crozet map shows the Wappacomo Road in detail, but shows nothing of the old road east of Hogue Creek that it superseded. Much of the old road in this section fell into disuse, though parts of the old road, probably county Route 803, which runs for about two miles near Round Hill, are still much in use. Moreover, some parts of this section probably form the Winchester and Western railroad's roadbed, which lies just a few yards south of US 50's eastbound lanes and runs parallel to it for several miles. The tracks cross the former site of Perkins's mill, the eastern terminus of the original road, where Abrams creek crosses Merriman's Lane, county Route 621. After the construction of the Northwestern Grade in the early 1830s the Wappacomo Road was no longer an important route to the west and today most of the western section of the road remains unpaved. It is unclear why the main road to Winchester was changed at Hayfield to a northern route. The early course encountered no serious physical obstacles east of Hayfield. Perhaps the terminus at Perkin's mill was too distant from the town center for convenience.

A small unimproved section of a few hundred yards of the old road on the eastern edge of Gore is still under state maintenance. This leads to an abandoned but clearly marked stretch of the old road that runs northeast for a short distance to US 50. Two of the oldest houses in the county west of Winchester are on this small stretch of road. The original section of the larger house was probably built as early as 1740 by Jeremiah Smith, the builder of the early road. His log house, which was later enlarged and framed, became the home of Willa Cather's great grandparents, the Sieberts, whom she portrays as Henry and Sapphira Colbert in

her novel *Sapphira and the Slave Girl.*⁹ A paved section of the original road runs west from the old Smith house for about a quarter mile to county Route 751, formerly a section of US 50.

The section of the old road from Route 259 to the Cacapon was supplemented by a route further north, not far from the route later taken by the Northwestern Grade. The Crozet map does not distinguish between the old and new routes between Route 259 and the Cacapon, but we can infer that the southern route was the original road and probably the more frequently used. A deed of 1810 describing the sale to one Thomas Anderson of 222 acres said that the property was on the south side of the *old* (emphasis added) road to Romney, i.e., Hollow Road or county Route 707. A brick house built not long after the sale stands today on the south side of the road. This house, moreover, served for a time as an inn, which suggests that it was on the more frequently traveled road.

The original road from the Cacapon to Romney, which followed a northerly course, soon acquired an alternate southern route via Hanging Rock and Augusta. A deed of 1765 refers to a section of this southern route as the new Wagon Road from Romney to Augusta. However, the extension of this route via Hanging Rock to the Cacapon may have come later. The old Romney Wagon Road's literary interest derives from Willa Cather's novel. Her description of the walk Mrs. Blake (Cather's grandmother) and Nancy (the slave girl) took along the road and the Double S that branched from it deserves quoting.

It was still early morning; a little too warm in the sun, but wonderfully soft and pleasant in the shade. The winding country road which climbed from the post office to Timber ridge was then, and for sixty years afterward, the most beautiful stretch in the Northwestern turnpike. It was cut against gravelly hillsides bright with mica and thinly overgrown with spikes of pennyroyal, patches of rue, and small shrubs. But on the left side of the road, going west, the hillsides fell abruptly down to a mountain stream flowing clear at the bottom of a winding ravine. The country people called this the Hollow, or "Holler," road. On the far side of the creek the hills were shaded by forest trees, tall and not too thickly set: hickory and chestnut and white oak, and here and there hemlocks of great height. The ground beneath them was covered with bright green moss and flat mats of wintergreen full of red berries. Out of the damp moss between the exposed tree roots, where the shade was deep, the maidenhair fern grew delicately.

The road followed the ravine, climbing all the way, until at the "Double S" it swung out in four great loops round hills of solid rock; rock which the destroying armament of modern road-building had not yet succeeded in blasting away. The four loops are now denuded and ugly, but motorists, however unwillingly, must swing round them if they go on that road at all. In the old times, when Nancy and Mrs. Blake were alive, and for sixty years afterward, those now-naked hills were rich in verdure, the winding ravine was deep and green, the stream at the bottom flowed bright and soothingly vocal. A tramp pedlar from town, or a poor farmer, coming down on foot from his stony acres to sell a coonskin, stopped to rest here, or walked lingeringly. When the countrymen mentioned the place in speech, if it were but to say: "I'd just got as fur as the Double e-S-S," their voices took on something slow and dreamy, as if

recalling the place itself; the shade, the unstained loveliness, the pleasant feeling one had there. ¹²

Today, most of what is left of the old, abandoned Double S has a shabby and forlorn look, but the Hollow Road itself has lost little of the beauty that charmed Willa Cather.

Section 11

Little original source material related to the early Romney Wagon Road is available. Transcripts of the old Orange County road order have been published, and Wilmer Kerns, a local historian, in an article on the road in the West Virginia Advocate cited the Orange County orders of 1742 for the laying out of the road and traced its original route. 13 But he did not discuss the history of the road beyond this date nor did he mention the various alternate routes along some sections of the road that soon followed. Cecil O'Dell, another local historian, traced the course of sections of the original road through reference to early surveys. But the road's historical importance rests essentially on the fact that it was the forerunner of the Northwestern Grade and US 50 and, as far as we can determine, it was for a critical period the only road from Winchester to the South Branch. As such it contributed to the settlement of the western frontier and was of great importance to Washington, first as a surveyor and later as commander of the Virginia regiment during the French and Indian War. All these activities are well known and need not be covered here in any detail, even though the sources that discuss them seldom make direct reference to the Romney Road.

Notes

- 1. Willa Cather, *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1940), pp. 170-173.
- 2. Garland Quarles, *Some Old Homes* in *Frederick County, Virginia* (Winchester: Winchester and Frederick Historical Society, 1990), p. 3.
- 3. Ibid., p. 152.
- 4. Cather, op. cit., pp. 123-125.
- 5. Wilmer Kerns, *Frederick County, Virginia: Some First Families of Back Creek Valley, 1730-1830* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1995), pp. 67-68. Ann Miller, ed., *Orange County Road Orders* 1734-1749 (Charlottesvi1le, Va: Virginia Highway and Transportation Research Council, 1984), pp. 67, 157, 395.
- 6. Excerpts from Washington's letters cited by H. Maxwell and H. L. Swisher, *History of Hampshire County, West Virginia* (Parsons, W.Va: McLain Printing Co., 1972), pp. 79-84.
- 7. William Ansel, *Frontier Forts Along the Potomac and its Tributaries*. Parsons, W.Va: McLain Printing Co., 1984, p. 10.
- 8. Frederick County Order Book, FOB 2:4, November 6, 1745, cited by Cecil O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County* (Marceilline, Mo: Walworth Publishing Co., 1995), p. 533. Quarles, *op. cit.*, p 16. Cather, Willa, *Sapphira and the Slave Girl*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1940.
- 9. Quarles, op. cit., p. 292.

- 10. Frederick County Deed Book, XXXII, 173, cited by Quarles, op. cit., p. 3.
- 11. O'Dell, *op. cit.*, pp. 537-538.
- 12. Cather, op. cit., p. 170.
- 13. Wilmer Kerns. "Settlement and Settlers in Old Frederick County, Va." *West Virginia Advocate*, Capon Bridge, W.Va., July, 1988.

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Commentary/Evaluation

Mr. Chapin's Preliminary Information Form represents a sizable amount of research and documentation concerning the Romney Road. Unfortunately, it does not prove that the present Hollow Road is a portion of the old Romney Road. The original road orders from the 1740s identify the route of the road only as running from near what is now Winchester to Capon Bridge in what is now West Virginia. Although Mr. Chapin states that the original route of the Romney Road is well described in Cecil O'Dell's history of early Frederick County, a perusal of the book

itself reveals that O'Dell is vague about the original road's route in western Frederick County, noting only that the road ran west from what is now Gore to the West Virginia line and then to Cacapon River. As noted in the "Documentary Evidence" section of this case study, Dr. Kerns' statement that the Hollow Road is the original route is an empirical opinion whereas the Quarles material appears to be based on a misinterpretation of the metes and bounds cited in the 1810 deed. The Varle map and the Hotchkiss map (after Wood), although slightly vague in detail, show what appears to be the main road in the modern Route 50 corridor in western Frederick County, with no corresponding major road shown in the present Hollow Road corridor.

Like most evolved roads, the documentable sections of the Romney Road, as well as the Hollow Road, have had several changes of location and various instances of re-engineering. The absence and/or vagueness of the early records and maps makes it impossible to document the exact original route and profile and the way that these changed over the centuries. The description of the "Hollow Road" and the "Double S" in Willa Cather's novel appears to describe portions of the Northwestern Turnpike rather than three separate roads.

The Preliminary Information Form for the Hollow Road is an excellent example of the integrity and documentation problems that arise for even a carefully researched route in a region with good record availability. The Romney Road is a candidate for an historic marker or similar recognition, as it was certainly a significant early corridor. However, there is a lack of precise documentation for the original route of the Romney Road and for the original route and various periods of construction of the Hollow Road, as well as a lack of physical integrity of the Hollow Road. These factors produce insufficient evidence of significance and integrity to justify individual National Register eligibility for the present Hollow Road, and/or the visible road trace along it, as part of the Romney Road.

Sunrise, the residence of Mr. Chapin who wrote the Preliminary Information Form for the Hollow Road, was listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register in 1994 and on the National Register in 1995. The small portion of Route 707 passing through his property is included as a contributing resource; through information supplied by Mr. Chapin, it was identified as "the old road from Winchester to Romney."

Even if the present Hollow Road was a portion of the Romney Road, it is a much-changed fragment. Since the present Hollow Road is identifiable as a road dating back to at least the 19th century, it is appropriate that it could be considered a contributing structure to the Sunrise National Register nomination. However, the significance of the Romney Road was that it was a major route to the west and connected two important settlements. The present Hollow Road does neither, and it retains little integrity. Essentially, it is a narrow, unpaved country road, indistinguishable from others of its kind.

The Hollow Road was evaluated by the HSTG on February 19, 2002, with the following results:

1. Property Type: Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: 1742-1830s

Level of Significance: Local Adequacy of Existing Survey: A

3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 2 (context = roads originating as 18th and 19th century roads; statewide context: very common)
- 2. Integrity:
 Association: 1
 Design: 1
 Feeling: 1
 Location: 1
 Materials: 1
 Setting: 2

Workmanship: 1

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 3

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 0 Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 2

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points: None

Score: 15

Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.

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The Three Notched Road

(Predecessor of Route 250 between Richmond and the Blue Ridge Mountains in Albemarle, Fluvanna, Louisa, Goochland counties)

Historical Background

The Three Notched Road is an evolved and much-altered route that had its origins in the 1730s. In the 18th century, the Three Notched Road (sometimes called the Three Chopt Road in the Richmond vicinity) was the "Mountain Road" (i.e., the road that ran westward toward the Blue Ridge) for the northern portion of old Goochland County, as well as the Richmond region to its east. As originally created in 1728, Goochland stretched from its present eastern border to the Blue Ridge. The northern portion of the county (the present-day counties of Goochland, Fluvanna, and part of Albemarle) was served by the Three Notched Road. The southern portion of the original county (modern Powhatan, Cumberland, Buckingham, Nelson, and Amherst counties as well as the northern parts of Appomattox, Campbell and Bedford) was served by different travelways.

The Three Notched Road was originally cleared to the Blue Ridge Mountains in the 1730s, and over the next several years was extended to what is now Staunton. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, parts of the road in western Albemarle County, along with the original Blue Ridge crossing, over Woods (Jarman's) Gap were superseded by a route passing over Rockfish Gap (the present Route 250 crossing). Otherwise, the Three Notched Road remained a major east-west route in central Virginia until the construction of Route 250 in the 1920s and 1930s. Some improvements were in evidence during the early 20th century: a 1.7-mile section of the "Three Chop[t] Road" was improved to a 22 foot width with a 12-foot travel lane of gravel and "grey soil" in 1909-1910, and a 1-mile section in Henrico County near Richmond was paved with asphalt-bound macadam as early as 1913 [Annual Report, 1909; Annual Report, 1914]). Parts of the old Three Notched Road are still represented by a series of secondary roads and road traces. It should also be noted that I-64 occupies the same general corridor as Three Notched Road and Route 250 (i.e., the lesson being that a good corridor for a road then is still a good corridor for a road).

The present Route 250 is a 20th century route (built in the mid-1920s to mid-1930s) that superseded the old Three Notched Road. The 1925 state highway map shows the old Three Notched Road route still largely in place, although some parts of present Route 250 had been constructed. The route was numbered as State Route 321 from Henrico County to Zion Crossroads in Louisa County. East of Oilville (in central Goochland County) the route was unimproved; between Oilville and Zion Crossroads the route is shown as improved but not hard-surfaced. Between Zion Crossroads and Keswick (in eastern Albemarle County), the old Three Notched Road was not part of the state highway system. The route west of Keswick to the Blue Ridge (then numbered as Route 39) largely conforms to present Route 250 and is shown as improved and hard-surfaced. By the time the state secondary system was established in 1932, the construction of what is now Route 250 (then known as State Route 41) had been completed and hard-surfaced from the Richmond area as far west as central Goochland County. The more westerly portions of Route 41 (particularly in Louisa, Fluvanna and eastern Albemarle counties)

were still unpaved, and much of the route still followed the old Three Notched Road. West of Shadwell in Albemarle County, the present Route 250 configuration was largely in place, still numbered as Route 39, and the road was hard surfaced. By 1937, the new route had been completed and renumbered Route 250 and was in its present configuration to the Blue Ridge Mountains.

In 1976, the VTRC published a short history of the Three Notched Road (Pawlett and Newlon, 1976). The evidence cited in that publication, along with good surviving 19th century map coverage, enables a fairly accurate identification of the route of the Three Notched Road east of the Blue Ridge. The photographs published with this report show much of the discernable route of the old Three Notched Road as unpaved and the surroundings as rural. Twenty-six years later, in the face of rapid suburbanization of the region, much of the old Three Notched route has been heavily impacted: modern residential and commercial development is in evidence, and much of the old route has undergone related improvements.

Route 240 from Route 250 near Mechum River to Route 810 at Crozet in western Albemarle County has been officially designated the "Three Notch'd Road" by the Commonwealth Transportation Board.

The Present-Day Route of the Three Notched Road

The route of the Three Notched Road, as it relates to modern roads, is described here. For the purpose of this description, and because of various reworkings of the roadbeds over the centuries, the term "followed" when used in relation between the old route and a modern roadway should be understood to mean "closely followed" rather than "exactly followed." This can be taken to indicate a modern deviation from the early route of from approximately 0 to 20 feet. More apparent deviations from the older route are noted.

Two ca. 1819 maps of Henrico County survive: one shows the Three Notched Road beginning at the Short Pump Tavern, at what is now the rapidly growing region of Short Pump. The other map (part of the John Wood series), as well as the 1853 Smith map of Henrico County, shows the road extending eastward to Quioccasin Road (Henrico County Map, ca. 1819; John Wood Henrico County Map, 1819; Smith Henrico County Map, 1819). Civil War engineers' maps allow a close comparison between the early road and its present remnants and traces (Pawlett and Newlon, 1976).

Within Henrico County, from Quioccasin Road to the Goochland County line, the original route of the Three Notched Road, which wove through the present Route 250 corridor, has essentially been obliterated by intensive development. The sole remnant is "Old Three Chopt Road," which overlays the old road for a short distance at Short Pump (between Route 250 and Pump Road).

Westward from the Henrico County/Goochland County line, the old Three Notched road roughly overlaid Route 250 in Goochland County and then followed Route 622 north of Route 250 until its intersection with Route 623. Between that point and Route 250, the Three Notched

Road is not represented by modern roads; the route of the old road ran roughly southwest, to the intersection of Route 250 and Route 621. The Three Notched Road then followed modern Route 621 (south of Route 250) to Route 612, which runs northwest (crossing Route 250) to Route 617. The old road followed Route 617 to Perkinsville, then followed Route 702 (crossing Route 250) to Route 634, and followed Route 634 until it rejoined Route 250. The old road then crossed present day Route 250 and followed Route 700 until it rejoined Route 250 just east of the East Leake area. The old route (not represented by modern roads) then ran south of Route 250 to intersect with what is now Route 609. It followed Route 609 through Hadensville and then followed Route 606 north, crossing Route 250, to Route 699. It followed Route 699, crossing modern Route 250 once again, and joined modern Route 669 just prior to reaching present Route 653. The old road approximated present Route 653 until just east of the Goochland /Fluvanna County line, where it is not represented by modern roads, but rather ran southwest towards the county line.

At the Goochland/Fluvanna County line, it rejoined Route 653 and followed it through Fluvanna County into Louisa County, until its intersection with Route 250 at Ferncliff. The old road then roughly underlaid Route 250 for approximately one quarter mile before it turned and followed Route 696, running south of 250. At the present intersection of Route 696 with Route 250, the Three Notched Road diverged from modern roads, weaving south then north of present Route 250 until its intersection with Route 607 south of 250. Following Route 607, it crossed over into Fluvanna County and then back into Louisa County. At the intersection of Route 607 and Route 250, the old road diverged from any modern roads, weaving slightly north then south of present Route 250 until it intersected Route 615 west of Zion Crossroads. The old road then followed Route 615 to Route 627 and followed Route 627 back into Fluvanna County to its intersection with Route 250. The old road then ran slightly north of present Route 250, intersected a portion of Route 759, and followed it as it crossed south of present day Route 250 and ran into Albemarle County.

From the Fluvanna/Albemarle County line, the old road followed Route 759 to Boyd Tavern and then followed Route 794 to Route 250. Between there and Shadwell, the Three Notched Road is not represented by modern roads, except for a short section along Routes 730 and 731.

From Shadwell west, the old road closely followed the modern CSX railroad route into modern Charlottesville. In eastern Charlottesville, it is uncertain whether the Three Notched Road continued along the railroad or may have approximated modern East Market Street between the Rivanna River and Main Street. Modern Main Street and part of University Avenue follow close to the Three Notched Road's original course. From the University of Virginia area, the old road may have followed one of two possible routes through the western portion of Charlottesville: possibly the Three Notched Road continued to approximate modern day University Avenue and Ivy Road (Route 250 Business). It is also possible that the old route may have diverged somewhere along University Avenue and then run across the University of Virginia central grounds, and near what is now University Cemetery, before heading north and rejoining the present-day Ivy Road/Route 250 corridor. In the vicinity of Ivy Road (the route of which is largely a 19th century road), the Three Notched Road ran near the present CSX railroad tracks north of Route 250. West of Ivy, the old road veered south of Route 250 to follow closely

Route 738 south of Route 250 and then follow Route 738 back to Route 250. Between there and the forks of modern Route 240 and Route 250, the old road ran north and then south of Route 250 and is not represented by modern roads.

Heading westward from the forks of modern Routes 240 and 250, the old Three Notched Road swung north, closely following Route 680 to Route 802, Route 802 to Route 240, and then Route 240 into modern Crozet. At Crozet, the old road turned to follow closely present day Route 691 and Route 611, ascending to the top of the Blue Ridge, where Route 611 ends. From the end of Route 611, the old Three Notched is not represented by modern roads and continues into Augusta County as a mountain trail or road trace.

Commentary/Evaluation

The Three Notched Road is an historically important and well-documented road that no longer exists as a coherent roadway. The various changes to the old road in the 19th and early 20th centuries, along with the construction of Route 250 in the early 20th century, fragmented the earlier route. Although the old route can be identified with the help of historic maps, numerous portions of the road no longer exist, and the remaining sections are discontinuous and have undergone many changes. In addition, increasing development between Richmond and Charlottesville has radically altered the context of the area. The integrity of the resource is very low.

Given the practice of some preservationists to extend the period of significance equal with continued use (although the HSTG believes that this is contrary to National Register guidelines), the HSTG tested this by first attempting to evaluate the road as a route still in use, with a period of significance from ca. 1730 to 1952. However, this would involve equating portions of Route 250 with the Three Notched Road. Historically, Route 250 and the Three Notched Road are different entities; the road could not be evaluated in this larger context. The HSTG then determined that the only defensible course would be to evaluate the original route of the road during the period when the original route was in use (1730-1790).

In its present form, the route of the Three Notched Road possesses significance but lacks sufficient integrity to justify individual eligibility for the National Register.

The Three Notched Road in Henrico, Goochland, Louisa, Fluvanna, and Albemarle counties was evaluated by the HSTG on February 19, 2002, with the following results:

1. Property Type: Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: 1730-1790 Level of Significance: State Adequacy of Existing Survey: B

3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 2 (context = roads originating as 18th century roads in the Piedmont; statewide context: common)
- 2. Integrity:
 Association: 1
 Design: 1
 Feeling: 1
 Location: 1
 Materials: 1
 Setting: 1
 Workmanship: 1
- 3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 2

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 1 Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 1

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points: None

Score: 13

Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.

Note: The section of the old Three Notched Road running west from the Crozet area (modern Routes 691 and 611) and ascending the Blue Ridge to the original/early crossing (superseded in the late 18th century) has much greater integrity, and if evaluated separately would likely score higher.

References

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The Blue Ridge Turnpike

(Predecessor of Route 231 in Orange County and Route 231 and Route 670 in Madison County)

Historical Background

The Blue Ridge Turnpike was an engineered road laid down over the general corridor of a series of earlier roads dating back to the 18th century. The turnpike was chartered in 1848 and completed in early 1853. It ran from Gordonsville in southern Orange County across the Blue Ridge Mountains to the vicinity of New Market in Shenandoah County, and it provided an access route for a large portion of the central Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley to the railroad at Gordonsville, which at the time was the westernmost railhead in Virginia. Following the Civil War, the finances of the Blue Ridge Turnpike, like many other Virginia turnpikes, were in disarray, the road itself was damaged by four years of often-heavy troop movements and lack of repair, and the management of the turnpike was effectively abandoned. In accordance with the legislative acts of 1866 and 1867 dealing with abandoned turnpikes, the turnpike route was turned over to the counties through which it ran (Acts of Assembly, 1865-1866; Acts of Assembly, 1866-1867). Following the acquisition of the route by the counties, the old turnpike became, in effect, an evolved road, like the other county roads of the time. There were various changes to the route during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Today, the majority of those fragmented and much-altered sections of the old turnpike that still carry traffic are a series of primary and secondary routes.

Modern Route 231 runs from Route 22 in Albemarle County through Orange and Madison counties to Route 522 in Rappahannock County and is a Virginia Scenic Byway for its entire length. The portion of Route 231 that is the successor to the Blue Ridge Turnpike runs from Gordonsville in Orange County to Banco in Madison County; from there to the Blue Ridge, the old turnpike route is approximated by modern Route 670. The present Route 231 in Orange and Madison counties is confused in the public perception with the original turnpike route. Route 231 in Orange and Madison counties has been officially designated the "Old Blue Ridge Turnpike" by the Commonwealth Transportation Board.

Only about 30% of the old turnpike route is today overlaid by modern roads, and extensive portions of the old turnpike structure have been obliterated over the years (Woodward and Gimbel, in-progress research). The section of the turnpike route over the Blue Ridge is now largely within the boundaries of the Shenandoah National Park. Because of better documentary evidence for the eastern portion of the old turnpike route, the case study for this project covered only the portion of the turnpike east of the Blue Ridge, in Orange and Madison counties.

The original enabling act (1848) noted that the road was to be macadamized and required that "The said road shall be improved at least nineteen feet wide except in difficult places, and shall in no place be less than sixteen feet wide." The company was exempted from being required to macadamize the portion of the route crossing the Blue Ridge Mountains and was also exempted from having to provide a "summer" or side road to the turnpike. The act provided for a 40-foot right of way (*Acts of Assembly*, 1847-1848). A subsequent amendment (1850) allowed

portions of the turnpike to be planked in areas where stone for macadamizing was in short supply (*Acts of Assembly*, 1849–1850).

18th Century Predecessor Roads to the Blue Ridge Turnpike

On the east side of the mountains, the turnpike overlaid an earlier series of roads, dating from the second quarter of the 18th century, when the region was part of first Spotsylvania County and then Orange County. The area north of the Rapidan River became Culpeper County in 1749 and remained part of Culpeper until the creation of Madison County in 1792.

Within what is now Orange County, this earlier route was well established as a significant north-south route by 1786, when the road "from Benja[min] Johnson's along the Road that leads by Thos. Barbour's mill thence along the sd. Road 'till it Strik[e]s the Louisa Line below Jno. Hamiltons" was used as one of the boundaries to divide voting districts (Orange County Minute Book 2, p. 352, 23 March 1786). In modern terms, this route began at or near the Rapidan River, probably several hundred feet east of the present Route 231 crossing, as there are discernable road traces on present-day Bloomingdale Farm, which was the 18th century Johnson plantation. The road then ran southward, weaving back and forth across present-day Route 231, to what is now the town of Gordonsville and the Louisa County line. John Tayloe Hamilton's plantation occupied the land immediately west of the present town of Gordonsville. North of Orange County, within what is now Madison County, an earlier series of roads in or near the present Route 231 corridor from the Rapidan River and several miles northward were cleared in the second quarter of the 18th century.

Documentation of the route north of the Rapidan River (in present-day Madison County) is somewhat more difficult because of the partial loss of the records for that region. The loss of most of the court records for 18th century Culpeper County, which included present Madison County during the years 1749 through 1793, has hampered positive identification of the roads built in Madison County during that period, but various roads located in or near the modern Route 231 corridor appear in the road orders for Spotsylvania County (containing Madison County between 1720 and 1734) and Orange County (containing Madison County between 1734 and 1749). By the time that Madison County was created in 1792, these roads appear in a configuration approximating many portions of (1) the general Route 231 corridor between the Rapidan River and the Robinson River in what is north-central Madison County, and (2) the general Route 670 corridor between the Robinson River and the Blue Ridge Mountains at the present hamlet of Syria. However, no county road crossing the Blue Ridge above what is now Syria (i.e., in the corridor of the old turnpike) can be identified in the road orders for Orange County prior to 1749 (when the region was still part of Orange County), in the surviving Culpeper County road orders (1763-1764) prior to the creation of Madison County in 1792, or in the early Madison County Road orders.

An 18th century path known as "Piper's Path" that crossed the Blue Ridge slightly south of Fisher's Gap (the later crossing of the Blue Ridge Turnpike), and is referenced in late 18th century records of the area, appears to the first mountain crossing in the region. Piper's Path is apparently a reference to Augustine Piper, a tanner from Frederick County, who acquired at least

five land patents and grants in the area between 1761 and 1791 and from whose occupation the Tanner's Ridge feature of the Blue Ridge Mountains apparently takes its name (Lillard, inprogress research). The crossing of Piper's Path was approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Fisher's Gap, in the Tanner's Ridge/Milam Gap area.

No county road is shown at or near either the Tanner's Ridge/Milam Gap area or Fisher's Gap in the 1807 Bishop Madison map (Madison, 1807). The earliest cartographic depiction of a road crossing the Blue Ridge Mountains in this general location appears in the 1821 John Wood map of Madison County (Wood, 1821). As is common with Wood's maps, which were studies for a map of the entire state of Virginia (then also including present-day West Virginia), the Madison County map is sketchy rather than precisely detailed. However, relative to the position of the Rose River, the road appears to cross the Blue Ridge in the Tanner's Ridge/Milam's Gap area and may have developed from the 18th century Piper's Path. The Wood map also shows a fork of this road apparently branching off and reaching the top of the Blue Ridge north of Fisher's Gap by following one of the tributaries of the Robinson River; this branch road, if accurately portrayed, may include a portion of the present day Route 600 corridor, plus some additional hollow roads that no longer survive.

The Present-Day Route of the Blue Ridge Turnpike

With the Louisa Railroad's arrival in Gordonsville in 1840, that town became the site of the westernmost railhead in Virginia. Upon its completion a little over a decade later, the Blue Ridge Turnpike provided a railroad outlet for the agricultural produce of a significant area of north-central and western Virginia: portions of Shenandoah, Page, and Rockingham counties (located west of the Blue Ridge); Madison County, western Orange County, and parts of Greene County (located on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge).

The turnpike followed the general corridor of present Route 231 between Gordonsville in Orange County and the present hamlet of Banco in Madison County. The turnpike branched off at what is now Banco and ran toward the Blue Ridge Mountains in the general corridor of present Route 670. It ascended the Blue Ridge following the general route of a present fire and hiking trail in Shenandoah National Park (from the park boundary at the end of Route 670 to the Skyline Drive at Fisher's Gap). The turnpike route crossed the Blue Ridge at Fisher's Gap and ended just east of New Market, where it intersected with the New Market and Sperryville Turnpike (Woodward and Gimbel, in-progress research).

Research into the original route of the Blue Ridge Turnpike is assisted by the surviving contemporary survey plats for the turnpike. The case study covered the route of the turnpike east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, a route that is particularly well represented in the surviving records. Several detailed and informative plats survive showing both the surveyed route of the turnpike and the location of the old roads compared to the newly completed Blue Ridge Turnpike in Orange County.

In Orange County, the turnpike route from the intersection with present day Route 33 near Gordonsville to the vicinity of Blue Run appears to follow closely present day Route 231.

In this area, a small portion of the predecessor road to the turnpike is represented by modern Route 654 south of Somerset. The original turnpike bridge over Blue Run was described as a "planking post" bridge, possibly a wooden beam bridge of some sort.

From the Blue Run vicinity north to the present intersection of Route 231 and Route 20, there is a disturbed context: the road was extensively rebuilt in the 1920s and the intersection was again altered in the 1980s (although the 1980s' alteration did have the effect of bringing Route 20 west of Route 231 closer to the antebellum route of the Fredericksburg and Valley Plank Road, a predecessor road of present Route 20). Present day Route 231 deviates from the turnpike route in this area, with traces of the earlier road visible to the east of the present route. From the present intersection of Route 231 and Route 20 northwards to the Rapidan River, the turnpike route deviated even more noticeably from present Route 231. The turnpike crossed the Rapidan River into Madison County at a point some 200 feet northeast of the present crossing. The original turnpike bridge was a covered bridge built on a "lattice and arch" configuration (probably a hybrid Burr arch truss incorporating a Town lattice truss), which was burned during the Civil War. It was subsequently replaced by a metal truss bridge. The road was realigned and the metal truss bridge replaced with a concrete bridge in the mid-20th century.

In Madison County, present Route 231 deviates at various points from the turnpike route between the Rapidan River and Pratts. This includes a heavily disturbed context just north of the Rapidan River, where several changes have been made to the route over the years, most recently in the 1980s to straighten and realign the roadway. Route 620 (on the east side of Route 231 between the Rapidan River and Uno) follows the corridor of a colonial-era road, the old "Race Ground Road," which preceded the Blue Ridge Turnpike.

Between the vicinity of Pratts and the town of Madison, the context is heavily disturbed, and early road traces are not discernable. Main St., Madison, is in its original location, except for a possible slight deviation on the north end of town (present Route 673, south end). A welldefined road trace, which appears to match the route of the turnpike, is visible on the west side of Route 231 as it leaves the town of Madison and heads down the hill to White Oak Run. The present bridge over White Oak Run is not in the original turnpike bridge location; the turnpike veered to the east, then west of the present Route 231. The low grounds around White Oak Run are marshy as well as prone to frequent flooding, so it is likely that the turnpike in this area may have included a causeway or bents to raise the roadway. The original turnpike bridge was a Queen post truss (it was subsequently replaced with a covered bridge and then with the present Warren pony truss in 1932). The traces of the turnpike west of present Route 231 run through fields, a modern subdivision, and wooded areas, crossing present Route 655 approximately one quarter mile west of Route 231. The present Route 231 alignment in this area dates from the early 1930s; the construction used considerable cut and fill (Figure E1). The old turnpike trace joins modern Route 654 near its southern intersection with Route 231, generally follows or parallels present Route 654 northward, and then rejoins Route 231. Except for the portion running on or alongside present Route 654, the old turnpike is difficult to see in trace: part of it serves as a farm/logging road, but much of it is abandoned (Woodward and Gimbel, in-progress research).



Figure E1. Present Route 231 north of Madison; this section was constructed in the 1930s. The abandoned trace of the Blue Ridge Turnpike is located in the woods to the right.

Well-defined road traces, apparently representing the original route of the turnpike, are visible on both sides of present day Route 231 just south of its crossing of Mulatto Run. The turnpike crossed Mulatto Run east of the present road and concrete bridge. The original turnpike bridge over Mulatto Run was a Queen post truss, similar to that over White Oak Run. A metal pony truss was erected at the old crossing in the 1910s; the road was realigned and the present concrete T-beam bridge built in 1932.

Between Mulatto Run and Banco, the road was extensively rebuilt during the late 1920s and early 1930s and again in the mid-1990s when the present concrete bridge over the Robinson River was completed, replacing a Pratt pony metal truss bridge dating from 1928.

The corridor of the old turnpike is represented between Banco, through Criglersville, and into Syria by present Route 670 (Figure E2). The route is a highly disturbed context because of the numerous flood episodes and the many subsequent road rebuildings during the late 19th and 20th centuries (Woodward and Gimbel, in-progress research).



Figure E2. Present Route 670 passing through Criglersville.

Above Syria, and particularly within the boundary of the Shenandoah National Park, much of the road is within or extremely close to its original location: owing to the steep topography of the mountains, in many areas there are limited options for alterations and realignment.

In addition, as the road begins to ascend the Blue Ridge northwest of Syria, modern improvements become less and les evident. Pavement marking and then pavement cease, and the gravel road becomes progressively narrower and steeper. At the boundary of the Shenandoah National Park, the road becomes an even narrower, rocky path that serves as a hiking path and fire road.

To the casual observer, the portion of the road within the Shenandoah National Park appears to retain completely its original appearance and alignment. However, appearances are deceiving and serve as an object lesson for confusing picturesqueness with integrity. Closer physical examination reveals traces of earlier roadbeds in several areas, particularly an approximately half-mile stretch beginning a few hundred feet past the boundary of the Shenandoah National Park and running directly to the west of the present fire road and at various other points along the road as it ascends to Fisher's Gap. Research indicates that the present route within the Shenandoah National Park has undergone several substantial reworkings during the first half of the 20th century. Some realignment of the old turnpike was done to accommodate automobile traffic during the second or third decade of the 20th century, when the route was still a county road (it was part of county route 12 at the time of the creation of the Virginia secondary system in 1932), or soon after 1932, when the road was State Route 231, hard surfaced as far as Route 649 just northwest of Criglersville, and thereafter an unimproved secondary, Route 611, up to Fisher's Gap. The difference in the levels of improvement can be traced to the presence of President Herbert Hoover's fishing camp on the headwaters of the Rapidan River (some two miles south of Milam's Gap) that was accessed from Route 649. (Hoover's camp, then his own privately owned property, was used by him as a summer White House; here he frequently hosted foreign diplomats; hence the need for improved access, communication, and security.)

The portion of the old turnpike road within the park boundaries was closed as a public route in the 1940s, shortly after the creation of the Shenandoah National Park. Additional improvements to the road within the park boundaries were made during the early 1940s by the U.S. Army, which conducted training maneuvers in the Shenandoah National Park in preparation for the invasion of Sicily during World War II. The Army work apparently included blasting, as at least one well-preserved drill hole can still be seen in the rock formation forming part of the present road bed near the present boundary of the Shenandoah National Park (Woodward and Gimbel, in-progress research). However, the Army-related work left much of the old turnpike unaffected, and today much of the trace of the old turnpike within the Shenandoah National Park retains considerable integrity (Figure E3). Even the surface material of the road, which is set on native rock, is generally accurate: the enabling act for the creation of the turnpike did not require macadamizing of the route in the mountains. The act required that "The said road shall be improved at least nineteen feet wide except in difficult places, and shall in no place be less than sixteen feet wide," an approximate width that still applies to this portion of the old turnpike today.



Figure E3. The route of the Blue Ridge Turnpike within the Shenandoah National Park.

Commentary/Evaluation

The Blue Ridge Turnpike is an historically important and well-documented road that no longer exists as a coherent roadway. Extensive background research has identified much of modern Routes 231 and 670, contrary to popular belief, as much changed from the route of the Blue Ridge Turnpike. The various alterations to the old turnpike after it became part of the county road system ca. 1870, along with changes during the 1920s and 1930s, rebuildings after various flooding episodes, and the creation of the Shenandoah National Park, greatly changed the earlier route. Although the original route can be well documented with the help of early surveys and maps, various portions of the road no longer exist, and portions of the remaining sections are discontinuous and have undergone many changes. Outside of the Shenandoah National Park, the integrity of the resource is very low.

The Blue Ridge Turnpike was a significant transportation route for the region for several decades. The successor county roads (and later primary and secondary roads) that use altered portions of the original turnpike, or are within the general corridor of the turnpike, have been in use as evolved roads for over a century. In addition, modern Routes 231 and 670 are extremely scenic routes, and Route 231 is a Virginia Byway. There is a widespread local belief in the region that this is an historically significant route. Since the Blue Ridge Turnpike and Routes 231/670 are popularly considered to be the same, the HSTG tested this perception and evaluated both routes, testing different periods of significance and physical integrity. The last element was tested by rating the surviving section of the turnpike within the Shenandoah National Park.

The route of the old turnpike within the Shenandoah National Park possesses both sufficient significance and integrity to justify individual eligibility for the National Register. Outside of the park boundary, the former turnpike route differs from modern Routes 670 and

231. The former turnpike route possesses significance but lacks sufficient integrity to justify individual eligibility for the National Register. Modern Routes 670 and 231, which have reached their present form, location, and configurations through various 20th century building episodes, are essentially roads of the first half of the 20th century; they possess integrity but lack sufficient significance to justify individual eligibility for the National Register.

The Blue Ridge Turnpike route was evaluated by the HSTG on February 19, 2002, and April 2, 2002, with the following results:

February 19, 2002: Evaluation of the route within the Shenandoah National Park; The trace of the old turnpike was evaluated with a period of significance of 1850-1870 (period of operation of the Blue Ridge Turnpike). Note: the creation of the Shenandoah National Park removed the extensive cultural resources (houses, farms, cleared fields) that once lined the turnpike.

1. Property Type: Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: 1850-1870 Level of Significance: State Adequacy of Existing Survey: E

3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 6 (context = 19th century turnpike with little alteration; statewide context: very uncommon)
- 2. Integrity:

Association: 3

Design: 3 Feeling: 2 Location: 2

Materials: 3 Setting: 2

Workmanship: 2

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 1

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 5 Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 4

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points

Offers Exceptional Potential for Study & Transportation: 1

Visual Prominence as a Landmark: 1 Regional representation on Register: 1

Score: 36

Recommended as individually eligible for the National Register.

February 19, 2002: Evaluation of the route within the Shenandoah National Park; The trace of the old turnpike was evaluated with a period of significance of 1850-1950 (from the beginning of the operation of the Blue Ridge Turnpike through the transfer of the turnpike to the county road system, the creation of the Shenandoah National Park and the old turnpike's use as a park road). Note: the creation of the Shenandoah National Park removed the extensive cultural resources (houses, farms, cleared fields) that once lined the turnpike and its late 19th century successor county road.

1. Property Type: Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: 1850-1950 Level of Significance: State Adequacy of Existing Survey: E

3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 1 (context = 19th century turnpike that later became a county road; statewide context: very common)

2. Integrity:

Association: 3 Design: 3 Feeling: 3 Location: 2 Materials: 3 Setting: 3

Workmanship: 3

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 3

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 2 Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 3

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points

Regional representation on Register: 1

Score: 30

Recommended as individually eligible for the National Register.

April 2, 2002: Evaluation of the Blue Ridge Turnpike route outside of the Shenandoah National Park. The route of the old turnpike (much of which no longer carries traffic) was evaluated with a period of significance of 1850-1870 (period of operation of the Blue Ridge Turnpike).

- 1. Property Type: Structure: Road
- 2. Period(s) of Significance: 1850-1870 Level of Significance: State Adequacy of Existing Survey: C
- 3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 6 (context = 19th century turnpike route; statewide context: uncommon)
- 2. Integrity:
 Association: 1
 Design: 1
 Feeling: 1
 Location: 1
 Materials: 0
 Setting: 2

Workmanship: 0

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 2

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 6 (the Blue Ridge Turnpike was one of the region's defining economic elements)

Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 6

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 1

Assignment of Extra Points: None

Score: 27

Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register. The route has significance, but no integrity.

April 2, 2002: Evaluation of Route 231/Route 670 (the successor routes to the Blue Ridge Turnpike) outside of the Shenandoah National Park in Orange and Madison counties. The route was evaluated with a period of significance of ca. 1900-1950 (as a 20th century evolved, and later engineered, road).

1. Property Type: Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: 1900-1950 Level of Significance: State Adequacy of Existing Survey: C

3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 0 (context = 20th century evolved and later engineered road; statewide context: very common)
- 2. Integrity:

Association: 3 Design: 2 Feeling: 3 Location: 1 Materials: 1 Setting: 3

Workmanship: 1

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 2

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 3 Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 2

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points: None

Score: 21

Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register. The route has integrity, but no significance.

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The Mud March

Historical Background

Now a farm road on private land in Stafford County, the Mud March route was formerly a county road. As were the other county roads of the time, this was an evolved road. The loss of portions of the Stafford County records prevents accurate documentation of the clearing and early history of this road, but this is inconsequential, as the route's period of significance is confined to a few days in January 1863.

General Ambrose E. Burnside, having failed to hold Fredericksburg in December 1862, again attempted to advance against the town in January 1863. His plans were to cross the Rappahannock River, flank the Confederate troops and cause them to evacuate, and move on to Richmond. Having massed his Army of the Potomac north of the Rappahannock River in Stafford County, he planned the movement of some 100,000 men, along with arms, supplies, and draft animals, across the Rappahannock. As the advance began, rain began to fall on the evening of January 20 and continued throughout the next two days. The Union army continued forward. Huge numbers of men, animals, and materiel churned the dirt road into a morass of mud. Over the next two days, the advancing troops bogged down in this quagmire and the advance was abandoned with a huge loss of supplies; hopelessly mired wagons, caissons, and animals; and soldiers sickened—some mortally—by exposure.

The debacle has become known in Civil War history as the Mud March, and the story has been vividly told in a number of Civil War histories (including Catton, 1952; Stackpole, 1957; Gallagher, 1995).

The spectacular failure of this ill-advised advance, occasioned by the combination of dirt roads and wet weather, kept Fredericksburg in Confederate hands; kept the Union armies from Richmond for another two years; and, shortly afterward, cost Burnside his job as commander of the Army of the Potomac.

The Present-Day Route of the Mud March

The Mud March route, abandoned as a county road by the early 20th century, and now a farm road in southwest Stafford County, is located between the end of Route 656 and the old Banks ford on the Rappahannock River, west of Fredericksburg (Figure E4).

Commentary/Evaluation

The route of the Mud March both figured in a significant action during the Civil War and currently retains excellent physical integrity. In March 2000, the Keeper of the National Register, as part of the studies relating to the proposed Outer Connector project in Spotsylvania and Stafford counties, determined the area surrounding the Mud March eligible as a contributing element to the Salem Church Battlefield (i.e., relating to the Chancellorsville campaign, in May



Figure E4. The Mud March Route Today

1863). Given the significance of the earlier Mud March attempted advance during the previous January, as well as the intact nature of the route north of the old Banks ford area, this route was also included as a case study for evaluation for individual eligibility. The Mud March route has both sufficient significance and integrity to justify individual eligibility for the National Register.

The continued integrity of the site of the Mud March is uncertain. The land is privately owned, and a large development, "Celebrate Virginia!," is currently planned for the site. As there seems to be both owner and local interest in the history of the area, it is hoped that at least a portion of the Mud March route may be preserved and interpreted.

HSTG member John Wells noted the unusual aspects of the significance of the Mud March in his comments at the time of the road's evaluation by the HSTG.

A route of advance or retreat must be shown to have had a significant outcome. It's not simply a matter of the people involved doing something significant once they got there; the particular route must be shown to have been a critical factor in that outcome. If Jackson had taken a different route on May 2, perhaps his advance would have been spotted and Howard would have been prepared to receive him. If Burnside had taken the well-paved Interstate 95 instead of that little dirt path, he might have gotten across the river. The "Mud March" route illustrates these factors extremely well. That portion that was found eligible has integrity of location and design (alignment); integrity of design, materials, and workmanship (dirt when dry, mud when wet; no paving, lane markers, gutters, curb, cut & fill, culverts, etc.); integrity of setting; integrity of feeling (BECAUSE it has integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and setting); and integrity of association (again, in large measure, because it has all the other components of integrity). And the "Mud March" itself was the significant event, a monstrous failed maneuver by the premier Federal army, a failure defined in large measure by the road, a failure that kept several thousand men alive for more months, a failure that cost Burnside his job.

The Mud March route was evaluated by the HSTG on May 7, 2002, with the following results:

1. *Property Type:* Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: January 20-22, 1863

Level of Significance: National Adequacy of Existing Survey: A

3. Area of Significance: Transportation; Military

Assignment of Basic Points

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 1 (context = transportation and history of the Civil War; statewide context: very common)
- 2. Integrity:

Association: 4 Design: 3

Feeling: 4 Location: 2 Materials: 4 Setting: 3

Workmanship: 4

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 4 (Canal remains and ford remains are well preserved)

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 6

Criterion B/Person: 6

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 0

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points

Unusually Good Representative of Type: 2

Offers Exceptional Potential for Study & Interpretation: 1

Score: 43

Recommended as individually eligible for the National Register.

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Route 340

(Page and Warren counties)

Route 340 in Page and Warren counties is a 1930s' road that replaced the routes of a series of earlier roads. A citizens' group, in an attempt to stop planned improvements to this road, had claimed that it was a virtually unchanged colonial roadway and was therefore historically significant. A VTRC analysis of early county road orders, including research data from the 18th century road orders of Augusta and Frederick counties, was instrumental in enabling VDOT district cultural resources personnel to produce an accurate historic context for portions of Route 340, which refuted this claim.

Subsequently, claims were raised that Route 340 was significant as an example of 1930s' roadbuilding. As the claims of the route as an 18th century road were found to be without merit by the HSTG, Route 340 was ultimately evaluated as a 1930s' road.

Historic Context, Route 340 through Page and Warren counties

(by Kitty L. Houston, Assistant Cultural Resource Manager, VDOT's Salem District)

This context will look at the Route 340 corridor and its predecessors in Page and Warren counties. The context is based primarily on research by Ann L. Miller, of the Virginia Transportation Research Council, on Cecil O'Dell's book, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia*, and on historic maps of the area

Indian Road

The earliest known transportation corridors in Virginia were buffalo paths and Indian trails, generally following paths of least resistance. Native American trails were extensive, connecting different regions within the modern state boundary, as well as other, distant parts of the country.

The ancestor road of what was to become the Great Wagon Road, then the Valley Pike and, finally, U.S. Route 11, was the Indian Road. Prior to Governor Spotswood's Treaty of Albany, made with the Five Nations in 1722, the Indian Road was located on the east side of the Blue Ridge mountains. After the treaty, the Indian Road was moved into the Shenandoah Valley, between the Blue Ridge and the eastern foot of the Alleghany or North Mountains. The Indian Road started in central New York, home of the Iroquois, followed the eastern branch of the Susquehanna River to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, veered west through the Cumberland Valley, crossed the Potomac, and then followed the Opequon Creek Valley towards present-day Winchester. A short distance south of the site of Winchester, the Indian Road divided. The main portion followed what became the Valley Turnpike; the other branch led to the juncture of the two forks of the

Shenandoah River, at present-day Front Royal. From there, the Indian Road followed the South Fork of the Shenandoah River, in what was to become Page County, passing the present sites of Luray and Port Republic (Couper, 1952; Wayland, 1989). The location of the Indian Road in the project area may coincide generally with a later colonial road, discussed below.

Colonial roads and road orders

As colonial settlement increased, demand for more and better roads increased as well. Indian paths and early trails were widened and, sometimes, shifted around steep grades to accommodate wagon travel. Most of Virginia's colonial roads were county roads, under the control of the county court. The colonial county court consisted of a panel of "Gentleman Justices" who were substantial landowners. The county court met monthly and handled legal disputes, as well as other county business, including citizen's welfare. The court acted, in effect, "as a combination of the modern District and Circuit courts, Board of Supervisors, Social Services Department and Department of Transportation" (Miller, 1999).

Establishing and maintaining their county's public roads were critical colonial court functions. Local residents petitioned the court for new roads. The court appointed "viewers" to determine if a road was necessary and feasible and, if so, to mark a route. Each new road was opened and maintained by an Overseer of the Highways, appointed annually by the court. The Overseer was usually assigned "Labouring Male Titheables," or able-bodied males over the age of 16, living on or near the road, to build and keep the road. The Titheables furnished their own tools, wagons and teams, and were required to work for six days annually on the roads. Only a few individuals—ferrykeepers, tavernkeepers, mariners, and holders of particular county offices—were exempt (Miller, 1999).

Colonial county court records relating to the establishment and maintenance of roadways are known collectively as "road orders." Typically, road orders delineated routes by listing adjacent landowners, dwellings by owners' names, other buildings, churches, towns, and natural features. Research in such records, however, will not permit the documentation of the exact route of an early road. Rather, the orders, even when combined with rare extant plats or maps, at best only suggest the historic *corridor* (Miller, 1999).

"East of the Blue Ridge, the major roads ran northwest from Tidewater to the mountains. Roads (as opposed to trails, which may have existed earlier) were cleared through many of the major gaps in the Blue Ridge between the late 1730s and the mid-1740s. The major road in the Valley, of course, was the Great Road (or Indian Road, or Wagon Road, etc.), in the modern Route 11 corridor. The ancestors of Route 340 were roads that served the area west of the Blue Ridge and east of Massanutten and the North Mountain. In many cases, they apparently

served as north/south connectors to the east/west routes that crossed the Blue Ridge and then ran west towards the Great Road" (Miller, 1999).

It is noted that modern Page and Warren counties were part of Orange County from 1734 until the mid-1740s. They became part of Frederick County in 1743 and Augusta County in 1745. The original Augusta/ Frederick County line, established through the 1738 enabling act, ran through the Front Royal area; with the redefining of the Fairfax Proprietary, the line was adjusted south of Luray in 1745/6 (Miller, 1999).

Local historian Harry Strickler has identified the ancestor of U.S. Highway 211 as probably being the oldest road in Page County. Its colonial counterpart was established by an order of the Orange County Court in 1740. Two Massanutten settlers, Abram Strickler and Philip Lung (Long) were ordered to supervise the construction of the road. The road was to go from Smith's Creek across Buffalo Mountains (Massanutten) to the mouth of Massanutten Creek, then over the Blue Ridge to Mr. Thornton's mill, probably located near Sperryville (Strickler, 1974).

Miller's research on colonial roads in the project area

Ann Miller, of the Virginia Transportation Research Council, describes the modern Route 340 corridor through Page and Warren counties as a series of older road corridors, part, but not all of which, date back to the first half of the 18th century. The Virginia Transportation Research Council is still documenting road order evidence for the Shenandoah Valley. However, sufficient work has been done to identify the present Route 340 corridor with "the road from Massanutten to Caleb Job's mill" (order to view, 1743). The Council has traced the old route to the present Route 340 Business corridor through Alma, Stanley and Luray, and then north to Rileyville. From Rileyville to the Bentonville area, the identification of the present 340 corridor as a colonial route is uncertain. From Bentonville north, the 340 corridor can be identified with "the road from Job's Mill to Frederick County line" (order to view, 1745; order to clear, 1746; Caleb Job's [or Jones's] Mill was located near Overall at the modern Page/Warren county line) (Miller, 1999). Miller states that the early road came through Front Royal about a mile west of its present route, and apparently ran in or near the present railroad route. From Front Royal north to Double Tollgate, the present 340/522 corridor is roughly equivalent to the corridor of "Jost Hite's Road" (initial road order of 1737; established by 1742) (Miller, 1999).

O'Dell's research on colonial roads in project area

Cecil O'Dell has exhaustively researched the early pioneers of old Frederick County, Virginia, plowing through and recording early land ownership, an area at a time. O'Dell was trying to trace an ancestor who settled in old Frederick County during the period when the Hite/Fairfax suit shut down legal land transfers in the Fairfax grant lands from 1730 until 1745. The boundaries of old Frederick County encompassed the 12 modern counties of Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Mineral, Hardy, and Grant counties in West Virginia and Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Shenandoah and Page counties in Virginia. Based on that research, O'Dell has compiled a chapter on the early roads of Frederick County in his book, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County*, *Virginia* (1995).

O'Dell's work is enhanced by that of surveyor Galtjo L. Geertsema, who had previously completed considerable work in establishing the boundaries of Fairfax era land grants in old Frederick County. Geertsema drew up maps reflecting land ownership of the period, which culminated in a map of old Frederick County emphasizing the period from 1725 to 1745. Geertsema's land ownership maps and a portion of his Frederick County map are attached (O'Dell, 1995, Maps II, III, IV, V).

Colonial road orders for the project area

Accurately identifying the route of the colonial ancestor to Route 340 in Page and Warren counties is limited by two factors: (1) what O'Dell described as the "fragmented" Orange and Augusta county court road orders for the section running south from the 1743 Frederick/ Augusta line (line indicated just south of Front Royal; see O'Dell, Map II), and (2) the size of the tracts the road crossed, suggesting only the most general route. The following pertinent road orders have been identified:

- 25 November 1743. Orange County Court ordered Robert MacKay, Caleb Job, and James Leith to view and lay off the road from Massanutten (Luray area) to Caleb Job's Mill (Overall on Overall Run) (Orange County Order Book 4: 30; O'Dell, 1995).
- 22 March 1743/44. Court appointed Robert McKay to serve as overseer of this section of the road and ordered that Philip Long "with his gang help clear the same." The court directed their overseers to divide their gangs after the road was cleared. Philip Long lived on an 850- acre tract at Alma, Page County (Orange County Order Book 4: 59; O'Dell, 1995, Map IV, Tract 111E).
- 28 June 1745. Orange County Court ordered Adam Cunningham, James McCoy and George Leith to view the way from Job's Mill to the Frederick County line; apparently the court had made the order earlier, but the work had not been performed. All three men lived between present-day Overall and Bentonville. The Orange County Court referred to this road from the county line to Philip Long's place at Alma (Map IV, Tract 111E) as "The Road through Augusta [County] called the Indian Road" (Orange County Order Book 4: 373, 441; O'Dell, 1995).

• 18 March 1746/47. Augusta County Court ordered the following men to work on the Road "from Caleb Jobs Mill down (north) to the County line (Frederick)": James McKay, Moses McKay, Henry Harding, John Hill, Philip Crume, Thomas Land, William Hurst, Thomas Burk, William Harrel, Thomas Grubbs, William Hawkins, Zachery McCay, Joshua Job, James McNeal, Adam Cunningham, Jacob Harrill, Charles Coxe, Charles Burk, Ephrm. Leeth and Caleb Job. (Augusta County Order Book 1: 168; O'Dell, 1995).

None of the colonial road orders gives specific location references.

Colonial land surveys for the project area

O'Dell's chapter on early roads traces, from north to south, Jost Hite's Road from present-day Jefferson County, West Virginia, to Winchester, Virginia, through Front Royal, then down to Luray/Alma. South of Front Royal, between the 1738 Frederick-Augusta County line and present-day Overall, the road was called the Caleb Job's Mill to Frederick County Line Road. From Overall south to Luray/Alma, the road was called the Massanutten to Caleb Job's Road (O'Dell, 1995, Maps II, III, IV). O'Dell and Geertsema used early land survey references to plot the probable path of the Jost Hite/Caleb Job's Mill Road. Jost Hite's Road went from Winchester to Front Royal, where it "proceeded on U.S. Highway 340 south through" the latter town. Then, "the road crossed Thomas Chester's 3,650-acre December 17, 1735 patent land (Tracts 150A/B/B-1/C/D/E, Map II) and continued across William Russell's 1,000-acre December 17, 1735 patent land (Tract 151, Map II) to Limeton, Warren County, Virginia" (O'Dell, 1995).

From Limeton, O'Dell states that "This road is not recorded on any land surveys until approximately 1½ miles south of Rileyville, Page County, where the surveyor for Charles Whitson's 365-acre Fairfax grant land (Tract P-53, Map III) noted that in 1768 the road crossed the south property line near the southwest corner. U.S. Highway 340 follows that route today. At present-day Overall, Virginia, Caleb Job's Mill was probably located near the mouth of Overall/Caleb Job's Mill Run close to where today's U.S. Highway 340 runs" (O'Dell, 1995).

"Exiting Whitson's tract, the road crossed Henry Nelson's 140-acre Fairfax grant land in 1757, as recorded by the surveyor. This tract was called the Race Ground, perhaps as a result of horse races taking place there. (Tract K-440, Map III) The road then crossed George Leith's 250-acre and 434-acre Fairfax grant land at Big Spring... (Tracts H-183& Q-210, Map III, attached) Leith operated a mill located where U.S. Highway 340 runs along and across Big Spring Branch" (O'Dell, 1995).

"South from Leith's tract, the road is not mentioned on any surveys but it probably ran on or near U.S. Highway 340 to Luray, Page County, Virginia where it crossed Peter Ruffner's 900-acre tract (Tract 141C, Map IV)" (O'Dell, 1995).

Plotting the tracts O'Dell has cited above on Geertsema's three maps (II, III, IV) illustrates that the colonial land records provide only a very wide and general corridor for the colonial predecessor of Route 340.

Changing roads

The colonial roads described above have changed continually over time. Sections of early dirt roads were frequently moved to avoid mud holes and areas as they washed out, or for better routes. Many early roads had "winter" and "summer" routes, each suited to their respective seasons. Additionally, "existing road traces may represent routes of various time periods, and should not routinely be taken as evidence of the earliest road" (Miller, 1999).

O'Dell noted an instance of early dissatisfaction with the Route 340 ancestor road. Inhabitants on the north side of the South Shenandoah River petitioned the Augusta County Court in 1750/51, complaining that the road ordered three years earlier, on the east side of the Shenandoah, from Caleb Job's plantation to James McKay's, "is not suitable" and asked the court to "prepare a location on the North side crossing the river at a place called Brush Bottom Ford". The same petition referred to the road north from Gooney Run "being too difficult for wagons because of the large hills. Therefore, it was necessary for the road to bypass this hilly terrain. The petitioned road would have needed to extend farther north than Robert McKay's tract and then return to [present-day] U.S. Highway 340 at Front Royal in order to bypass the area of large hills" (Augusta County Order Book 2: 571; O'Dell, 1995). Such an adjustment was the beginning of a pattern of realigning and upgrading the road to meet the changing needs and demands of travelers over time.

Turnpike era

The older transportation corridors continued to be used over the years. Eventually, however, the county court system broke down, causing Virginia's road legislation to develop along two widely divergent paths, each chiefly dependent upon sectional influences.

In the western half of the state, where roads did not connect large commercial centers, where capital was scarce, and where the construction of even the more simple mountain roads proved to be a difficult task, there was little opportunity for the formation of privately funded turnpike companies. As a result, the state was heavily involved in financing turnpikes in the western part of the state. "The turnpike movement manifested itself in two successive waves, the first one long and shallow, reaching from about 1816 to the 1840's, the second

one building high and fast after 1848, and descending rapidly after 1854 (Hunter, 1957).

At least two early roads were utilized as turnpikes in modern-day Page and Warren counties during the second wave: the ancestor road of U.S. 211, which Strickler has identified as the oldest road in Page County, and the ancestor road of Route 340. Those two roads were known as the New Market and Sperryville Turnpike and the Luray and Front Royal Turnpike respectively. It was fairly common for portions of earlier roads to become turnpike routes (Miller, 1999).

Page County is known to have had at least five turnpikes that survived into the twentieth century. The New Market and Sperryville Turnpike Company was chartered March 6, 1848; that roadway continued to be the main east-west access into and through Page County, along the approximate route of present-day Route 211 (Strickler, 1974). The road is labeled 167 on the 1928 Department of Highways turnpike map.

A second, the Blue Ridge Turnpike (labeled 24 on the 1928 map), crossed the mountains to the east, then intersected the New Market-Sperryville pike from the south, west of Luray.

The third, the Luray and Front Royal Turnpike, the ancestor road of modern Route 340, was chartered March 31, 1851. The cost of the north-south turnpike was not to exceed \$400 per mile, and the company was not required to apply gravel to the roadway, nor to make a summer or side road. An area 30' wide was cleared; the roadway was constructed to be 18' wide, and there were to be no grades greater than 4 degrees. Capital stock was increased \$30,000 to extend the Luray-Front Royal turnpike to Conrad's Store (Elkton) on the Rockingham Turnpike, and was also increased \$10,000 to maintain parts of the road between Front Royal and Luray (Strickler, 1974). The Luray and Front Royal turnpike is labeled 131 on the 1928 turnpike map.

A fourth turnpike was established by the Luray and Hardy Turnpike Company April 2, 1858, "to build a road from Luray, via Bixler's Ferry, Caroline Furnace and on westward" (Strickler, 1974). The road is labeled 132 on the 1928 turnpike map.

The fifth known Page County turnpike to survive into the twentieth century was the Thornton's Gap-Staunton turnpike, labeled 224 on the 1928 turnpike map. Stickler believed this pike coincided with the New Market and Gordonsville turnpike, which "left the New Market-Sperryville Pike at Intersection at the eastern foot of the Massanutten Mountain and passed over the Columbia Bridge at Alma and on through Stanley and through Fisher's Gap" (Strickler, 1974). However, the "New Market and Gordonsville turnpike" was a popular name for the Blue Ridge Turnpike (covered elsewhere in this report).

The 1928 turnpike map shows the five turnpikes that Strickler has described in Page County, as well as six more turnpikes in Warren County that survived into the twentieth century. Those turnpikes, their map numbers as indicated on the 1928 turnpike map, and their widths are listed below:

Page County:

- 131 Luray-Front Royal, 60'
- Luray-Hardy, 60'
- New-Market-Sperryville, 40'
- Thornton's Gap-Staunton, 60'
- 24 Blue Ridge, 40'

Warren County:

- 36 Buckton, 60'
- 84 Front Royal-Winchester, 60'
- 229 Valley-Shenandoah, 60'
- 47 Clarke-Warren, 60'
- Thoroughfare, 45'
- Front Royal-Gaines Cross Roads, 35'

Civil War and Postbellum maps

A copy of a Civil War era map with a 10-mile section of the Front Royal & Luray Turnpike shows the ancestor of present-day Route 340 from an intersecting road to "Jo Burners," then on north past Gooney Run. The current Bentonville U.S.G.S. quad map is roughly the same scale and depicts the same area. Comparing the two shows a large degree of difference in the alignments. The turnpike-Civil War alignment jogged back and forth, following natural contours closely; the modern alignment, by contrast, is a relatively smooth line, approximating a straight line from Overall to Gooney Run.

The 1885 Hammond's atlas shows how the routes of the old north-south roads in the project area, from Overall south to Luray differed significantly from the alignment of modern Route 340. Again, the old alignment followed natural contours closely and the modern alignment is much smoother, with many cuts and fills. A U.S.G.S. quad map from 1905, on a more condensed scale, clearly shows the more meandering route of Route 340's ancestor road.

Modern highway department

The invention and proliferation of the automobile and modern power equipment brought about the "radical reworking of older roads." "Many older roads, including the predecessor to Route 340, underwent major reengineering in the first half of the 20th century" (Miller, 1995). Cross-sections showing the 1932 cuts have been destroyed, but the plansheets, with the old roadway colored red and the new colored green, show the great degree of realignment.

Approximately 66 percent of the roadway from Luray's northern city limit to Front Royal's southern limit was moved to new alignment when modern Route 340 was completed in the late 1930s. The estimation is a conservative one: any realignment adjacent to the old roadway or closely parallel to it is counted as being on the same alignment; a copy of the estimate sheet is attached to the plan.

Significance

National Register Bulletin 15, How to Apply the NR Criteria for Evaluation, says that a property's significance must be examined within its historic context. To do that, five things must be determined:

- 1. The facet of history at the appropriate level (local, state, national) that the property represents
- 2. Whether that facet of history is significant
- 3. Whether it is a type of property that has relevance or importance in illustrating the context
- 4. How the property illustrates that history
- 5. Whether the property possesses the physical features necessary to convey the aspect of history with which it is associated

The predecessor roads of modern Route 340 clearly meet the first three criteria. The roads were significant at the local/state level from the early eighteenth century into the early twentieth century, as an historic transportation corridor through the agriculturally rich Page Valley. The narrow constriction of the Page Valley virtually ensured the roads' significance—they were the primary historic north-south access into and through the Page Valley.

Integrity

The evaluation of significance of modern Route 340 is substantially weakened, however, by the last two criteria, which address integrity: how the present road illustrates that history and whether it possesses the physical features necessary to convey its history.

National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes, gives some direction in assessing the integrity of roadways. The following changes, when occurring after the period of significance, may reduce the historic integrity of a rural landscape:

Abandonment and realignment of roadways Widening and resurfacing of historic roadways Replacement of structures

Changes in land use and management that alter vegetation, change the size and shape of fields, erase boundary demarcations, and flatten the contours of the land Introduction of non-historic land uses

Deterioration, abandonment of historic buildings Substantial alteration of buildings and structures Construction of new buildings and structures Disturbance of archaeological sites

It is the opinion of VDOT that the period of significance for the predecessors of Route 340 is from the early 18th century into the early twentieth century; that the modern adaptation is not significant at any level—it is a modern road, like hundreds of others throughout the state.

That said, a number of changes have occurred in the general project area, which have reduced the historic integrity of the rural landscape. Earlier roads have been abandoned and realigned, widened and resurfaced, and older bridges have been replaced. Extensive cuts and fills were made constructing modern Route 340. Land use and management has been altered, but to a minor degree: a few modern garages and convenience stores have been built in modern times. A large number of historic buildings have either deteriorated, been altered or abandoned. The DHR, although they found VDOT's research and documentation "thorough," found the village of Compton ineligible for the National Register. DHR did not "perceive in the community the range, quality, or historic homogeneity of resources that may define a district with a distinctive sense of historic time and place" (DHR letter to VDOT dated January 14, 2000). Compared to the survival rates of historic properties along the rest of the project area, Compton has a number of intact historic resources.

National Register Bulletin 30 offers specific guidance on evaluating roads for the National Register. The bulletin directs that "trails and roads require verification that the land nominated be the actual location of the trail" although the "loss or relocation of a few features usually does not affect a rural property's overall historic integrity." The repeated loss does, however, and that loss is well illustrated on the 1932 Route 340 plansheets, included and described above.

National Register Bulletin 15 provides the most succinct and germane guidance on integrity. The bulletin says that "ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the identity for which it is significant" and suggests that a basic integrity test for a property "is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today." Given the number and degree of changes over the years, a historical contemporary would be at a loss to identify any relationship Route 340 has to its ancestor roads.

The present Route 340 is not eligible for the National Register. It does not retain integrity of original or historic location, design, natural or manmade setting, materials, workmanship, or feeling. The only aspect of its integrity that remains intact is its association with its historic forebears. That alone is not sufficient to qualify the road for listing in the National Register.

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Commentary/Evaluation

The HSTG believes that Ms. Houston's extensive background research consolidates the evidence that the present Route 340 does not represent an 18th century route. The 18th century route no longer exists in a coherent form; it also did not conform to present Route 340. Accordingly, it was decided to evaluate Route 340 with a period of significance of the 1930s (the decade during which the present road was constructed), and not as an evolved 18th century road.

Although modern Route 340 has good integrity, it is lacking in sufficient significance to justify individual eligibility for the National Register. In both its design/materials and history, Route 340 is unremarkable: it is typical of the many miles of improved road that were being constructed in Virginia during the 1930s.

Route 340 in Page and Warren counties was evaluated by the HSTG on April 2, 2002, with the following results:

1. Property Type: Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: 1930s Level of Significance: State Adequacy of Existing Survey: B

3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 1 (context = 1930s' road; statewide context: very common)

2. Integrity:
Association: 3
Design: 3
Feeling: 3
Location: 2
Materials: 3
Setting: 2

Workmanship: 3

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 2

4. Historical Associative Value

Criterion A/History: 2 Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 2

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points: None

Score: 26

Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register.

Route 5

(Henrico, Charles City, and James City counties)

Historical Background

Route 5 is an attractive road, with overhanging trees and historic plantations along it, and has been designated a Virginia Byway. However, it does not itself represent a single early road. Because of its attractive appearance and the numerous historic resources located near it, Route 5 is often assumed to be (and has been frequently stated to be in popular histories and tourism publications) an ancient and important route that was a primary connection between Richmond and Williamsburg. As a perusal of early maps will reveal, the road that was the predecessor of Route 60, running down the spine of the peninsula on the north of the Chickahominy River, was actually the older coherent road between Richmond and Williamsburg.

Present-day Route 5 represents the early to mid-20th century joining together of various local roads. Some sections of these roads had their origins in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, the earlier roads did not represent a single, major, coherent road but rather were a series of discontinuous, and largely minor, county roads that provided inland connections between farms, public buildings, ferries (and later steamboat landings), and settlements for which water transportation was the primary—and preferred—mode of transport.

A strong spotlight was put on the Virginia Tidewater by the initiation of the Colonial Williamsburg restoration and the related rise on tourism to Virginia's historic sites in the 1930s and 1940s. By the time that Elizabeth Valentine Huntley's *Peninsula Pilgrimage* was published in 1941 (the book concentrated on the historic sites of Richmond, the Middle Peninsula—between the York and James rivers—and on the south bank of the James River), Route 5 was being represented as the "Old Indian Trail," running past various historic sites between Richmond and Williamsburg (Huntley, 1941). In his introduction to Mrs. Huntley's book, historian and editor Douglas Southall Freeman wrote floridly in favor of traveling to the historic (largely colonial) sites of the region via what was presented as a scenic, and ancient, trail:

A Delightsome Adventure is offered motorists in the unusual tour Mrs. Huntley describes in this book. Most of those who have visited the Peninsula of Virginia in the past have gone from Richmond to Williamsburg, have enjoyed its restored splendors and, after side trips to Yorktown and to Jamestown, have returned to Richmond by the same main highways. Mrs. Huntley suggests and charmingly illustrates a more interesting route. Past the famous estates and some less known old homes in Henrico and Charles City County, she carries visitors by way of the Old Indian Trail. This road is one of the loveliest in Eastern Virginia. It crosses past broad-acred plantations and winds through woods concerning the beauties of which there is only one question—whether they are more alluring in the myriad greens of spring or in the throne colors of autumn. After the traveler has enjoyed this road, has seen the great mansions of the North bank of the James, and has stood under the eaves of Charles City Courthouse, Mrs. Huntley conducts him down to the Chickahominy River, across the new bridge at Barret's Ford and on to Williamsburg (Huntley, 1941).

Route 5 Plans

The following VDOT project plans (filed in VDOT's central office plan archives) cover the improvements to Route 5 (known as Route 41 in the early 20th century) made between the 1910s and 1960s. The percentage of change between the existing road and the earlier road is also given.

1. Charles City: A0001-001, 003 through 011; project #23

Total net length = 21,875 ft = 4.14 miles

No date or chief engineer given; Commissioner is George P. Coleman (therefore the date is between 1913 and 1922)

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 2,900 ft = 0.550 mile (13.3% deviation)

2. Charles City: A1221-001, 004 through 008; from 5.812 miles west of Barretts Ferry to 3.796 miles west of Barretts Ferry; project #794-C Route 5

Total net length = 10,642.1 ft = 2.016 miles

No date given

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = less than 1%

3. Charles City: A3289-001, 004 through 010; from 3.796 miles west of Barretts Ferry to Barretts Ferry; projects #794 A-1, A-2, and A-3

Total net length = 20,040.4 ft = 3.7955 miles

No date given

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 400 ft = 0.0760 mile (2% deviation)

4. Charles City and James City Counties: A0937-001, 004 through 014; from 1.763 miles east of Chickahominy River to 3.976 miles west of Chickahominy River; project #794 A, Route 5 (marked as Route 41, which is crossed out on the cover page and remarked as Route 5)

Total net length = 30,300 ft = 5.739 miles

Approved April 13, 1933

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 4,600 ft = 0.871 mile (15.18% deviation)

5. Charles City: A2814-001, 003; bridges and approaches at Kimages Creek; project SC-1509A-Route 5

Total net length = 2,000 ft = 0.379 mile

Approved January 10, 1936

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 600 ft = 0.110 mile (30% deviation)

6. James City County: A2170-001, 005 through 017; from Barretts Ferry to 6.6622 miles east of Barretts Ferry (also a bridge over Powhatan Creek); project #794 Total net length = 35,176.9 ft = 6.6622 miles

Approved: February 26, 1936 Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 8,200 ft = 1.55 miles (23.31% deviation)

7. Charles City and James City counties: A2617-001, 004, 005; bridge/approaches Chickahominy River at Barretts Ferry; project #794-E Route 5

Total net length = 3,104.2 ft = 0.588 mile

Approved November 15, 1938

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 1,200 ft = 0.230 mile (39.12% deviation)

- 8. Henrico County: A2212-001, 005 through 012; from 5.403 miles east of E.C.L. Richmond to 8.810 miles east of E.C.L. Richmond; project #1221C Route 5 (One Mile Run)
 - a. Total net length = 17,991.6 ft = 3.408 miles
 - b. Approved: January 24, 1940
 - c. Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen
 - d. Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 6,050 ft = 1.15 miles (33.62% deviation)
- 9. Henrico County: A2210-001, 006 through 015; from 1.027 miles east of E.C.L. of Richmond to 5.403 miles east of E.C.L. of Richmond (Wilton Creek); project #1221-A Route 5
 - a. Total net length = 23,108.4 ft = 4.376 miles
 - b. Approved: March 30, 1940
 - c. Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen
 - d. Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 7,650 ft = 1.45 miles (33.12 % deviation)
- 10. Henrico County: A1881-001, 005, 006, 008 through 010; from 0.030 mile west of E.C.L. of Richmond to 1.479 miles east of E.C.L. of Richmond (Int. Route 5); projects #1221M-1 (Route 146), #1221-D (Route 146), #1221E-1 (Route 5)

Total net length of project #1221-E-1 = 1,900 ft = 0.360 mile

Approved: March 7, 1941

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 700 ft = 0.130 mile (36.1% deviation)

11. Charles City: A5369-001, 004 through 006; from 2.273 miles east of Charles City Court House to 3.466 miles east of Charles City Court House; project 794F Route 5 Total net length = 6,300 ft = 1.193 miles

Approved October 4, 1948

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 3,100 ft = 0.590 mile (49.5% deviation)

12. Henrico and Charles City counties: A3686-001, 005 through 014; from 8.810 miles east of E.C.L. of Richmond to 0.355 mile east of Henrico-Charles City County Line; projects #2543-01, #2543-02 (bridge over Baileys Creek), #2543-03 (bridge over Turkey Island Creek), #2518-01

Total net length = 25,179.76 ft = 4.768 miles

Approved: October 5, 1949 Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 7,500 ft = 1.42 miles (29.8% deviation)

13. Charles City: A3687-001, 005 through 013; from 0.355 mile east of Henrico-Charles City Co. Line to 4.945 miles east of Henrico-Charles City Co. Line; project #2518-02 Route 5

Total net length = 24,237 ft = 4.590 miles

Approved March 4, 1950

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen

Total deviation from existing Route $5 = 4{,}175$ ft = 0.800 mile (17.4% deviation)

14. Charles City: A4526-001, 006 through 015; from 4.945 miles east of Henrico-Charles City Co. Line to 10.010 miles east of Henrico-Charles City Co. Line; projects #2518-04 (bridge over Kimages Creek), 2518-05 (bridge over Herring Creek), 2518-09 (Henrico-Charles City Co. Line), 2518-10 (Henrico-Charles City Co. Line), and 2518-20 (bridge over Herring Creek)

Total net length = 61,279.68 ft = 11.606 miles

Approved March 30, 1950 and July 31, 1952

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen (also Deputy Commissioner)

- a. Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 4,037.5 ft = 0.770 mile (6.64% deviation)
- 15. Charles City: A4523-001, 005 through 013; from 10.010 miles east of Henrico-Charles City Co. Line to 0.041 mils east of Int. of Route 155 (Charles City Court House); projects #2518-07, #2518-11, #2518-13

Total net length = 30,669.12 ft = 5.81 miles

Approved January 27, 1953

Chief Engineer: C. S. Mullen (also Deputy Commissioner)

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 3,800 ft = 0.720 mile (12.4% deviation)

16. James City County: A4233-001, 005 through 012; from 6.643 miles east of Barretts Ferry Bridge to Intersection Route 31; project #2547-01 Route 5

Total net length = 10,575.31 ft = 2.003 miles

Approved: October 22, 1954 Chief Engineer: Burton Marve

Total deviation from existing Route $5 = \pm 9,800$ ft = 1.860 miles (92.7% deviation)

17. Charles City: A5468-001, 005 through 009; from 0.041 mile east Int. Route 155 (Charles City C.H.) to 2.272 miles east of Charles City C.H.; projects #2518-16 (Charles City C.H.), 2518-17 (bridge over Court House Creek), 2518-18 (Parrish Hill Creek)

Total net length = 11,782.18 ft = 2.231 miles

Approved: October 31, 1956

Chief Engineer: (signature illegible)

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 800 ft = 0.152 mile (6.80% deviation)

18. Charles City: A6164-001, 005 through 012; from 3.466 miles east of the Charles City Court House to 0.148 mile east of Int. Route 613; project #0005-018-019

Total net length = 19,873.81 ft = 3.763 miles

Approved April 1, 1957

Chief Engineer: (signature illegible)

Total deviation from existing Route 5 = 2,900 ft = 0.55 mile (14.6% deviation)

The Present-Day Route of Route 5

Henrico County

From just south of Almond Creek to its crossing of Turkey Island Creek into Charles City County, the alignment of Route 5 (New Market Road) appears close to the alignment of the road shown in the 1853 Smith map of Henrico County (*Smith's Henrico County Virginia*, 1853). Only some slight straightening is evident.

Charles City County

Between the 1920s and 1950s, present Route 5 underwent various realignments between the Henrico County line and Charles City Courthouse. Major alterations were made between Charles City Courthouse (which was bypassed in the mid-20th century) and Route 614 (the entire road was moved north of its old location). There were additional changes from Route 614 to the intersection with Route 623 at Rustic. The entire Route 5 road from Rustic east to the Chickahominy River is post-1932. The present Route 5 in this area relates to the construction of the bridge over the Chickhominy River in the late 1930s.

Early U.S.G.S. topographic maps show the location of the various predecessor roads to present Route 5 (U.S. Geological Survey Topographic Map, Toano, 1918; U.S. Geological Survey Topographic Map, Williamsburg, 1906). These maps illustrate the primacy of waterborne transportation in the area, showing several meandering paths to Barret's [Barrett's] Ferry (U.S. Geological Survey Topographic Map, Toano, 1918). The ferry is still operating and is shown on the 1937 state map; the ferry is also mentioned in the Work Projects Administration guide (*Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion*, 1940). Interestingly, the guide notes historic sites along Route 5 but makes no indication that the road itself was considered old or historic.

James City County

East of the Chickhominy River, much of Route 5 runs close to the alignment of the earlier road; only some slight straightening is evident. The exception is the near-complete realignment between present Route 614 and Five Forks.

Commentary/Evaluation

Route 5 became a coherent road only because of 20th century road improvements. Its widely perceived historic significance as an ancient route is illusory. Route 5 has been the subject of considerable mythologizing and romantic stories during the 20th century. During the discussion among the HSTG, the question was raised regarding Route 5: Does myth justify National Register nomination? While recognizing that myth is a powerful aspect of perception and emotion, the HSTG was unable to support assigning significance for this aspect of Route 5. Route 5 in its present form lacks both sufficient significance and integrity to justify individual eligibility for the National Register (although, as noted, the HSTG feels that it would be a contributing element to a potential regional historic district).

Route 5 in Henrico, Charles City, and James City counties was evaluated by the HSTG on April 2, 2002, with the following results:

1. Property Type: Structure: Road

2. Period(s) of Significance: 1920-1952 Level of Significance: State Adequacy of Existing Survey: B

3. Area of Significance: Transportation

Assignment of Basic Points

- 1. Rarity of Property/Resource Type in Context: 1 (context = early to mid-20th century road; statewide context: very common)
- 2. Integrity: Association: 3 Design: 3 Feeling: 3 Location: 2

Materials: 2 Setting: 2

Workmanship: 3

3. Contextual Integrity:

Immediate Surroundings & Associated Resources: 1

4. Historical Associative Value:

Criterion A/History: 4 Criterion B/Person: 0

Criterion C/Architecture/Crafts: 1

Criterion D/Archaeology (Potential Only): 0

Assignment of Extra Points
Visual Prominence as a Landmark: 1

Score: 26

Recommended as not individually eligible for the National Register

Note: The HSTG comments that due to the road's association with historic tourism in the region, a more appropriate measure of this road would be as a contributing element to a Route 5 Historic District in Charles City County.

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