Supplement to Arrivals and Departures: In and Out Migration, Floyd County, Virginia

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in collaboration with:

Anthropology 411, Appalachian Cultures Class
Fall Semester, 2006
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and

Anthropology 493, Practicum in Anthropology Class
Spring Semester, 2007
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Supplement to
Arrivals and Departures:
In and Out Migration,
Floyd County, Virginia

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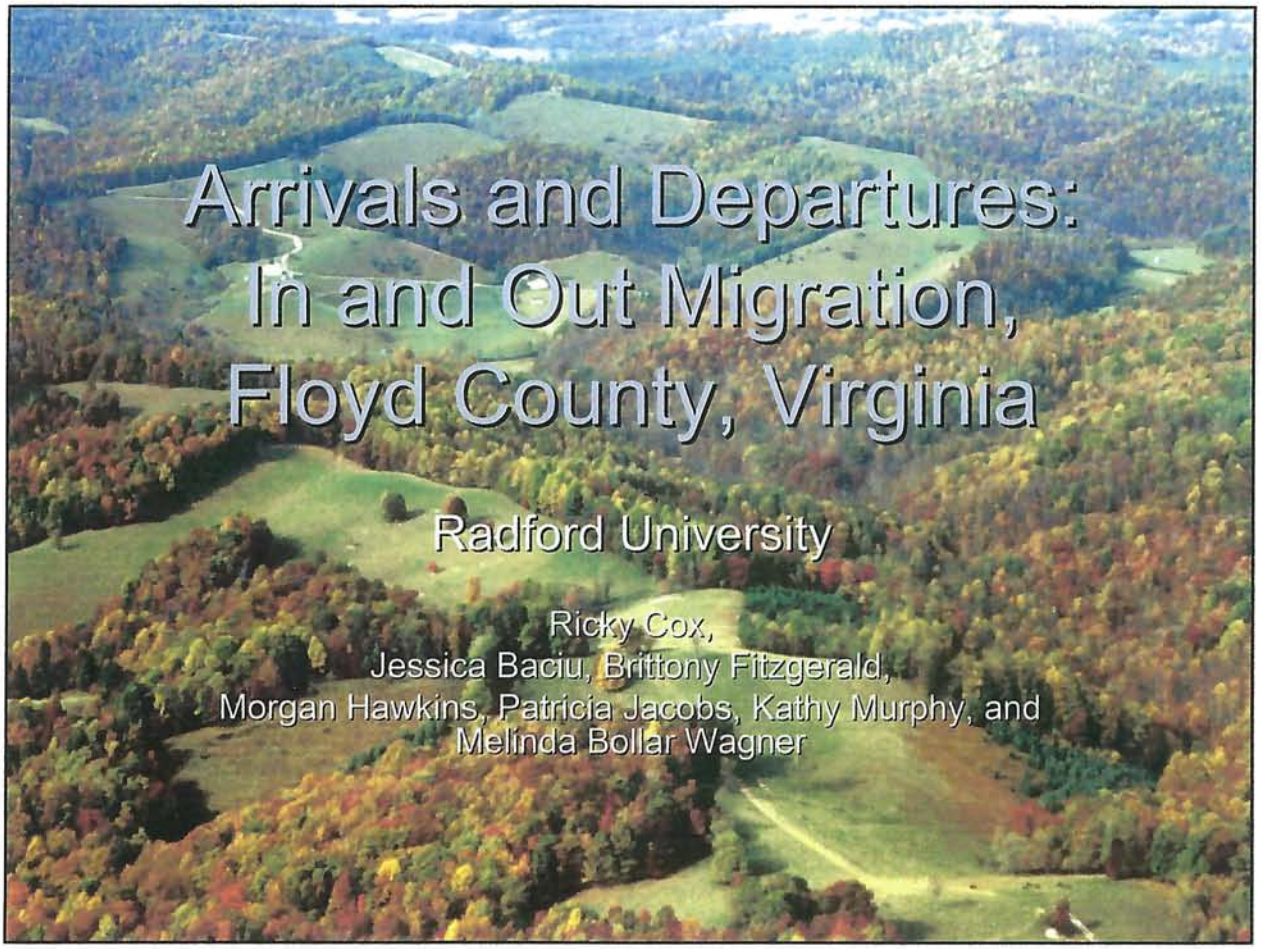
Floyd County Courthouse, January 15, 2006
by Ricky Cox

Arrivals and Departures: In and Out Migration, Floyd County, Virginia
Text Presentation
For the Appalachian Studies Conference, Maryville College,
Maryville, Tennessee, March 23-25, 2007
by Radford University Practicum in Anthropology Class:
Jessica Baciu, Brittony Fitzgerald, Morgan Hawkins, Patricia Jacobs,
Kathy Murphy, and Melinda Bollar Wagner

Arrivals and Departures: In and Out Migration, Floyd County, Virginia

Slide Presentation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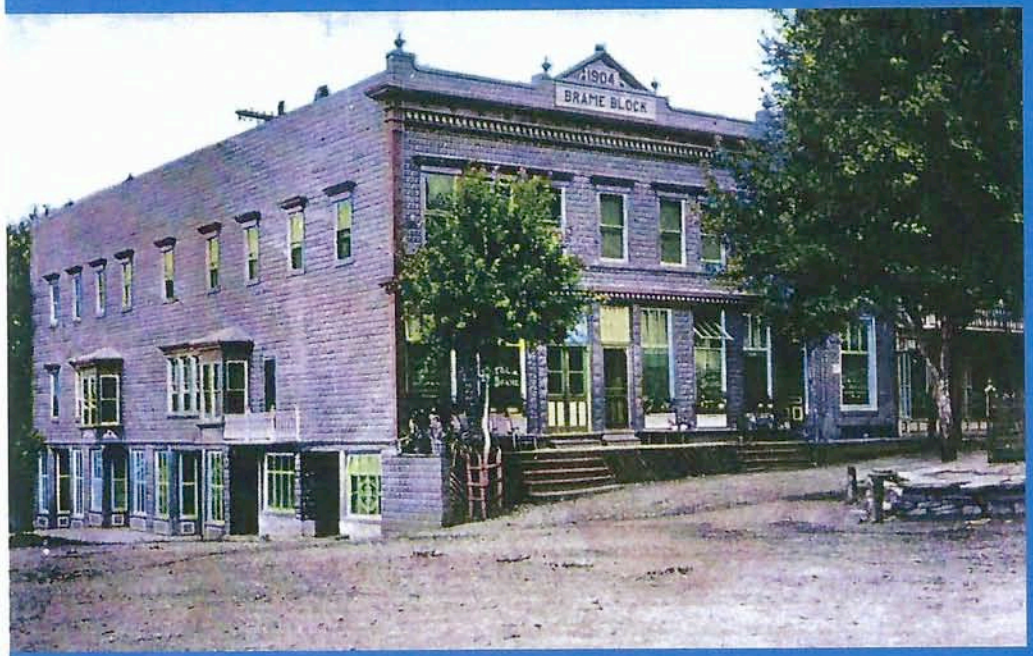
Town of Floyd: Then and Now



Anthropology 411
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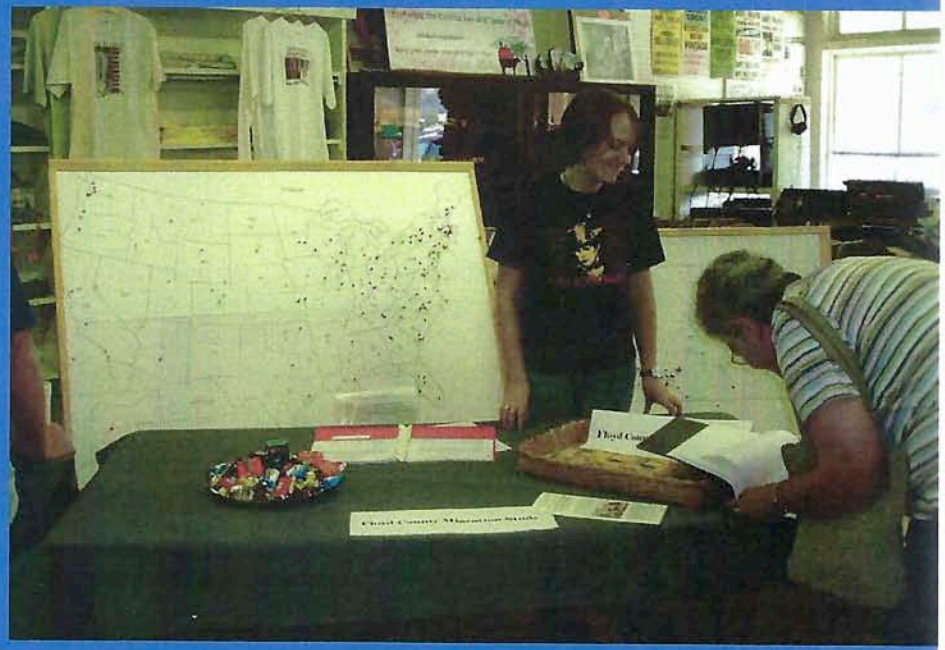
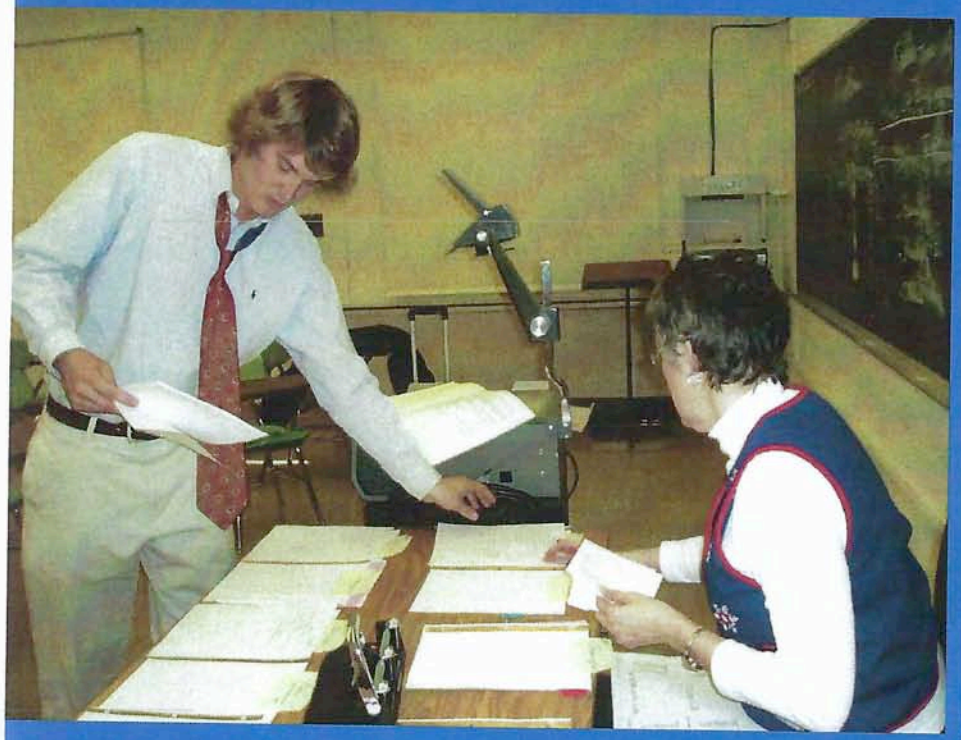


Anthropology 411
Appalachian Cultures Class
work for interviews



Anthropology 493
Practicum in Anthropology Class

Floyd County Register: Raw Data

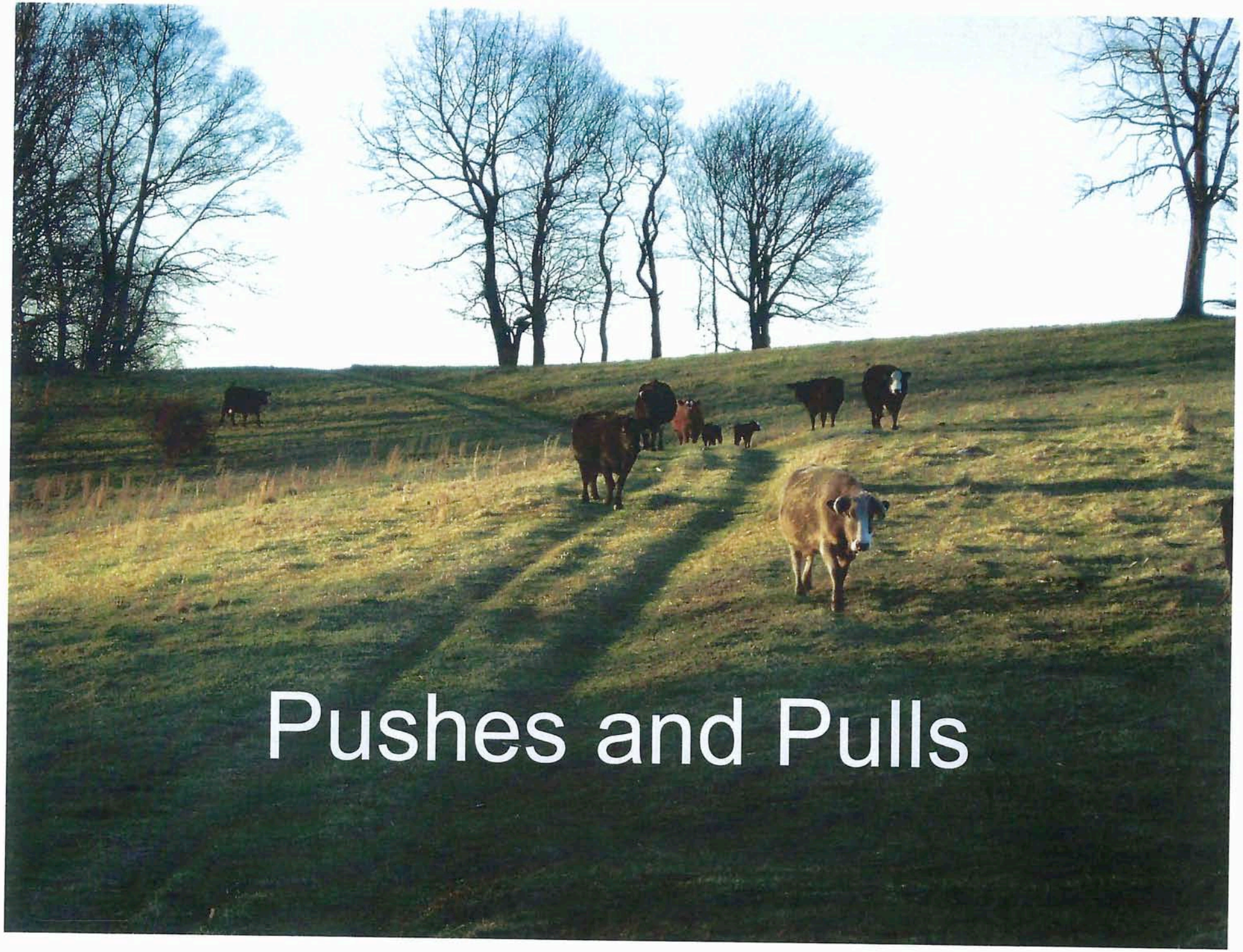
Arrivals and Departures

Today's Date	Pin/Tag Number on Map	Names of People Who *Moved* to or *Left* Floyd County	Place of Origin or Destination	Approx. Date of Move (Year or Decade)	Reason for Coming to or Leaving Floyd County
01/15/06	18	Peter & Sarah Vandenberg	Laurinburg, N.C.	2002	Mountains
1/15/06	21	Jaym Avery	Ithaca, NY	1980	Rural beauty & crafts reputation
1/15/06	034	[illegible] Shoemaker	[illegible], NJ	1997	[illegible]
1/15/06	019	Jennifer McKeown	grew up in Fillmore, Ca.	into Floyd Co. 1995	from Bent Mtn. we fell in love w/ arts & folk.
1/15/06	025	Adriana Moore Gallinas	Bent Mtn.	to 1994 Floyd Co. 1995	[illegible]
1/15/06	031	M.L. Martin Freeland Gordon Martin Freeland	E. Sullivan, N.H. then Bent Mtn.	1995	[illegible]
1/15/06	030	Julie Secounie	Frederick, Maryland	1998 1992 [illegible]	Horse farming business
1/15/06	042	Skip Bishop	Kingsport TN	1969	Teaching/Coach FCHS

* If you have more information than will fit here, PLEASE complete and return a survey form. See page 1.

Floyd County Register: Spreadsheet

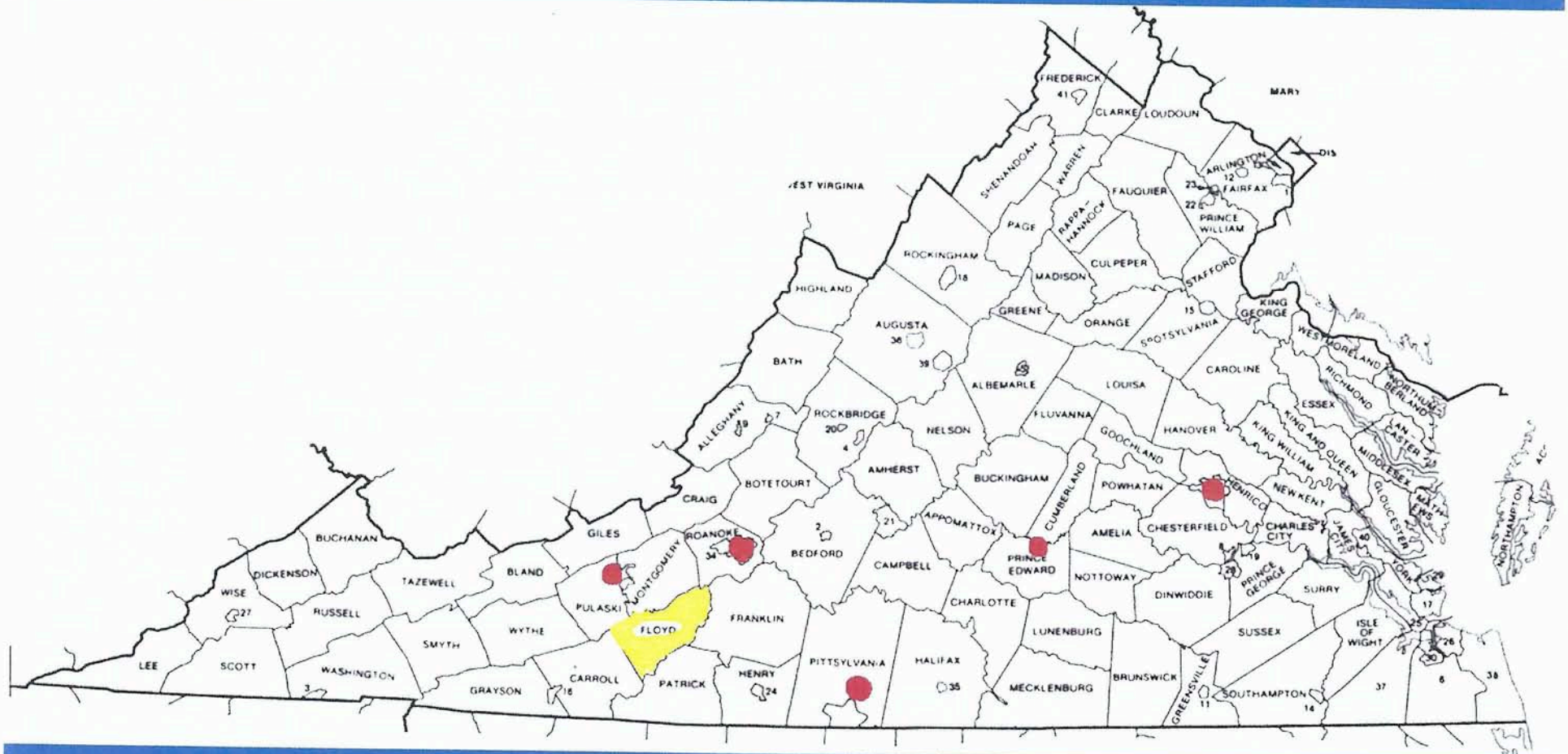
IN/OUT	Date	Name	Place of Origin/Destination	State Code	Approx date of move	Reason for Migration	General Code	Specific Code
IN	July 15, 2006	Ava Nalan Briddley	El Sobroute, CA	CA	2001	to be near family & country ___ also where I grew up	SOC	FAM
IN	July 12, 2006	Mary E Nissley	Gladys, VA (Campbell Co.)	VA	2003		UNS	
IN	August 11, 2006	Mike & Donna Varner	(originally) Bassett, VA; (later) Patrick Co., VA	VA	1998	pastor a church	ECO	JOB
IN	September 15, 2006	D.N. Boowell	?		1971	looking for a farm and a great place to raise children	ECO	FAR
IN	July 27, 2006	Susan Felker	Alexandria, VA	VA	1989	natural beauty of land, crime-free area	AES	


Pushes and Pulls

Themes

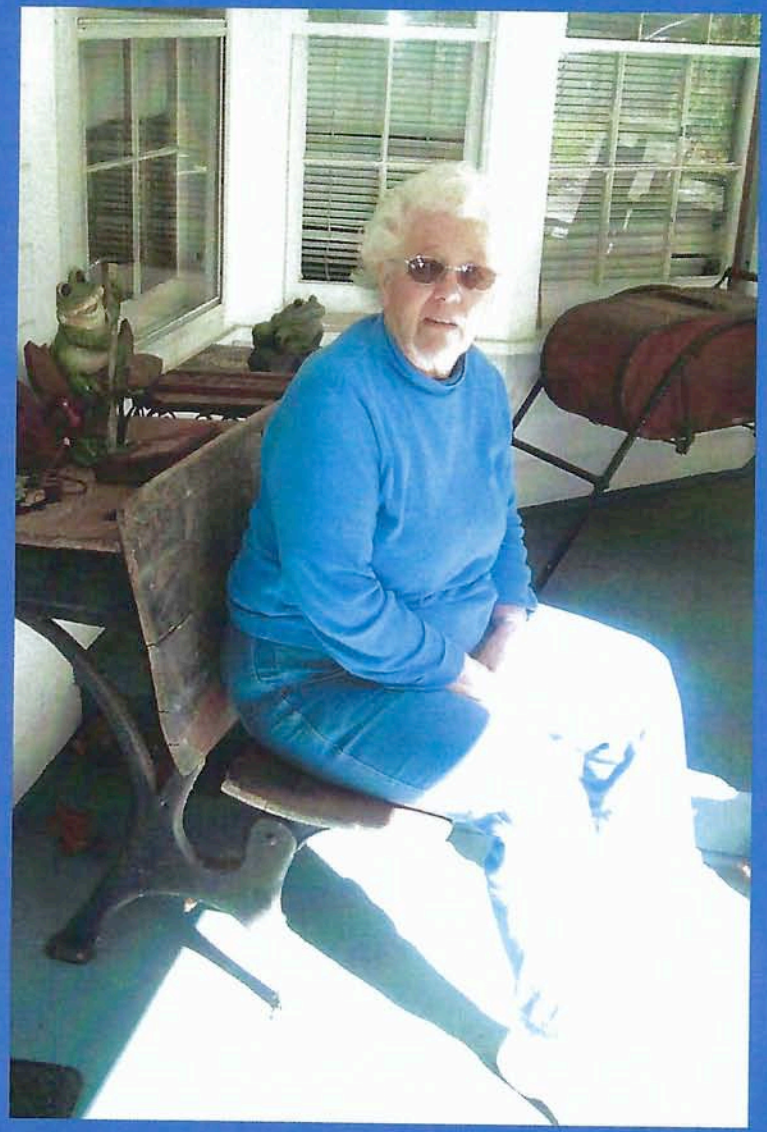
- Kinship Networking
- Gender Differences
- Insiders and Outsiders
- How Migrants Changed

Most Common Destinations in Virginia



Reasons for move from Floyd

- Search for Employment
- Marriage
- Joining family in other areas
- Military
- Seeking to acquire land
- Farming

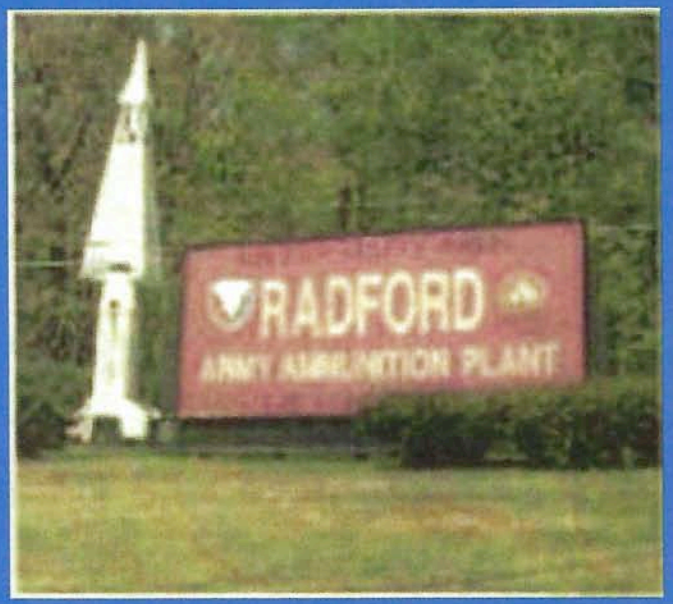


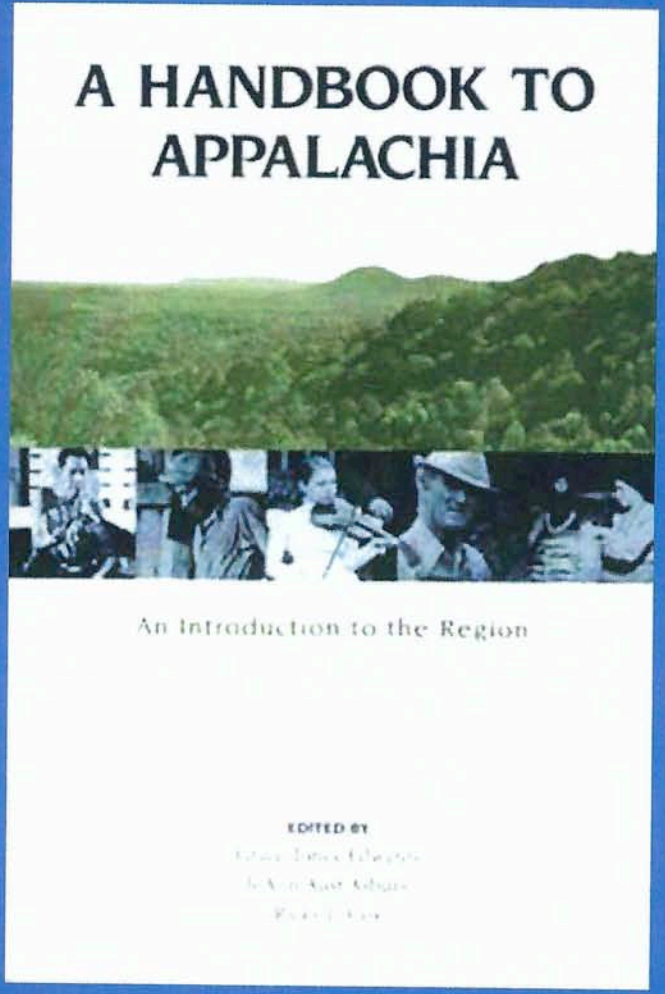
"They left here because they couldn't make a living. There was nothing, absolutely nothing except farming. And very little, you know… It was just hard going."

~Nola Albert

Occupations Acquired Outside of Floyd

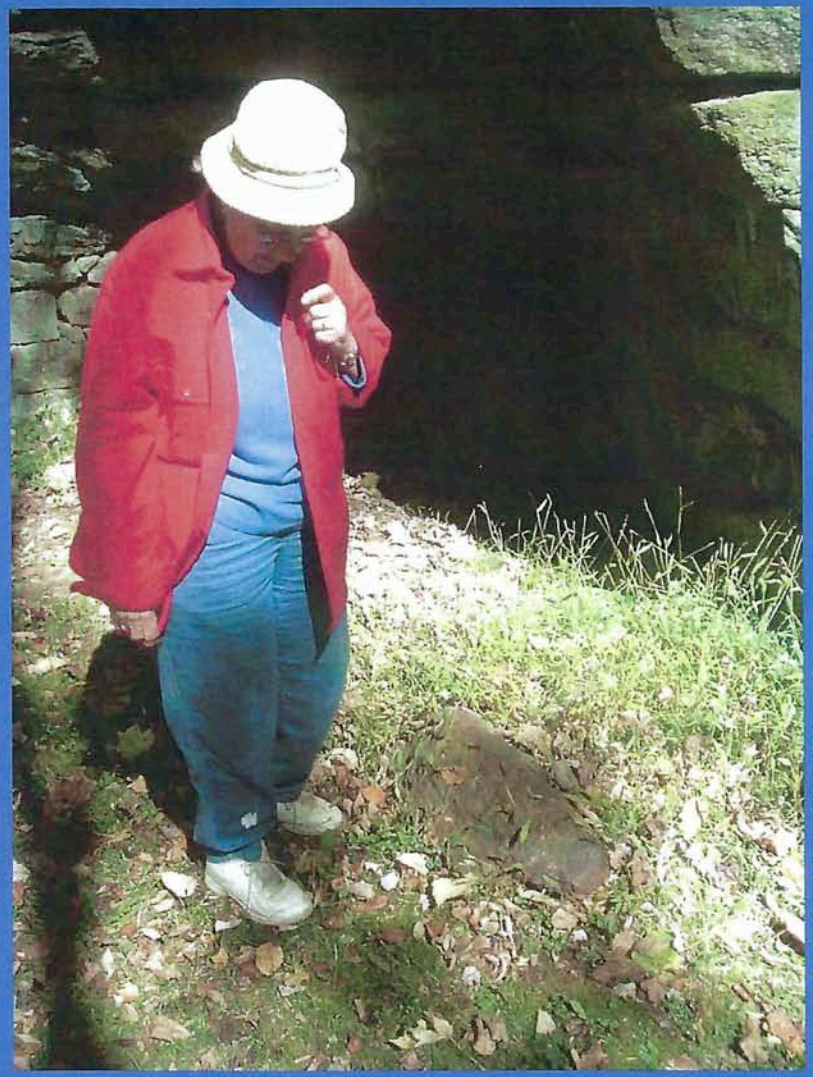
- Textile Mills
- Coal Mines
- Lumber Industry
- Radford Arsenal
- Teaching
- Farming
- Railroad
- Truck Driving





"The Appalachian kinship system has been a highly effective means of relocation for literally millions of mountaineers."

~ Obermiller et al in A Handbook to Appalachia



"He was in contact with… Mr. Whittle, who had gone to Kansas… That's the way he got his word. Mr. Whittle told him… 'If you want a good job, you go to Dodge City, Kansas because… they're building a railroad and they need blacksmiths to sharpen the steel to build the railroad.'"

~Nola Albert

"…And they traveled in family groups… Some of them went to Raleigh County, West Virginia. It was called Little Floyd because there was so many people from here who went there.

They went there to work in the coal mines so they could get enough money to come back and buy a farm in Floyd."

~Judy Blackwell

"… It was springtime and his food he took with him gave out. They had been used to picking wild greens [in] Floyd County. But there was nothing to pick [at their destination in Oklahoma]... They had a burnout and lost everything… The relatives here packed a barrel of dried food and clothing… And a son-in-law took it to Roanoke to the freight station and put in on the train and sent it to them…"

~Effie Brown

"My father's sister answered an advertisement in the paper. This man wanted to correspond with a young lady… He lived in Illinois. So, after quite a long correspondence, he came here [to Floyd]… This was in horse and buggy days… He stayed two weeks and at the end of the two weeks, they decided to get married… [With the transportation of that day] she had no way of getting out and really mingling with people too much. 'Cause her sister had married somebody next door. And maybe there wasn't somebody next door for her."

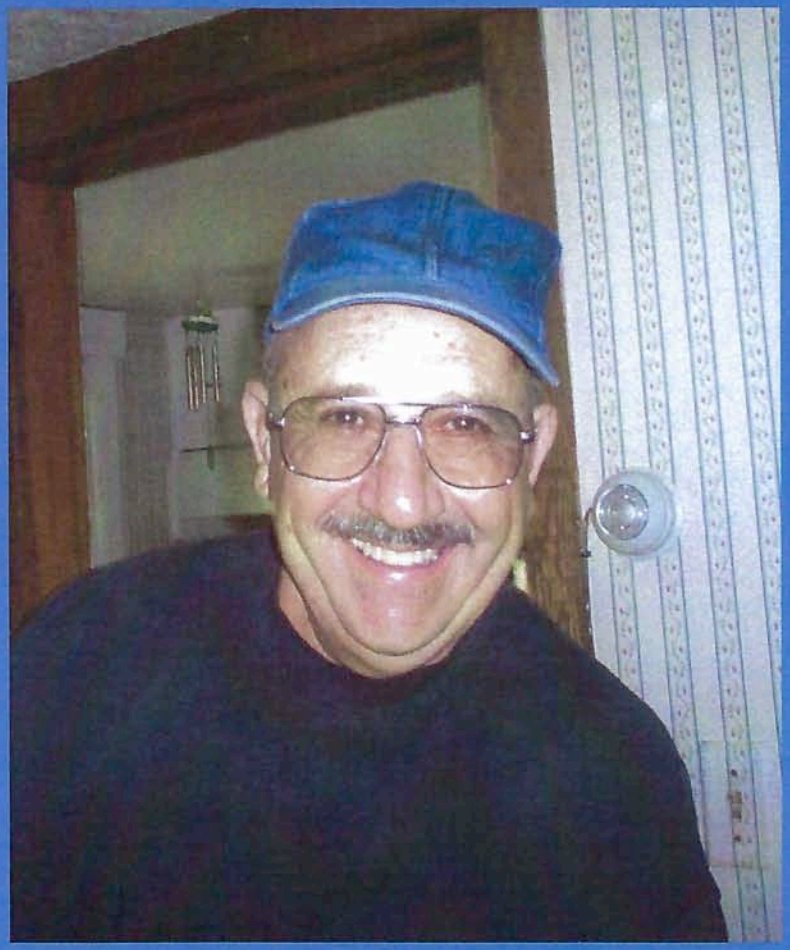
~Effie Brown

Examples of Appalachian Characteristics Described by Loyal Jones

- Religion
- Love of Place
- Hospitality
- Modesty

"No, she was a real Floyd Countian and always remained that way. Humble and friendly and kind. She was a very kind lady."

~Effie Brown



"Oh he's used to the fast pace for sure. He works enough to where he would wear me out. He's a chef in a pastry thing now and he does that extra from what he already does. That's too many things going on at one time to suit me."

~Carlie Spence

"They didn't forget that they had been born here, and that they were raised here. I think their hearts were still here."

~Judy Blackwell

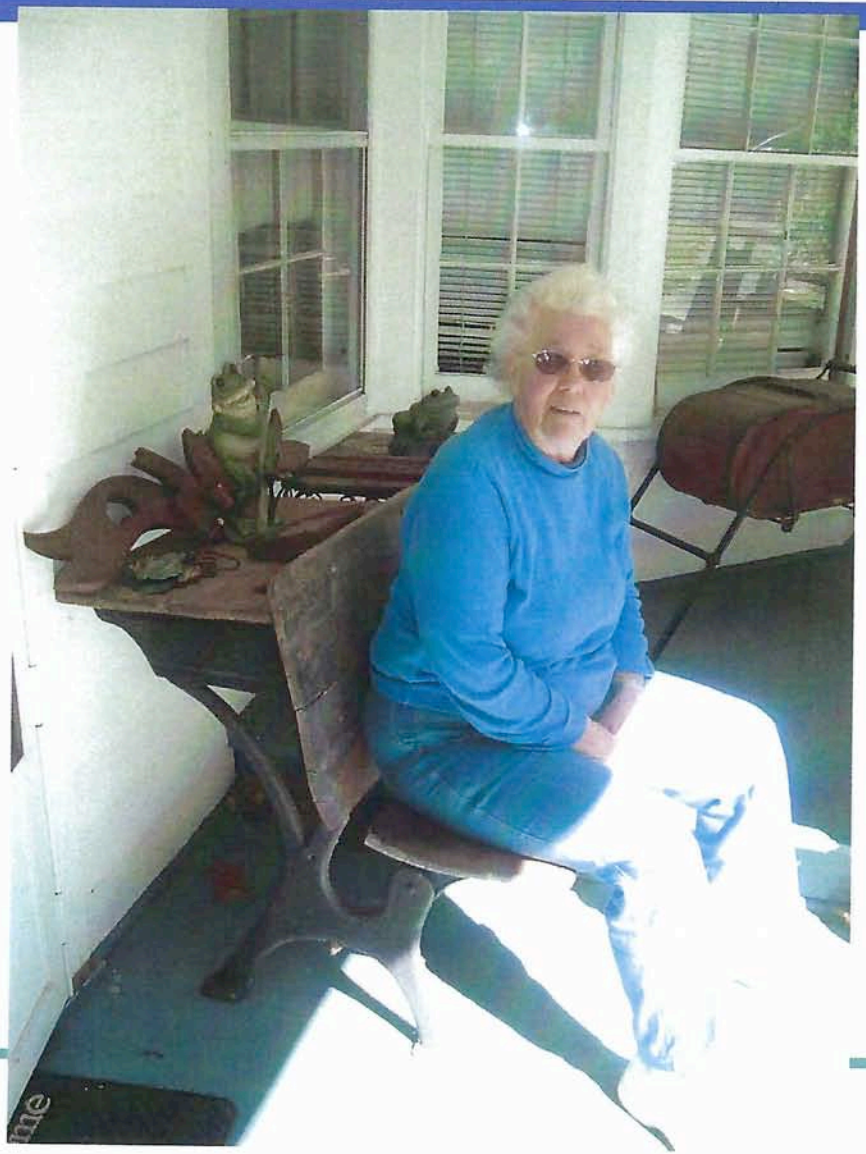
A Special Thanks to:

Ricky Cox from the Appalachian Regional Studies Center

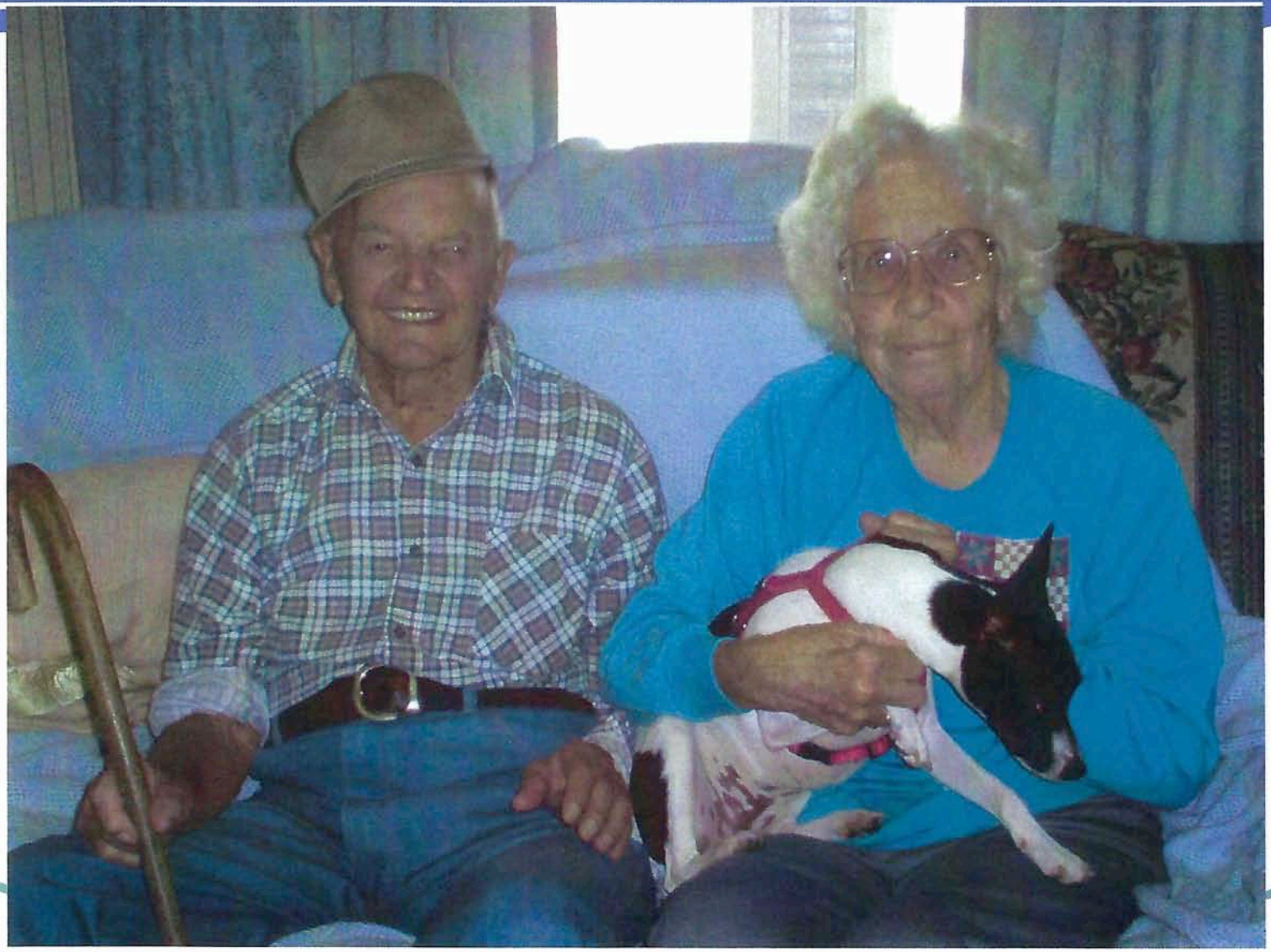
Radford University's Anthropology 411 class and their interviewees:
Aaron & Ada Altizer and Ellen & Carlie Spence, interviewed by Jessica Baciu
Nola Albert, interviewed by Brittony Fitzgerald
Judith Gordon Blackwell, interviewed by Travis More
Effie Brown, interviewed by Patricia Jacobs
Mae Dobbins, interviewed by Brian Richotte
Irene Harris and Catherine Pauley, interviewed by William White
Gertrude Cox Harris, interviewed by Katie Williams
Gertha Gallimore Hollandsworth, interviewed by Sarah Baldino
Willadeen Hodges Hylton and Lydeana Hylton, interviewed by Matthew Everhart
Versie Hollandsworth Phillips, interviewed by Brian Ayers
Susan Wilson, interviewed by Caitlin Edmondson

Floyd County Historical Society for photographs

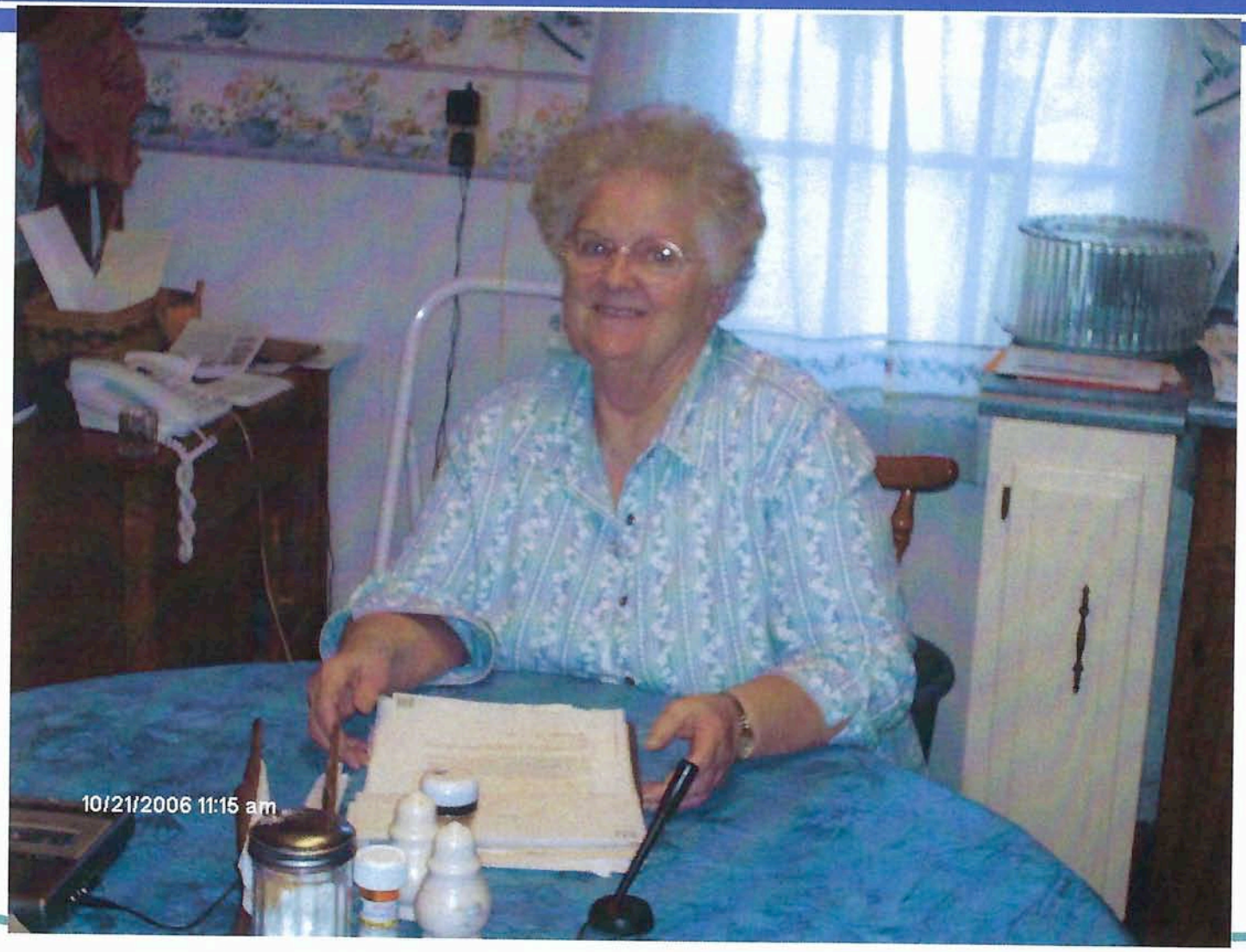
Nola Albert



Aaron and Ada Altizer

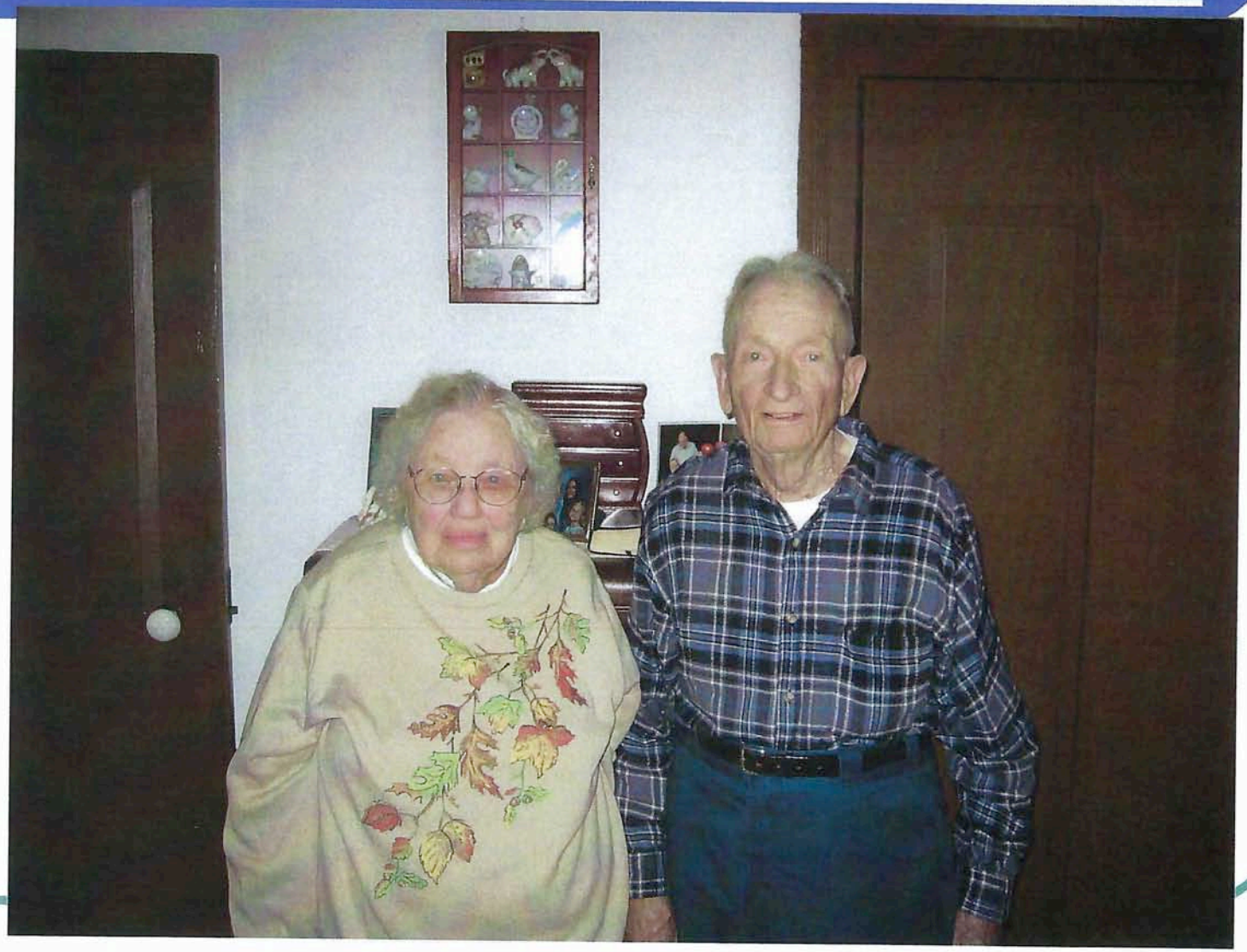


Judy Blackwell



Effie Brown

Carl and Mae Dobbins



Catherine Pauley and Irene Harris

Gertha Hollandsworth

Willadean Hylton

Versie Phillips

Carlie and Ellen Spence

Migration Patterns in Floyd County History

Presentation for the Floyd County Historical Society,
Jessie Peterman Library, September 13, 2008,
and the Celebration of Floyd County's 175th Birthday,
Floyd County Courthouse, January 15, 2006

by Ricky Cox

Migration Patterns in Floyd County History
Talk Given by Ricky Cox to the Floyd County Historical Society
Jessie Peterman Library, September 13, 2008
(Based on Talk Given at the Celebration of Floyd County's 175th Birthday
Floyd Courthouse, January 15, 2006)

We all are born believing that we live at the center of the universe, but thanks to older siblings, first grade teachers, and marriage, we learn better. Most of us have realized by now that neither we nor Floyd County are at the center of the known world. Indian Valley might be, but Floyd is not.

But neither is it the isolated backwater community it is thought to be by our sophisticated friends down in Big Lick. Floyd County and Floyd Countians have participated to some degree in every significant event or era in American history. One trend that has been so constant in American history that we have ceased to recognize it as unusual is that of mobility. Americans move from place to place for all kinds of reasons, and Floyd Countians have not been immune to that influence.

A look at family photograph albums shows us the younger faces of people that we now see only at funerals and other family reunions. A review of high school year books from years ago reveals last names that are seen now only in obituaries and genealogies. On the other side of that coin, the compilers of our most recent telephone books are now using almost all the letters of the alphabet in a book that has gotten far too big to hang on a nail using the hole conveniently pre-punched in the top left hand corner.

Because we are naturally more aware of faces and names that we have only recently seen and heard for the first time, it's easy to believe that mobility is a new phenomenon for Floyd and Floyd Countians, but this is not the case. Since our beginning, we have been a part of regional

and national patterns of both in- and out-migration, although until recently we took the most active part in the latter, outmigration

Between 1820 and 1840, the Ozarks were settled by people from the Southern Appalachians (Obermiller, Maloney, and Hansel 237). Hence, the common misconception that the Beverly Hillbillies are Appalachians. They are from the Ozarks, which in the mind of Hollywood is more or less the same as Appalachia, for at least a few historically valid reasons. Phillip Obermiller, Michael Maloney, and Pauletta Hansel note that the Texas "hill country" was similarly settled by Southern Appalachian migrants between 1845 and 1880 (237). One of the few familiar things these pioneers of the second and third American frontiers could take along without making it harder on the horses' backs, or their own feet, was their way of talking. So it should be no surprise that the Texan accent we hear in Western movies is not the only accent one might hear from a native Texan, just as the Vuhginyuh accents of John Boy Walton's neighbors, the Baldwin Sisters, and Mills Godwin are not the only Virginia accents. Linguistically, we have more in common with people hundreds of miles away, than we do with our own state capitol. Southwest Virginians may sound more like west Texans than they do east Virginians who, for some reason, leave R's out of words that really ought to have them (carry, marry, mother, car, hear). Being the thrifty and hospitable people that we are, we mountain people are disturbed by what we see as a waste and just a poor way to treat perfectly good letters. So we open our hearts and our vocabularies to these cast off bits of the alphabet, giving them new homes in words that could get along perfectly well without them, yet are improved, we feel, by their addition (mater, tater, warsh, winder, bananer).

Westward migration of Appalachian people continued throughout late 19th century and early 20th century in response to conditions in both places. Though still somewhat isolated, Floyd

County was participating in an increasingly nationalized economy due to improved transportation and communication to and from the county. Newspaper advertisements of the early 1900s are full of offers from wholesale buyers local and distant (as far away as Lynchburg and Richmond) to buy produce of most any kind: Corn, corn meal, corn liquor. Most anything one could grow had a market, if it could be gotten to that market.

At the same time, we were being excluded from more active and profitable participation due to advances in those same two areas -- transportation and communication -- in places sometimes only a few miles from our borders. In Central Appalachia, the coal fields were quickly exceeding the capacity of local populations to supply miners. The midwest and the far West were being opened to farming, timbering, and mining by railroads and by the removal of Native Americans. At home, rapid increases in population of the Appalachian South after the Civil War, and growing access to the products of bonanza farms out west, as well as the depressing influence of their bounty on farm prices nationwide, were making it harder for a young man to make a start in farming.

In looking at Census figures for Floyd County from 1840 into the 1970s we see that the trend described by Obermiller and his coauthors was shifted toward the future somewhat, or that the effects of outmigration were counterbalanced by a high birth rate until after 1900.

OFFICIAL CENSUS
FLOYD COUNTY

1840	4453
1850	6458
1860	8236
1870	9483
1880	13,255
1890	14,405
1900	15,388
1910	14,092
1920	13,115
1930	11,698
1940	11,967
1950	11,351
1960	10,462
1970	9,975
1974	10,000

The population trends experienced by the entire Southern Appalachian region are mirrored most clearly in Census figures for Floyd County after the turn of the 20th Century, by which time what were originally large farms had been substantially reduced in average acreage by dividing among several generations of heirs. The raw materials to support large scale extractive industries like mining and timbering either had never existed beneath our hills, or no longer existed upon them, in worthwhile quantities. And partly as a consequence of this last fact, the railroads that would have come in to get those materials were not here to carry out the products of the manufacturing plants that were beginning to appear in places like Christiansburg, Radford, Pulaski, Roanoke, Galax, and Danville, all of which were eventually served by railroads. In that famous 1903 picture of the Wreck of the Old 97, among that swarm of people crawling over the wreckage of the derailed engine there are probably at least a couple of Floyd County boys who were down there in Danville looking for jobs.

Some of these towns also lay beside rivers large enough to produce industrial scale amounts of mechanical or hydroelectric power. Floyd County is generously supplied with surface water, but because it situated on a plateau, all its streams originate within the county and none can collect sufficient water to justify commercial development.

The fact that Floyd Countians were willing to travel well beyond an adjoining county or state is illustrated by notices that appeared regularly in the Floyd Press in the first years of the 20th century, advertising cheap railroad fares to places like Kansas, Nebraska, and Oregon. At the same time a reader may find numerous glowing references to the imminent appearance of a railroad at the very doorsteps of county homes. Hyperbolic predictions, projections, and appeals to patriotism are strewn throughout news items as well as the "reports" of local correspondents from all over the county. By 1910 some of the more realistic writers seem to have realized that the railroad would never get to Floyd, but there is abundant evidence, both in the newspaper and in oral and written family histories, that many who were neither so optimistic nor so patient had decided to go out and meet or pursue the prosperity and progress that the now lost railroad had been expected to bring. The Floyd Press regularly printed letters from "Floyd Boys" in Illinois (where there is still an annual Cox reunion of "Old Virginians"), Iowa, West Virginia, Nebraska, etc. These contained personal news and greetings as well as reports on the price of land in farming areas and on job prospects in industrial towns.

For those not bold enough to travel so far from home, or able to purchase land or a business when they got where they were going, the Southern and Central Appalachian coal fields offered more convenient opportunities to earn cash, opportunities often taken up with the notion that the laborer would eventually return home and buy a farm or business, having made for himself a bundle of cash in the mines or some supporting industry.

Although the earliest settlers had known about and made some use of surface coal deposits in West Virginia, East Tennessee, Eastern Kentucky, and Far Southwest Virginia, development of the deep-mine coal fields on an industrial scale did not begin in earnest until after 1880, by which time the will, the technology, and the capital to exploit them had converged with the insatiable demand for coal, coke, and steel that accompanied the rapid industrialization of the United States following the Civil War.

As coal operations expanded, the native populations proved too small to meet the demand for labor as well as too independent to be relied upon. If men with homes and land nearby felt they were being badly treated, they could simply go home and continue farming, which is what many did even when they weren't mad, preferring to mine only during the coldest months of winter. The advent of railroad service through Roanoke, Christiansburg, and Radford made it fairly easy for Floyd men to follow a tip to and get a job mining, or, for those who could not bear the thought of going underground, in some supporting industry like timber or carpentry. Southern West Virginia seems to have been the most popular destination for Floyd Countians, perhaps because of proximity or better railroad access from Norfolk and Western stations in the New River or Roanoke Valley. Men from the eastern part of the county might end up in Coalwood or Corretta, company towns started and owned by Carroll County native George L. Carter.

A history of coal miners from Floyd County, where to my knowledge no coal has ever been found, would make a very interesting study. Twenty years ago I met a man in Pocahontas, a Hylton, whose father was from Willis. My father's brother-in-law worked in the Parrott mines in Pulaski County, where two of my mother's first cousins died in an explosion in the 1930s. My paternal grandfather and least three of his brothers mined in Kyle, West Virginia. After my

grandfather married and brought my grandmother there, two of her brothers came along as boarders, staying for various lengths of time, until returning to Floyd County or finding homes of their own in the coalfields.

This pattern of gradual movement between a stable home base and an "advance camp" is what sociologist Phillip Obermiller and his coauthors call the "stem and branch" system of migration (238-9). Instead of a large group of people pulling up stakes and starting from scratch together in a new location, as for example the Mormons in Utah, or the Israelites coming out of Egypt, stem and branch migration begins when an adventurous individual or couple leaves a stable base, gets a foothold in the new location, sends home promising reports, and is joined by friends and, more likely, by family, a few at a time. The first to get there put in a good word with employers, and provide a place for newcomers to stay until they can get on their feet. In this way, whole blocks or streets in an industrial town like Radford, Roanoke, or Bluefield, especially a rapidly growing one, could eventually be occupied by Floyd County people and their offspring. On a larger scale, entire sections of cities like Cincinnati, Chicago, Dayton, and Akron became enclaves of Southern Appalachians drawn to each other by common language, religion, food preferences, and other customs, one of which was going back home at every opportunity.

This habit led to the dubbing of major north-south arteries from Central Appalachia to cities in Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan as "Hillbilly Highways." On Friday nights, such roads were frequently crowded with cars headed south and into the mountains. Sunday evening saw the same cars headed back north, filled with vegetables or canned goods and sleeping children. Our own Route 11 served as a hillbilly Highway for the numerous Floyd County people who found jobs in DC, Maryland, and Leesburg, Virginia.

This seeming invasion of urban neighborhoods and workplaces by rural laborers also resulted in the application of numerous unflattering nicknames to the people themselves -- briers, hillbillies, hicks, ridge runners, clodhoppers -- as well as some active discrimination in hiring and housing. The experiences of Floyd Countians seem to have been generally good, at least in terms of hiring. Even today, there is some truth in the claim that being from Floyd County improves ones chances of getting a job, when there are any jobs to be had, at industries in surrounding counties.

In some places, such distinctions and tensions that did arise remain today, though many of the Appalachian out-migrant populations have become acclimated, now that the families are third and even fourth generation. "Back home" has become more of a family legend than a regular destination, and may now be viewed in somewhat the same way as "the old country" is by third and fourth generation descendants of European immigrants. But this love of place and need to actually be there is still strong enough to be recognized in the punch line of a joke. A newcomer to Heaven was taking the tour (he arrived on a Thursday) when he spotted a group of people chained to trees and park benches. He was horrified until it was explained that the people were all from East Tennessee, and if not restrained in some way would try to go home every Friday evening.

We can also still see this love of home, and of being at home, in colleges in and outside the region, in which Appalachian students are laughed at or at least singled out because they go home every weekend, in contrast to non-Appalachian roommates who might return home only for breaks and major holidays. At Radford University I've met Southwestern Virginia students who chose RU solely because it is the closest state university to the their homes, and I meet

Northern Virginia students who chose it because it's the farthest they can get away from home and still pay in-state tuition.

Differences in urban and rural speech, customs, and experiences have also led to numerous comic stories about the hick in town and about the city slicker out of his element in the country (buying mule eggs, attempting to milk bulls, etc.). Rural Kentuckians' resentment of their treatment by urban Ohioans led to the story about the man who declared that if he owned both Hell and Ohio, he would rent Ohio to someone else and live in Hell.

Of course, West Virginia mining towns and the industrial cities of what is now the "rust belt" were only some of the options open to Floyd Countians willing to relocate. Just as the water runs out of Floyd County in every direction, so have the people -- more or less consistently throughout the 20th century -- pursued dreams and opportunities in most every direction. Lack of adequate natural resources like timber or coal may be what finally killed the idea of a railroad through Floyd, but we have never lacked for human resources. Yet relatively few industries have so far come here to take advantage of this resource since our people have always been willing to export themselves. Large or once large regional employers like the Lynchburg Foundry (Pipe Shop), Radford Arsenal, N and W, Roanoke Electric Steel, Volvo, Federal Mogul, General Electric, Vaughan Furniture, Pulaski Furniture, etc. have always depended on Floyd Countians to move close or commute, and in any case, to get to work on time regardless of weather.

OFFICIAL CENSUS
FLOYD COUNTY

1900	15,388
1910	14,092
1920	13,115
1930	11,698
1940	11,967
1950	11,351
1960	10,462
1970	9,975

1974 10,000

As seen in the census figures, after 1900 Floyd County's loss of population through out-migration more than counterbalanced births within the county and in-migration from without for the next seven decades. Only in the late 1960s and 70s, when the American economy began slowly to turn from its industrial base, and American consciousness began to question its valuing of an urban lifestyle over a rural, did we begin to see a reversal in the steady depopulation of the county. For people working outside the county, roads got better, and automobiles became more dependable and durable, making long commutes more doable. This also made it more attractive to professionals who, having come to the region from all over the country, would once have lived in or very near Blacksburg, Radford, or Roanoke. Floyd's emergence as an artisan community made it attractive to people who could work at home, within a supportive community. The growing affluence of the region has made Floyd a second home for people within a half-day's drive and a retirement location for people from all over the country as well. So now we have a population that is more diverse than ever in terms of backgrounds, interests, and occupations, and also one that seems bound to top our peak population mark of a century ago, if it hasn't already.

The Radford University Anthropology students with whom I worked on the Floyd County Migration Study in fall 2006 and Spring 2007 presented their findings, which were statistical, offering numbers gleaned from random and self-selected samples, and anecdotal, gathered in a series of interviews with fourteen Floyd County residents. I don't wish to repeat the presentation they did in this room in June 2007, or even to draw much upon it, since it is their work. But I will repeat the conclusion they reached, one that confirmed a supposition I had offered to them before they began conducting interviews. While there are many personal reasons

for people having left Floyd County, far and away the most common seems to have been to take advantage of opportunities that simply didn't or don't exist in Floyd County. For the most part, people left because the grass was, metaphorically, greener on the other side.

While some people have moved to Floyd County to pursue economic opportunities, most have come because, to them, the grass is literally greener here. Unlike the folks who left because they felt they had no other choice, more recent arrivals have come as the result of conscious decision to live where they most want to live instead of where they could make the most money. Whatever else one might make of those two circumstances, there is one unquestionably positive conclusion to be drawn. People live in Floyd County because they knew they were in the right place to begin with, or they got here as quickly as they could.

In considering what Floyd County should be in the future, and what to do to bring about that change, I invite all concerned to think first about what it has been, and what it still is -- wonderful place to be from, a good place to come to. Given that much of our past has been shaped by forces over which we ultimately had little or no control, we may not have that much to say about what happens next. But let's do take advantage of the fact that we are from or have come to a place where it's okay to talk slowly enough to hear in our heads what we are thinking before it comes out of our mouths.

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Arrivals and Departures: In and Out Migration, Floyd County, Virginia

Text Presentation
For the Appalachian Studies Conference, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee, March 23-25, 2007

by Radford University Practicum in Anthropology Class:
Jessica Baciu, Brittony Fitzgerald, Morgan Hawkins, Patricia Jacobs, Kathy Murphy, and Melinda Bollar Wagner

Arrivals and Departures: In and Out Migration, Floyd County, Virginia

by

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Floyd, Virginia, April 14, 2007

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Radford, Virginia, April 16, 2007

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Radford University, Radford, Virginia, November 3, 2007

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Salisbury University, Salisbury, Maryland, April 10-12, 2008

Introduction

Home: a word that invokes emotions, memories and a sense of place. Where is home? What are the pushes and pulls that cause people to leave home? Do migrants communicate with relatives and friends left behind? Do they change? If so how? In our study of migration in Floyd County, Virginia, we hoped to answer these questions and to see if our colleague, Appalachian Studies scholar and native of Floyd County's Indian Valley, Ricky Cox, was right when he conjectured, "People migrated out of Floyd County because the grass was figuratively greener, and people move into Floyd because the grass is literally greener." We also wanted to see if migration could be put into a larger context of history in the state, country and world during the same time periods, such as the Depression and the chestnut blight in the 1930s, and the call-up of men and tool-up of industry during World War II.

Floyd County is one of the most southeastern Virginia counties of Appalachia as identified by the Appalachian Regional Commission. Next to arrive here after the original Native American settlers were English, Scotch-Irish, and German people in the mid 1700s. Floyd County was established in 1831 and named for Dr. John Floyd (1783-1837), a doctor from Christiansburg who later served two terms as governor of Virginia. The village of Jacksonville served as the county seat, and by 1850 the village population was 220. Between 1866 and 1917 Jacksonville showed gradual development. The town was renamed Floyd and incorporated in 1896 (Floyd County Historical Society n.d.). The population of Floyd County peaked in 1900 with 15,000 residents (Cox 2007). In 2005 there were 14,649 residents with the population almost evenly mixed between natives and newcomers (Hawdon and Ryan 2005). Locals currently describe Floyd as having one

stoplight, no railroads, three funeral homes and waterways that flow only out of the county.

In 2006 Floyd County celebrated its 175th anniversary with special events scheduled throughout the year. During these events between January and September, surveys were distributed by Ricky Cox to gather information about migration in and out of Floyd County. The data from this register along with 11 interviews describing memories about 98 people who migrated out of Floyd formed the basis of our research. The paper will discuss the methods used in the research, the pushes and pulls of migration, and the themes found in the interviews. These themes were kinship networking used to facilitate migration, gender differences in reasons for migration, the perceptions of migrants, and ways some migrants changed once they had moved.

Methods

This project was started and has continued under the leadership of Ricky Cox. Prompted by the celebration of Floyd County's 175th anniversary, Ricky took up a study that had long been of interest to him – migration into and out of the county (Combs 2006). [NOTE: Ricky Cox's Speech, "Migration Patterns in Floyd County History," presented at the opening event of the Celebration of Floyd County's 175th Birthday, Floyd County Courthouse, January 15, 2006, is included here.]

Data were acquired from four sources: the "Floyd County Register," interviews with Floyd County residents, the U.S. Census Bureau, and a county-wide survey undertaken by Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (VPI) in 2004, using a random sample of 1020 households yielding a response rate of 57%. At several locations and several time periods throughout the year-long celebration, Ricky set out a map, a

register, and surveys so that residents could document migration in and out of Floyd. These surveys and register were compiled together to form the Floyd County Register. To supplement this information, Ricky joined with Melinda Bollar Wagner's Fall 2006 Anthropology 411 Appalachian Cultures class to collect information about migration via interviews with 11 of Floyd County's elder residents. Some of the interviewees were accompanied by younger relatives, for a total of 16 people interviewed. The interviews focused on capturing memories about people who had migrated out of Floyd County. Interviewees were able to provide information about 98 different out-migrants. Each interview consisted of 23 open-ended questions designed to elicit memories about migration. The interviews ranged from 30 to 90 minutes in length and each one was transcribed and archived. This yielded a total of 231 pages of transcription to study.

During Spring 2007, Melinda Wagner's Anthropology 493 Practicum in Anthropology class tabulated and performed a content analysis on the information from the Floyd County Register and interview transcriptions. The tabulations documented the names of people who had moved, where they had moved to, whether they moved with someone, when they moved, as well as their reason for moving, and whether they returned to Floyd. From this tabulation patterns were detected in the reasons for people's relocation, dates when people moved, and places they moved to. The content analysis sought patterns and themes from the interview texts.

Overview of Migration Pushes and Pulls

Social scientists discuss migration by referring to pushes and pulls. A push is any reason that causes a person to want or need to leave an area. A pull is the allure of a place to move to. The factors pushing migrants out of Floyd County centered around the

need for economic stability. Natural resources that could be extracted are scarce in Floyd County. There is no coal to be mined, and timber harvesting employs only a few people. There is no major industry such as mill work, foundries, or factories. As one interviewee, Nola Albert (2006), commented, "They left here because they couldn't make a living. There was nothing, absolutely nothing except farming." This was the general outlook of the interviewees, when talking about work available in Floyd County over the years. This has resulted in a push to move to other areas to gain economic stability.

There were many pull factors that affected decisions to move to other areas both within Virginia and farther away. Pull factors that drew people to other areas within Virginia were mainly economic. Surrounding areas provided work on farms, at industrial jobs, such as foundry work, various mills, and work at a nearby arsenal. In some cases these pull factors led people to move just a county or two away, or across the state. Interviewee Gertha Hollandsworth (2006), a migrant from Floyd who is a resident of the city of Radford, spoke of her family's experiences in moving to nearby counties to find work.

> There have been a lot of families that moved from Floyd County here to Radford. . . . A lot of them for work at the Radford Arsenal -- the Radford Army Ammunition Plant -- that opened up during the war. . . . My husband went to work at the Lynchburg Foundry and his sisters all went to work at Burlington Mill, was the big thing then.

Pull factors that led people to move outside of Virginia were the coal mines of West Virginia, where people could find work not only in the mines, but also hauling timber for

the mines. Other states, mostly "out West," provided people with the prospect of large amounts of land for farming.

Another pull factor for the younger population was education. Opportunities for higher education were not available in the county itself. Once away, many never returned to stay. Gertrude Harris Cox (2006) noted that this was the case for her son, "But my son went to Virginia Tech and he was majoring in accounting and he went to Greensboro after he got out of college and worked."

For some people a pull factor was found in love. Some relocated because of marriage or meeting someone who lived outside of the Floyd County area. The war also played a great part in pull factors, especially during the early 1940s. People joined the armed forces to serve their country. Joining in the war effort was also a way to find employment. Even though some servicemen and women might have had the intention of returning to Floyd County after their service, they sometimes relocated to a new area. Irene Harris saw firsthand how this affected people:

> When a lot of them came back [from the war] they were restless or there were so many coming back again there was a problem finding jobs in the mountains to support their families and a lot of them would move away to find work for a few years. (Harris and Pauley 2006)

Let us now discuss the specific information gleaned from the Floyd County Register and the Memories of Migration interviews.

Floyd County Register Information

The data collected from the Floyd County Register surveys included: whether the migrant moved into or out of Floyd County, name of the migrant, place of origin or

destination (depending upon whether they migrated in or out), the date of migration and the reasons for migration. (See the Floyd County Register facsimile at Figure 1.) These data were coded by means of content analysis, and the results were tabulated. Since these data were collected at the Floyd County 175th Anniversary Celebrations, most of the data came from individuals and families who had migrated into Floyd County. Of the 212 individuals and families who volunteered to write on the Floyd County Register, which was available at the various celebratory events, only 44 had migrated out of Floyd County.

Out-Migration According to the Floyd County Register

When creating the general reason codes for the 44 out-migrants who wrote on the Register, we found that over half of the migrants left Floyd County for economic reasons (55%). The second most frequently cited reason was education, which constituted approximately 1/5 of the general reason codes (21%). A clear reason for leaving could not be deciphered from 1/5 of the handwritten responses about out-migrants.

In order to further understand the migrants' reasons for leaving Floyd County, more specific reason codes were devised and tabulated. (See Figure 2 Reasons for Leaving, based on Floyd County Register information.) Over two-fifths (41%) of the responses stated that they left for jobs in other locations. A typical response from one of the 21% of respondents seeking advanced education was: "left to attend college, [and] remained in Atlanta for 30 years." Upon receiving his degree, this out-migrant, like others, chose not to return to Floyd in order to seek economic prosperity. Other migrants left Floyd County for marriage or military service. These each made up 10% of out-migrants' specific reasons documented on the Register. Family ties, acquiring land, and

Arrivals and Departures

Today's Date	Pin/Tag Number on Map	Names of People Who *Moved* to or *Left* Floyd County	Place of Origin or Destination	Approx. Date of Move (Year or Decade)	Reason for Coming to or Leaving Floyd County
7/15/06	18	Peter & Sarah Vandenberg	Laurinburg, N.C.	2002	Mountains
7/15/06	21	Jay Avery	Ithaca, NY	1980	Rural beauty + crafts reputation
7/15/06	034	Roberta Shoemaker	Westfield, NJ	1997	To get away from traffic [illegible] build retirement home
7/15/06	019	Jennifer McKeown	grew up in Fillmore Ca.	into Floyd Co. 1995	from Bent Mtn. we fell in love [illegible]
7/15/06	005	Ariadia Moon Gellmas	Bent Mtn.	b. 1994 Floyd Co. 1995	[illegible]

IN/OUT	Date	Name	Place of Origin/Destination	State Code	Approx date of move	Reason for Migration	General Code	Specific Code
IN	July 15, 2006	Ava Nalan Briddley	El Sobroute, CA	CA	2001	to be near family & country ___ also where I grew up	SOC	FAM
IN	July 12, 2006	Mary E Nissley	Gladys, VA (Campbell Co.)	VA	2003		UNS	
IN	August 11, 2006	Mike & Donna Varner	(originally) Bassett, VA; (later) Patrick Co., VA	VA	1998	pastor a church	ECO	JOB

Figure 1. Original and Processed Samples of Floyd County Register

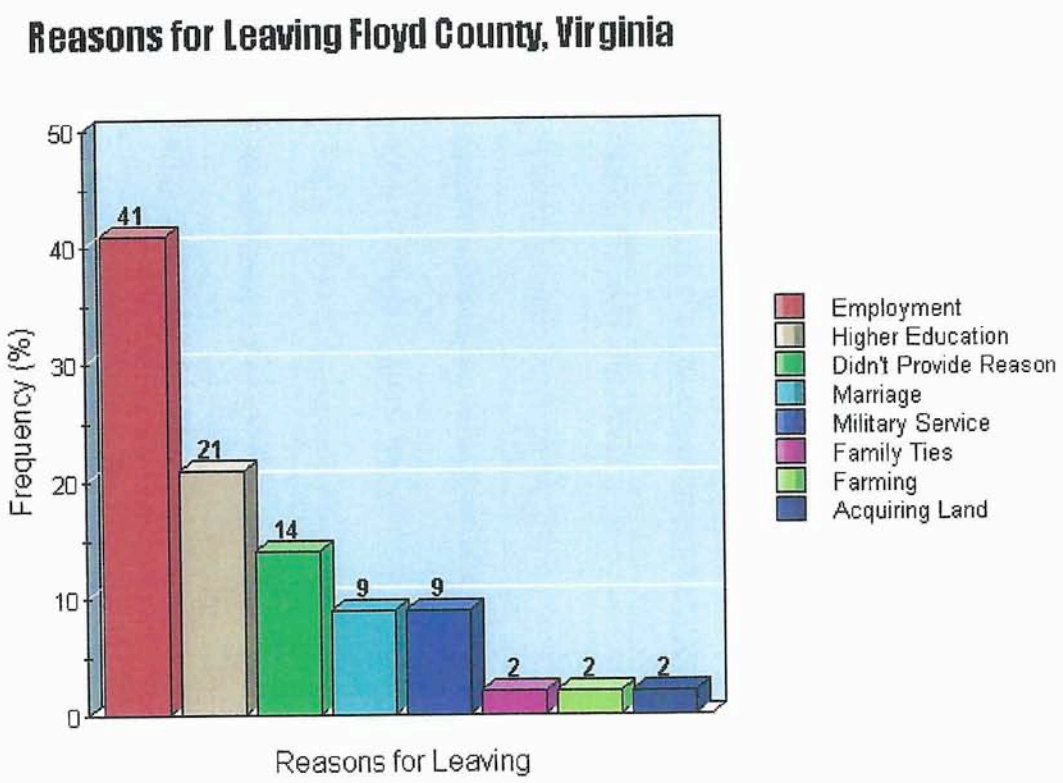

Figure 2. Reasons for Leaving Floyd County, Virginia (Based on the Floyd County Register information; N = 44 out-migrants)

leaving to farm each made up 2% of the reasons. About 14% did not provide a specific reason explaining why they left.

As stated previously, the out-migrants were asked to include the date of their migration on the Floyd County Register. The Register showed that individuals or families migrated out of Floyd County anywhere between the 1880s and 2000s. Obviously, those who had migrated out during the 1880s were not able to document their migration in person: Some families included information about their relatives who had moved into or out of the area in the past. The decades which had the most out-migration, in descending order, were the 1930s with almost 20%, the 1940s with slightly more than 15%, and the 1960s with about 14% of migrants moving during this time. Thus we can surmise that the economic Depression and chestnut blight during the 1930s and World War II during the 1940s did stand to push and pull residents out of the county.

Since acquiring jobs in new locations was the most frequently cited reason for leaving Floyd County, according to migrants who wrote on the Floyd County Register, we analyzed the specific occupations the migrants moved to. The Register showed that of the 41% of out-migrants who left for employment, 9% were pulled into military service (one migrant left Floyd during the 1940s to work on the Manhattan Project). Other jobs listed were carpentry, farming, work with the U.S. Postal Service, foundry work, work as a chef, welding, work as a high school librarian and working on oil drilling and pipelines. (See Figure 3 Occupations Acquired at Destinations, based on Floyd County Register information.)

When analyzing where the out-migrants relocated, the data showed that of the 39 who specified their destination, over 40% had moved into other areas within Virginia.

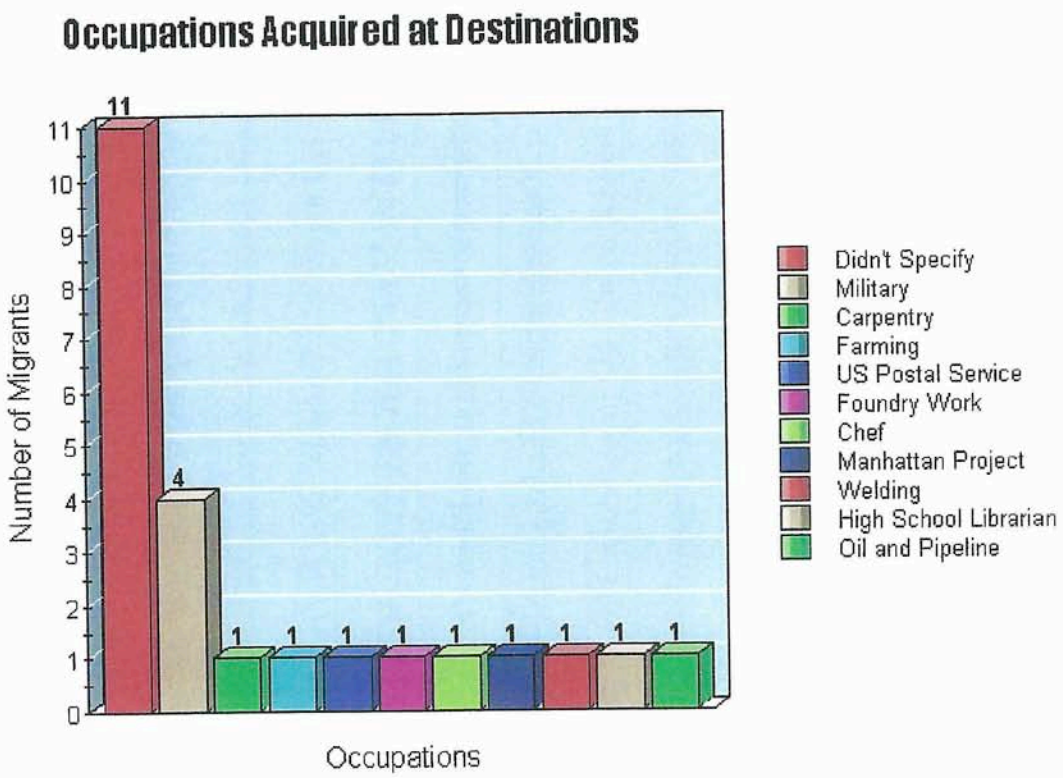

Figure 3. Occupations Acquired at Destinations (Based on the Floyd County Register Information; N = 44 out-migrants)

The second most popular destination was Texas, which accounted for a little more than 10% of the out-migration. About 8% of migrants settled in North Carolina, which was the third most frequently cited state, followed by Ohio and New York. The remaining eleven states were Arizona, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, New Jersey, New Mexico, South Carolina, Tennessee and Wyoming. There was one report of a migrant who had moved to Micronesia. (See Figure 4 Map Depicting Floyd County Migration, based on the Floyd County Register and Memory Interviews.)

In-Migration According to the Floyd County Register

The same methods of analysis were applied to the in-migrants' data. 168 families and individuals who had migrated into Floyd County wrote on the Floyd County Register. The most often cited reason for migrating into Floyd County was aesthetics. The general reason code -- aesthetics -- translated into love of land, love of the community, love of mountains and love of the rural characteristics associated with Floyd. One-third of the in-migrants gave examples that were encompassed by this code.

The second most frequently cited reason was "social ties," which made up approximately 31% of the general reason codes. This category included family, friends and marriage as a reason for migrating into Floyd. Twenty percent of these migrants moved in because of family ties that were not connected to marriage. A few migrants stated specifically that they were going back to their roots when migrating to Floyd County.

Slightly more than 1/5 of the in-migrants cited economics as a reason for migrating into Floyd. This was surprising, since economics had been a major reason for moving out of Floyd County. In order to understand what jobs were pulling migrants into

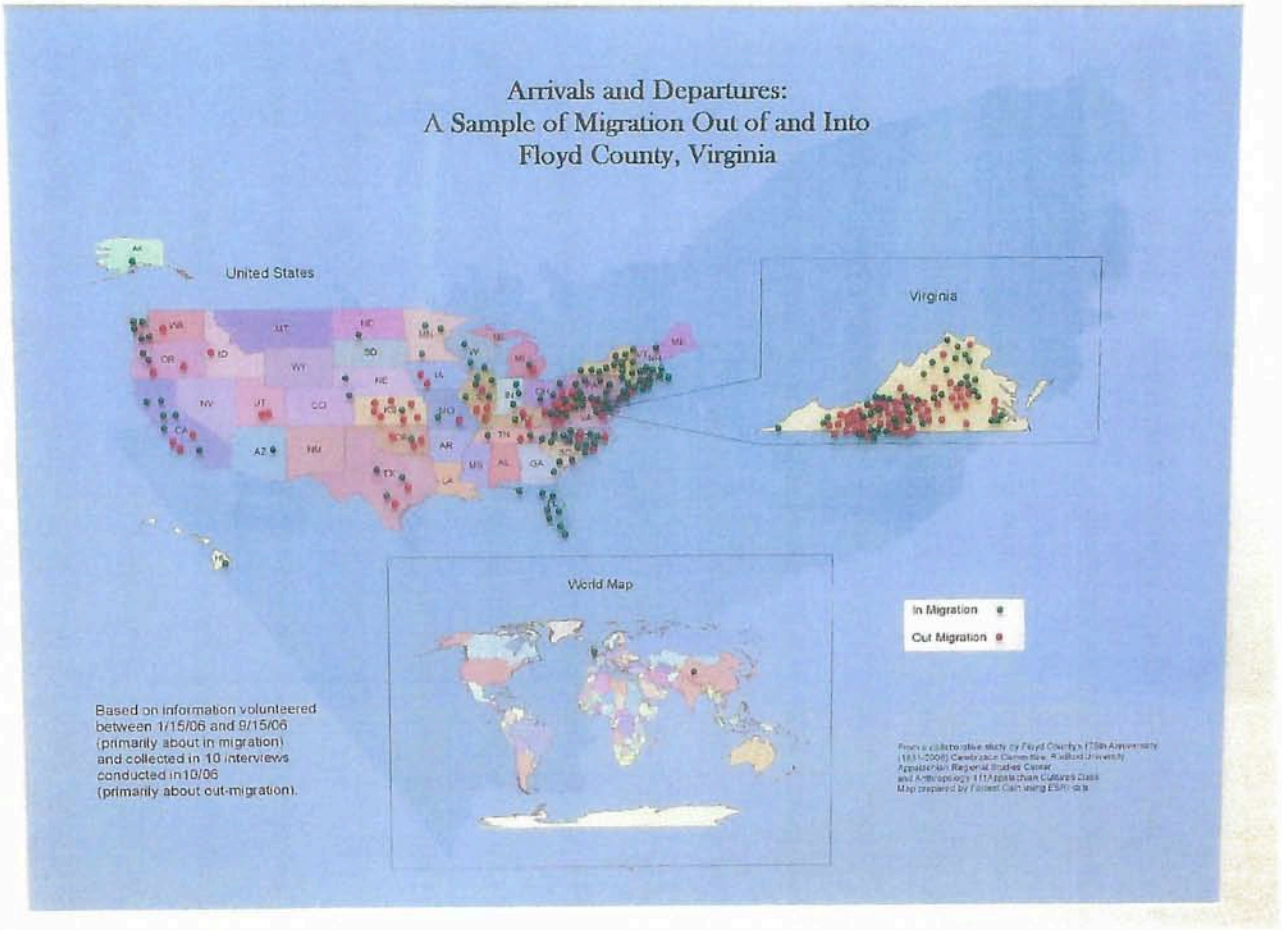

Figure 4. Map Depicting Floyd County Migration (Based on the Floyd County Register and Memory Interviews)

Floyd County, the data were searched for occupations that appeared more than once. The only repeated occupations were preaching and teaching. (Over half of the respondents did not specify what occupation had pulled them to Floyd County.)

Analyzing the dates of in-migration for the Floyd County Register respondents showed that almost 40% of in-migrants moved sometime after the turn of the century. During the 1990s, approximately 1/3 of the in-migrants moved into Floyd, followed by about 17% who moved in during the 1980s. Preceding the 1980s, the data from the Register shows that migration into Floyd was minimal.

When analyzing the states that represented the migrant's place of origin, the data showed that of the 155 in-migrants who specified their origin, approximately 30% came from within Virginia. Of those who migrated from within Virginia, the most frequently cited place of origin was Roanoke and Richmond, with a frequency of 9% for each. The second most cited state of origin was New York, with a frequency of 11%. Other migrants came from Arkansas, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Canada, and England.

Memories of Migration Interviews

The Anthropology 411 Appalachian Cultures class conducted 11 interviews with older citizens of Floyd County in October 2006. For this study content analysis was performed on the interview transcriptions to learn especially about migration out of Floyd.

The 11 interviews provided information about 98 former residents of Floyd who migrated out. This information was tabulated in the same way as the information from the Floyd County Register. The numbers reported here will not always add to the total of 98 because full information was not available for each out-migrant. Sixty-one migrants were male while 35 females were recorded. Of these 98 residents, 56 never moved back to Floyd, while 28 did.

The former residents that we learned about in the interviews covered a vast range of areas during their migrations. A total of 20 states other than Virginia were represented. Some of the more popular destination states included West Virginia with 6 migrants, Kansas with another 6 migrants, and North Carolina with 4. Our interviewees remembered other migrants who moved to California, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and the District of Columbia. (See the Map at Figure 4.)

However, most of the out-migrants reported in the interviews remained in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Eighteen different regions in Virginia were represented. The most common areas were Roanoke with 9 migrants, Radford with 9, Richmond with 6, Farmville with 5 and Danville with 4.

Some of the reasons for a move out of Floyd for the 98 people who were recollected in the 11 interviews include the search for employment, marriage, being in the military, seeking to acquire land, joining family in other areas, and farming. Twelve accounts of leaving Floyd for marriage were found and all 12 accounts were of women. This is the second largest reason for leaving Floyd. Most interesting, however, is the largest reason for leaving, which is the search for employment. This reason for leaving

was seen 57 times in the interviews. When asked why so many people left Floyd, interviewee Nola Albert (2006) said:

> They left here because they couldn't make a living. There was nothing, absolutely nothing except farming. And very little, you know. You raised your farm products. What did you do with them? You raised a few, maybe a cow and you know, maybe sheep or something like that. It was just hard going.

Many of the interviewees expressed the same sentiment. Floyd County is a rural county with no primary or secondary industry. Hence the move away to find jobs. (See Figure 5 Reasons for Leaving Floyd County, based on Memory Interviews.)

There were many occupations the migrants from the interviews acquired at their destinations. The most prevalent occupation was working in textile mills, which attracted 8 of the recorded migrants. Other popular occupations include working in coal mines with 6 migrants and working in the lumber industry, which pulled in 5 migrants. All of those who worked with coal had moved to West Virginia. Other occupations include the Radford Arsenal, a telephone company, teaching, farming, a furniture factory, the railroad, a radio station and truck driving. (See Figure 6 Occupations Acquired at Destinations, based on Memory Interviews.)

We noted that today, people commute to places that they migrated to in the 1930s and 1940s when vehicles and roads were not as reliable as they are today. The 2005 VPI survey showed that over half of the people who responded -- 59% -- commuted to work outside Floyd County. Floyd could be seen as a bedroom community, a place where you live but do not work. The majority of commuters travel to surrounding counties such as Montgomery and Roanoke, as well as Radford and Roanoke city. The location and

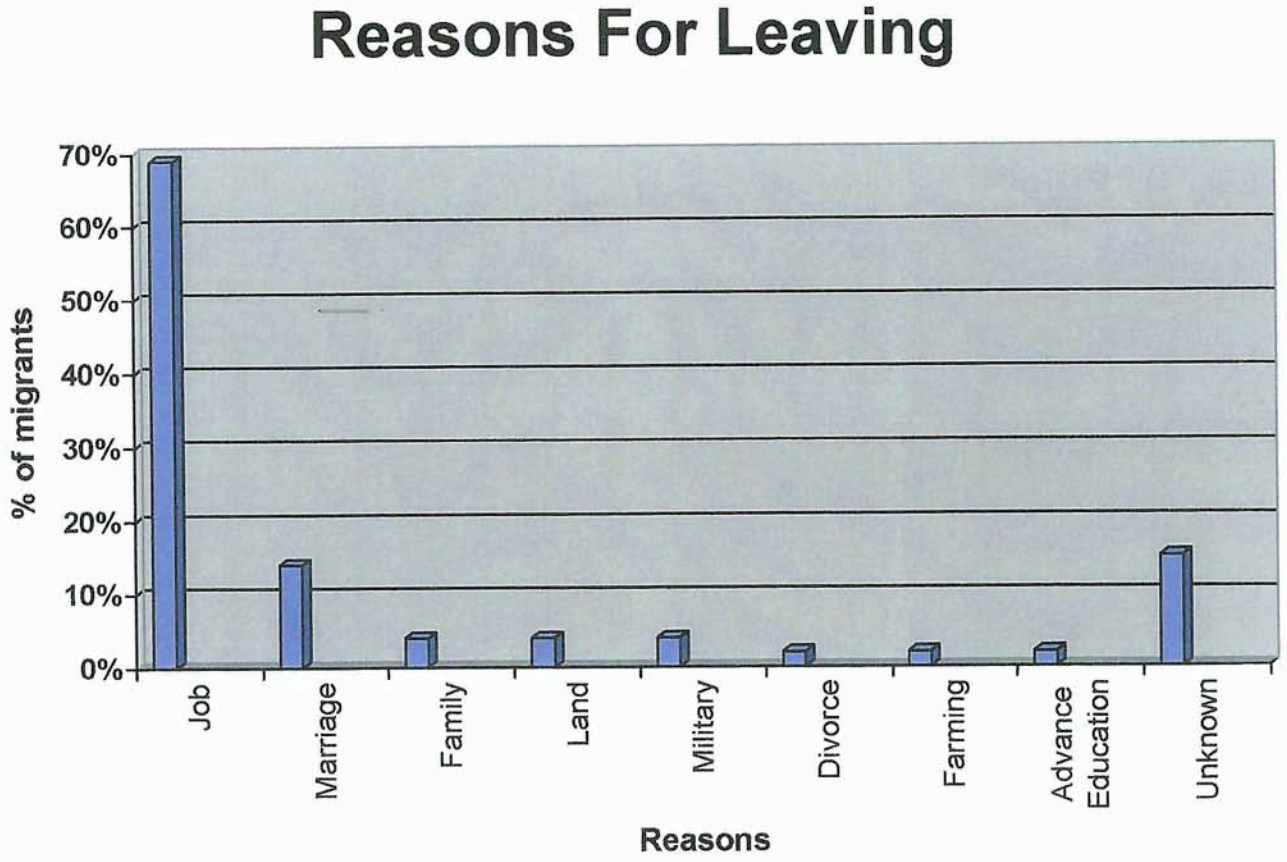

Figure 5. Reasons for Leaving Floyd County (Based on Memory Interviews; N=98)

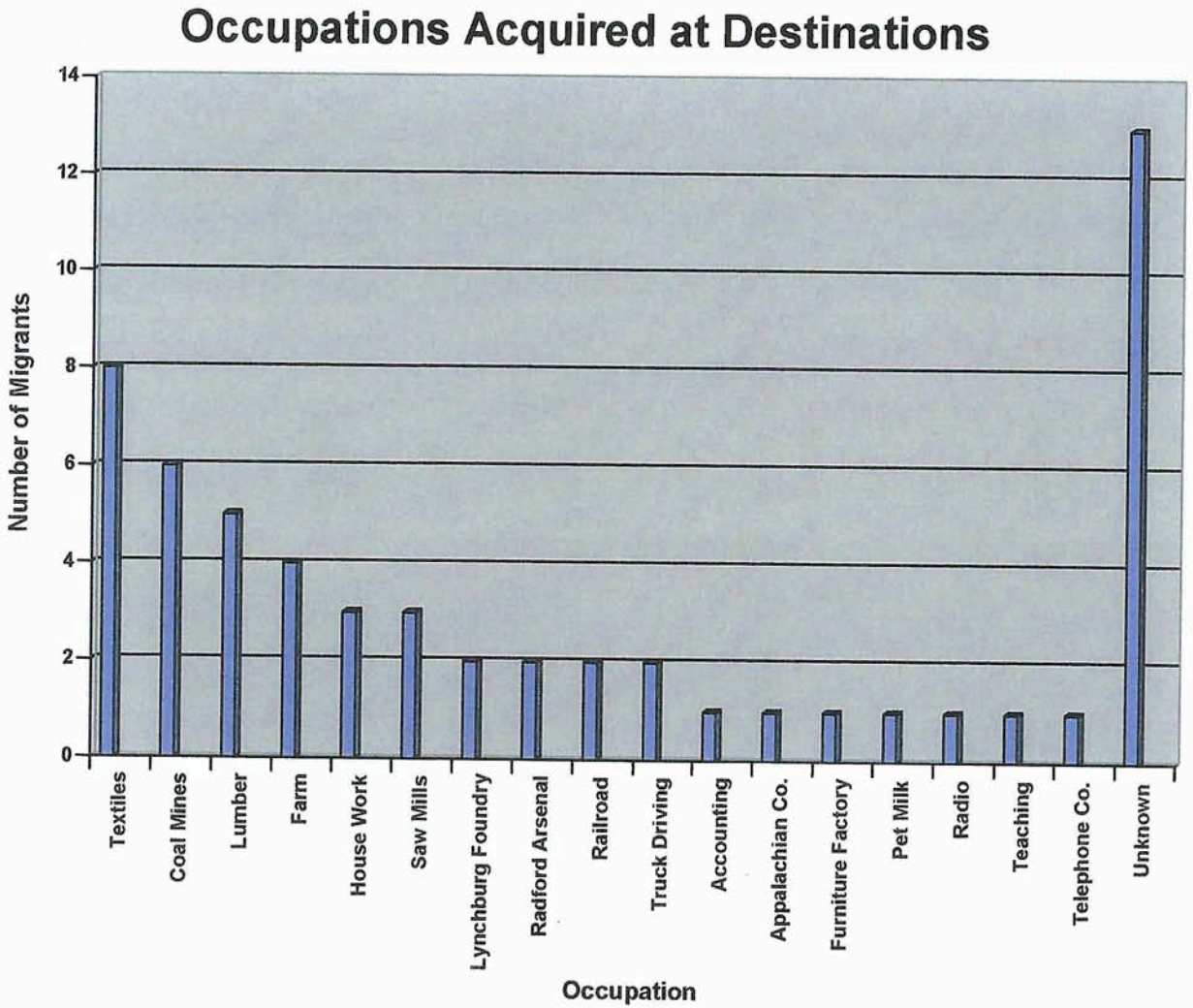

Figure 6. Occupations Acquired at Destinations (Based on Memory Interviews; N=98 out-migrants)

geographic shape of Floyd facilitates commuting to these several surrounding areas. The average commute time is 33.6 minutes. But 10% of the workers from Floyd County commute to work that is at least an hour's drive away, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

Let us now turn to the recurring themes of the whys and wherefores of migration disclosed by content analysis of the Memories of Migration interviews.

Kinship Networking to Facilitate Migration

Kinship networking was one theme discovered in the interview analysis. Phillip Obermiller, Michael Maloney, and Pauletta Hansel (2006:238) wrote, "the Appalachian kinship system has been a highly effective means of relocation for literally millions of mountaineers." Kinship networking includes ties of social interaction and communication that remained strong between migrants and their home bases. Often when people left their original destinations they remained in contact with family members back home through visits or other means. Information about jobs and standards of living were exchanged between relatives during these visits or correspondences. If work was good, some family members were encouraged to migrate for better economic opportunities. If economic opportunities declined migrants could rely on their kinship network to find security back home with their families.

Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam (1971) documented migration patterns for twenty years in Beech Creek, Kentucky and observed patterns of kinship networking. In 1942, they observed that most families tended to migrate to the same places. From this they concluded that kinship played a role in determining where migrants settled. Evidence of kinship networking was also found in the content analysis of interviewees'

memories of Floyd migration. Judy Blackwell (2006) recalled some of her family who chose to follow well-traveled paths out of Floyd:

> And they traveled in family groups. . . . Some of them went to Raleigh County, West Virginia. It was called Little Floyd because there were so many people from here who went there. They went there to work in the coal mines so they could get enough money to come back and buy a farm in Floyd.

Like Beech Creek residents, Floydians who maintained a connection with family members who had migrated were more likely to follow the same path, as long as it appeared that their economic situations would improve.

Schwarzweller et al (1972:92) tied the kinship pattern found in their study to Leplay's stem-family concept. They define the stem-family model as consisting of a parent household, which represents the stem. The stem acts as a foundation for the family, preserving traditions and ensuring security. The migrants represent the branches that diverge from the parent household in order to fit into a new economic niche. "The stem of the family helps to preserve the society and to insure that the branches which fail in their adaptations to contractual relations have havens of safety to which they may return." These families were more able to adapt to the changing landscape because some of their members took their chances elsewhere -- trying to improve the family's economic outlook -- while the stem family provided a home base or safety net for those who left.

When conducting the content analysis of the interviews, several examples of kinship networking that influenced migration patterns were noted. Nola Albert (2006) recalled one of her relatives migrating some time ago,

> He was in contact with . . .Mr. Whittle, who had gone to Kansas . . . that's the way he got his word. Mr. Whittle told him . . . "If you want a good job, you go to Dodge City, Kansas," because, he said, "They're building a railroad and they need blacksmiths to sharpen the steel to build the railroad."

Another interviewee, Catherine Pauley, recalled that she and her immediate family moved back to their home base in the 1950s when things did not work out for them as well as they had hoped. "So, Grandpa had bought the Uncle Lom place, and he offered that house to Daddy. So we moved back and Daddy settled us in there where we would be safe." (Harris and Pauley 2006) Interviewee Effie Brown (2006) described how the kinship network aided migrants who were in need by describing her uncle's family who had moved to Oklahoma in 1910.

> It was springtime and his food he took with him gave out. They had been used to picking wild greens [in] Floyd County. But there was nothing to pick [at their destination in Oklahoma]. So, they were short of food for awhile. . . . They had the misfortune of losing their home. They had a burnout and lost everything. . . . The relatives here packed a barrel of dried food and clothing. . . . And a son-in-law took it to Roanoke to the freight station and put it on the train and sent it to them.

As illustrated by these quotes, migrants relied on kinship networking to find economic opportunities outside of their area, while also using this network as a safety net, providing them another option if their economic endeavors failed.

Gender Differences in Migration

Differences between men's and women's reasons for migration was another theme observed in the content analysis of the interview texts. Schwarzweller et al (1971) also noted gender differences in the pushes and pulls of migration. By 1942, many Beech Creek residents were unable to sustain their livelihoods with only subsistence farming. As a result, many men supplemented subsistence farming with a cash income from timbering, lumbering, road and bridge construction, or working at defense plants. During this time, only 10% of adult male Beech Creek residents were tied full-time to farming. Often, men would return to their farms to plant corn in April and May and would return to work after the July harvest. Women and children remained at the homestead to tend to farming duties, unless the entire family abandoned the farm and resettled elsewhere.

Most of the Floyd County interviewees recalled incidents of migration that occurred prior to the 1960s. During this time, either single men left the home base to find work, or the nuclear family followed the "head of the household" while he tried to find better economic opportunities. There was only one reported incident (which occurred in the 1960s) when a woman moved because she, herself, was seeking employment. Most other accounts described women who either remained at the home base with their children, while the husband migrated back and forth for employment, or the women and children followed the husband to another location. Women were largely dependent upon men economically. The majority of women who migrated out of Floyd did so either because of their husband's search for employment or marriage to a person who resided outside of Floyd County.

There was one account of a woman in Floyd who searched for a husband in newspaper ads. After a long correspondence, she migrated to live with her new husband. Effie Brown (2006) said:

> My father's sister answered an advertisement in the paper. This man wanted to correspond with a young lady. . . . He lived in Illinois. So, after quite a long correspondence, he came here [to Floyd]. . . . This was in horse and buggy days. . . . He stayed two weeks, and at the end of the two weeks, they decided to get married. . . . I think it was more common then than it is now because with transportation, now we come into contact with people more often. And she had no way of getting out and really mingling with people too much. Because her other sister had married somebody next door. And maybe there wasn't somebody next door for her.

Insiders and Outsiders

As is true of other communities around the United States, some of the interviews showed that the people of Floyd County made a distinction between insiders and outsiders -- that is, between those people native to the community and those from outside the county. Out-migrants were imbued with certain positive attributes which they took with them when they moved from the community.

The out-migrants were described by our interviewees as having remained true to their Floyd County roots. Speaking of her son who joined the Navy in the 1960s, Effie Brown (2006) said:

> I thought he'd come back a bad boy, but he didn't. Come back very precise and very perfect about everything. . . . I don't know that it really changed him. It just improved what he already had started to do. . . . just took where he was and strengthened him.

Although Mrs. Brown feared that her son would be tainted by the out-migration experience, he held onto the lessons learned in Floyd County. Her son, Robert, told her that while other young sailors had not advanced in rank because of their behavior, he had -- eventually making the Navy his career. With great pride, Mrs. Brown recalled her son saying, "I was in the service with guys all through these twenty years, and they didn't earn one stripe because they wouldn't conduct themselves properly. But I got my stripe every time."

Out-migrants also took advantage of new opportunities in their new communities, often through education. This applied not only to first-generation out-migrants, but to their children and grandchildren as well. In speaking of her cousins who visited from Illinois, Effie Brown (2006) said, "Their children, [my aunt's], visited here -- two of them. The daughter was a very pretty lady and very, very refined. And a very cultured lady. . . . [She had] had an opportunity there as far as school and training was concerned."

Referring to cousins from Oklahoma, Effie Brown (2006) described both opportunities taken and essential similarity.

> As far as I can tell, now [my uncle's] children came back and visited. Maybe they had gone to school and were maybe better educated than one or two that stayed here. But outside of that, they were one and the same.

She added, "So, the children he took with him found jobs. One became postmaster of Dustin [Okalahoma]. One became a teacher. And one married well -- that one that was used to living in Oklahoma and . . . knew about the seasons and how to grow things."

Unlike Floyd County natives, in-migrants sometimes had difficulty adjusting to life in Floyd County. In a poignant tale, Effie Brown (2006), a teacher with the Floyd County Public Schools for forty-one years, describes her experience with children of migrant workers. These young children, not having a permanent home, moved from county to county as their parents sought work. She described these children as:

> Probably not quite as well clothed as in general, the ones that moved around place to place. And they . . . didn't associate too much with the other children. They were, more or less, to themselves. We [the teachers] tried to get them all together and be sociable, but some way, they were kind of ignored sometimes. And moving where they were from place to place, they didn't learn quite as well.

According to the interviewee, the children of migrant workers had difficulty making friends -- often standing alone at recess. The children from Floyd County, however, played in groups and made friends easily. Whether due to the constant upheaval in their lives or to poverty, the children of migrant workers fell behind in school as well. Mrs. Brown said the school system tried to address these issues, but with little success, as the children soon moved away.

When asked if any of these children ever moved back to Floyd, Mrs. Brown (2006) responded that a small percentage of these students have moved back to Floyd as adults, as she has seen them around the community. She added, "And they were children

that I thought maybe would never graduate, but they did. And they seem to be doing so well now that I was really pleased with them."

In some situations, an out-migrant could become an outsider — perhaps even unable to return to Floyd County. Interviewee Irene Harris told of a cousin who married and moved to Utah. While living there, the cousin and her husband became Mormons. The family back in Floyd County disapproved of this. So, when the cousin and her husband wanted to return home, they were not welcome. Mrs. Harris said, "They left here and went out west and they became Mormons. . . . They went to Utah, and they came back, but the family wouldn't accept them, because they had changed to the Mormon faith. So they went back to Utah." (Harris and Pauley 2006)

Although the out-migrants took the best of Floyd County within them when they moved, their new homes were different from Floyd County. What impact did this have on the migrants?

Migrants Changing

A key question when studying migration is how the move changed the migrants themselves. Like with all moves to new areas, there is a certain amount of adjustment that has to be made. Were these changes seen as change for good or change for ill by those left behind?

The memory interviewees didn't see much change in those who left Floyd and came back to visit. As noted above, they were quite proud in saying that many natives had retained the teachings and qualities that Floyd County had given them, like Effie Brown's son who joined the Navy. She didn't feel that it had changed him so much as improved on what had already been started back home. Another quote by Effie Brown

(2006) about an aunt who had married and moved to West Virginia demonstrates the feeling that you can't take the Floyd out of the girl. "No, she was a real Floyd Countian and always remained that way. Humble and friendly and kind. She was a very kind lady."

An explanation for the persistence of Floyd characteristics could be that Floyd migrants resettled in other Appalachian areas. Many of the characteristics that we heard about Floyd County are typical characteristics valued in Appalachia. Examples of these can be seen in the writings of Loyal Jones (1994) such as religion, love of place, hospitality, and modesty. It is only natural that a person would wish to move to an area like home, inhabited by people more like them. As seen in our counts from the interviews, we saw many moves to West Virginia and within Virginia. Those who did not move to an Appalachian area may have moved with other Appalachians. Or perhaps Floyd County is special in that it instills strong and unchanging morals and values in its natives that they carry with them for the rest of their lives.

The interviewees mentioned two areas of change in out-migrants who came back to visit. One was change in dialect. The other was an adjustment to a more fast-paced lifestyle. The fast pace was described frequently when comparing Floyd to outside areas. To our interviewees, areas outside of Floyd seemed to focus more on work. People were always working and rushing off somewhere. When speaking of his son who moved to Hendersonville, North Carolina, Carlie Spence said, "Oh he's used to the fast pace for sure. He works enough to where he would wear me out. He's a chef in the pastry thing now and he does that extra from what he already does. That's too many things going on at one time to suit me." (Altizer and Spence 2006)

Conclusion

Migration has played a large part in shaping Floyd County over the past 175 years. Migration has been affected by many factors. For out-migration, economic stability and new opportunities were the main influences, while in-migration was focused on coming back to the land, and retirement in a beautiful quiet area. In recent years in-migrants have either been retirees who did not need to work or younger people who commute or have chosen an alternative lifestyle such as homesteading. From this information we have found that Ricky Cox's hypothesis rings true: "People left Floyd County because the grass was figuratively greener, and people come to Floyd because the grass is literally greener."

With regard to the mechanics of migration, our findings were similar to the literature, showing that these trends are not specific to Floyd County. Kinship networking has provided communication about opportunities elsewhere, allowed people to fairly safely migrate to new areas, and given them a safety net back home if things do not work out.

One aspect of migration's impact on the changing nature of Floyd County warrants further study. The experiences of Floyd County's minority populations need to be recorded. Census data show that the county has become more ethnically diverse over the years. Two percent of Floyd County's population is African-American, 1.3% are Hispanic, 0.1% are American Indian, and 0.1% are Asian, along with 0.7% who answered the ethnicity question on the U.S. Census survey with two or more ethnic categories. (The 2000 census was the first that allowed respondents to choose more than one category.) Learning about the experiences of the County's long-standing African-American community and the relatively recent Hispanic migrants -- who came first as

migrant workers for Christmas tree farms and have stayed to work in construction, landscaping, and entrepreneurial enterprises -- would constitute chapter two of Floyd County's migration history.

All in all what we have found here is a great sense of community among the people of Floyd County, regardless of where they may have moved to or come from. As Judy Blackwell (2006) said about home in her interview, "They didn't forget that they had been born here, and that (they) were raised here. I think their hearts were still here."

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