The Smithfield Review

Studies in the history of the region west of the Blue Ridge

Volume 16, 2012

Published by the
Smithfield Preston Foundation
in cooperation with the
Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

This publication has been made possible
through the generous contributions of

National Bank
Blacksburg, Virginia

Smithfield Preston Foundation
Blacksburg, Virginia

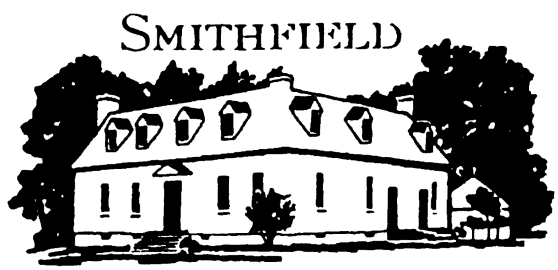
Individual Donors
Ann Gardner Gray
Mary C. Holliman
Marcus L. Oliver

Published in cooperation with the
Department of History
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
through funding from the
Johnston-Lucinian
Virginia History Research Endowment

The Smithfield Review

Studies in the history of the region west of the Blue Ridge

Volume 16, 2012



Published by the
Smithfield Preston Foundation
in cooperation with the
Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

The *Smithfield Review* is published annually, in the spring, by the Smithfield Preston Foundation, Blacksburg, Virginia, in cooperation with the Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Subscribtions are $10.50 per year: Individual copies or the entire set of fifteen volumes are available from:

Smithfield Museum Store
1000 Smithfield Plantation Road
Blacksburg, VA 24060

Or call 1/540-231-3947
or email *info@smithfieldplantation.org*
Please include $3.50 shipping/handling/tax per copy.

Complete sets are available at a discount.

ISSN 1093-9652

Printed in the United States of America

Smithfield is an important historic property adjacent to the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. The manor house, constructed around 1774 on the frontier, is a premier example of early American architecture and is one of few such regional structures of that period to survive. It was the last home of Colonel William Preston, a noted surveyor and developer of western lands, who served as an important colonial and Revolutionary War leader. Preston named the 1,860-acre plantation "Smithfield" in honor of his wife, Susanna Smith. Today, the manor house is a museum that is interpreted and administered by a local group of volunteers.

In 1997 the *Smithfield Review* was founded with the purpose of helping to preserve the often neglected history of the region west of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia and adjacent states. We seek articles about important personages and events; reports of archaeological discoveries; and analyses of the social, political, and architectural history of the region. Whenever possible and appropriate, the articles will incorporate letters, speeches, and other primary documents that convey to the reader a direct sense of the past.

A Note from the Editors

One of the greatest epics in human history is the formation and development of the United States of America. This volume of the *Smithfield Review* presents five diverse segments of that development during the formative years.

We begin with a description of parts of the infant nation as it appeared to an exiled prince of France. In "A Future French King Visits the Virginia Backcountry," Sharon Watkins describes the interesting observations of young Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, as recorded in his travel diary. Sharon received her PhD from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and is a retired faculty member from the Department of History at Western Illinois University.

The Civil War has, on occasion, been viewed as the final stage of the American Revolution. A segment of social history from that final stage is provided by historian James Robertson. "A Floyd County Family in Wartime" tells a compelling story of the war's impact on a family in rural Virginia. Civil War soldiers wrote many letters that survive, but these, written amidst the social disruption of warfare, also include those returned by his wife. The total collection reveals an engaging love story. Dr. Robertson, recently retired from Virginia Tech, now lives in eastern Virginia.

John Floyd was a key person in the frontier history of Virginia and Kentucky, and much has been written about him. In an effort to explore some questionable assertions about his life, David and James Mordy have done considerable research. That research has led them to some interesting aspects of naval warfare during the Revolutionary War which is presented in "The Phoenix Privateering Syndicate and Marine Captain John Floyd." Both David Mordy and James Mordy are retired after careers in industry and law, respectively. The brothers are graduates of the University of Kansas and have served as officers in the United States Navy.

Jennie Hodge, a graduate of the University of Virginia and Hollins University, has been diligent in seeking information about Susanna Preston, wife of Col. William Preston. This research produced a few stories about Susanna that were handed down through later generations and are summarized here in "Spring's Green Peas, Nocturnal Thieves, and Other

Family Lore About Susanna Smith Preston." Although the accuracy of these stories cannot be verified, they do exhibit the high esteem that later generations felt for the matriarch of the large and influential Preston family – a family that played an unusually large role in the political affairs of Virginia and the United States prior to 1862.

Since his retirement from Virginia Tech's chemistry department, Jim Glanville has undertaken a comprehensive study of the history of Southwest Virginia. In his latest article for the *Smithfield Review*, which carries the descriptive title "Southwest Virginia: A Thoroughfare of Nation Building," Jim constructs a summary review of the crucial importance of the primary transportation route through Southwest Virginia in the early years of our nation's development.

As the scope of the *Smithfield Review* has grown over the years, we have a growing number of benefactors to acknowledge as essential to our operation. A large number of authors, reviewers, editors, financial donors, and Management Board members all give freely of considerable time and money to make our publication possible. We are truly grateful! Special gratitude is expressed to Peter Wallenstein and the Virginia Tech Department of History.

A Future French King Visits the Virginia Backcountry in 1797

The Travel Diary of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans

Sharon B. Watkins

In the spring of 1797 Louis Philippe, then Duke of Orleans and later the last French king (reigning 1830 – 1848), undertook a four month long tour through the backcountry of Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and New York. Subsequently he visited more populated areas of New England and the Middle Atlantic states before departing United States territory via the Mississippi River and New Orleans in February 1798. The prince, age 24, was accompanied by his two younger brothers and a middle-aged manservant known only as Beaudoin. Louis Philippe intended to record details of his experiences and reflections as he journeyed into the backcountry; he set out with two blank notebooks in his saddlebag. He made extensive entries during the months of April and May 1797, until his party reached Bardstown, Kentucky; afterward he recorded only expenditures and his dwindling financial resources. He filled one notebook while in Virginia, the other while visiting a group of Overhill Cherokee and traversing Tennessee and Kentucky. The present article takes the first volume for its primary topic and a second article will explore the other. The first notebook illuminates conditions in the backcountry in the Federal period and reveals both how an unusual visitor perceived the frontier and its people, and how those Americans reacted to three French royals in their midst.

A brief account of Louis Philippe's earlier life and his reasons for traveling in America increases understanding of his journal and of his uniqueness among European commentators upon the great experiment underway in the United States. Born October 6, 1773, he was the eldest son of the head of the younger branch of the French royal family. His father was Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orleans, the direct male descendant of a younger son of Louis XIII; he was an intelligent and ambitious man whose hopes were often thwarted by his position several removes from the French throne. While limited in the political roles they might play, the Orleans men had excelled as capitalists and entrepreneurs, amassing an immense

private fortune. Thus Louis Philippe and his three siblings were raised in an atmosphere of luxury and refinement, confident of their unmatched social status and historic inheritance. Nevertheless they were not treated indulgently. Their private education was demanding and inculcated in them a strong sense of responsibility and the importance of working steadily to cultivate their abilities.

As heir apparent to an exalted rank, Louis Philippe particularly received the imprint of the viewpoints and prejudices of his father, who was very much a devotee of Enlightenment thought and of French Masonic ideas and practices. Religious influences and spiritual instruction were notably absent from the youth's upbringing. Scientific and technological subjects and attitudes were stressed; he excelled at geography and geology, including their economic aspects. The guiding lights of the Orleans dynasty were human reason rather than emotion, material reality rather than spiritual belief, and pragmatic progress rather than divine providence. Contemporary England was upheld as a model of human advances in government, science, and economic affairs; English was the first foreign language Louis Philippe studied.

The eruption of the French Revolution in 1789 and its subsequent radicalization drastically altered the lives of both father and son, as well as the course of French political life. The father seized the opportunity for political leadership, renamed himself Philippe Égalité (Philippe Equality), won election to the first revolutionary assemblies, and became a leader of liberal aristocrats seeking reforms. Louis Philippe, scarcely 16 years old, joined the youth section of the Jacobin club. When Austrian and Prussian armies threatened France along its Belgian border, he volunteered for the revolutionary forces and served on the front as an inexperienced but brave infantry captain (1792 – 1793). The Orleans men declared themselves in favor of a reformed monarchy featuring popular representation through an elected assembly, a written constitution, and legal guarantees of basic human and civil rights. Thus they created *orléanisme*, a political stance in the center between the relatively conservative traditional French monarchy and the more radical republican form of government advocated by some revolutionaries. Because Orleanism might appeal not only to the center but also to moderate old-liners and moderate republicans, it was perceived as a political threat to both sides of the political spectrum.[1]

As the French Revolution grew increasingly radical, both King Louis XVI and Louis Philippe's father were executed. Members of the royal family were imprisoned or fled abroad into exile. For several years (1793 – 1796) Louis Philippe wandered about western and northern Europe in countries

that had taken a neutral stance in the hostilities pitting revolutionary France against Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and others. He traveled strictly *incognito* and often was accompanied only by Beaudoin, who refused to leave him. His two younger brothers were imprisoned in a small damp cell in Marseilles; his sister and mother were subjected to detention in a small house. The vast properties of the family were sequestered by the radical government.

Louis Philippe arrived in the United States in October 1796 primarily as a result of a bargain struck with a new moderate republican government, the *Directoire* (Directory). This government sought to reconcile conflicts among French citizens and win majority support as public opinion shifted toward the center. In hopes of neutralizing the attractiveness of Orleanism, the Directors offered to free the younger brothers if all three surviving Orleans men would go to the United States and promise to remain there and not interfere in French internal affairs. The Directory also pledged greater freedom to the Orleans women and some access to family funds for all five. Louis Philippe had grown tired of constantly moving, borrowing money, and concealing his identity. He had often considered someday visiting the United States and now he could save his family by doing so. He agreed to the terms and the American government pledged to accept these high ranking exiles. The three royal brothers were reunited in February 1797 in Philadelphia.[2]

While in America the Orleans brothers openly acknowledged their identity and simply turned their respective titles into last names. Thus Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, became *Monsieur* d'Orleans, the middle brother (Antoine Philippe) became *Monsieur* de Montpensier, and the youngest (Louis Charles) became *Monsieur* de Beaujolais. They were welcomed by Philadelphia high society, which was relatively wealthy, educated, and sophisticated. Louis Philippe had a private interview with outgoing President George Washington and all three witnessed the inauguration of John Adams. They discovered congenial Frenchmen in America's capital as well; other refugees had settled there and created an active social and intellectual life centered at a French bookstore. Most of them were liberals who shared many aspects of Louis Philippe's political program. He must have felt encouraged after talking with them.

However, he decided to demonstrate respect and support for the current government of France. According to a recent biographer, he firmly believed the French had the right to choose their own government and that ultimately his nation would decide to turn to him as its constitutional king. Until that time, he would remain available but would not intervene in domestic French

affairs. He would busy himself and his brothers in learning about America and exploring its various regions. Just as a hotly contested legislative election approached in France, the brothers and Beaudoin departed on March 25 to travel deep into the interior of the country. By leaving behind Philadelphia's active French liberals, they made clear they would not attempt to influence the election.[3] Their itinerary was ambitious, taking them first along the best roads to already well-known places (Mount Vernon, Harper's Ferry, the Shenandoah (Sherando) Valley, Natural Bridge). They planned then to cross the eastern continental divide into areas just a few years removed from warfare with native tribes (Montgomery County, Abingdon, along the Holston River) and to mingle with American and foreign pioneers crowding the Great Road westward to new lands and Kentucky. The first major stage of their journey culminated as they crossed from Virginia into Tennessee near Cherokee ancestral homelands.

Since the French government failed to deliver the promised funds, these Frenchmen traveled simply. Each man had one horse, one blanket, one coat, one oilskin waterproof, and one saddlebag. They wore heavy tough buckskin riding pants and sturdy boots of American make. Their horses and riding gear were ordinary and serviceable. They personally carried guns, knives, maps, and compasses. Nothing in their attire or equipment marked them out as royalty, and experience proved that few people realized their true status. They slept and ate at crowded inns along the way or stayed with families to whom they had letters of introduction from mutual acquaintances. Language presented no barriers. Louis Philippe spoke fully fluent, almost unaccented English and German. Montpensier, Beaujolais, and Beaudoin easily carried on everyday conversation in English. They were better prepared than many visitors to communicate and to interact directly with a wide variety of people as they explored the backcountry in 1797.[4]

It is remarkable that Louis Philippe's journal of this early adventure survived to the present day. He relocated many times during the turbulent period following the outbreak of the French Revolution. Many of his brothers' letters, drawings, and souvenirs have disappeared without a trace. He highly valued his journal, maps, and memories of America, partly because they provided him with memories of his happiest times with his younger brothers, who died in 1807 and 1808 of tuberculosis contracted in prison. After leaving the United States, Louis Philippe remained pro-American for the remainder of his long life. As king, he cultivated friendly relations and he happily invited American visitors to the royal palace, where he displayed his treasures and chatted about his time in their homeland.

When his reign ended abruptly with revolution in 1848, he took pains to recover his travel journal from the wreckage of the palace; he was then 75 years old. His family kept it safely in their private archives until its publication in 1976, shortly after the 200th anniversary of his birth.[5]

An archivist of the royal papers has speculated further that the American notebooks "were testimony to the great adventure of his youth, when he explored a new, free land, and enlightened politics, fruitful contacts, and precious friendships."[6] She also argues the entries show a king in training, exploring subjects that might prove of value to a monarch. Instead of elevated style or romantic exuberance, pragmatic descriptions and observations abound. The journal was probably never intended for publication and as such it retains an energy, freshness, and directness that connects us with people of early America in a way that more polished works intended for the literary market do not. As the future king remarked, "What really interests me is the temper of the country, the state of its agriculture, dwellings, population, etc."[7] To appreciate fully this work, one must consider and test Louis Philippe's observations and conclusions, his factual accuracy and possible error, and the royal perceptions and misperceptions as one retraces his travels of spring 1797.

Once he left behind the polite conventions and wealthy society, the prince can be sometimes glimpsed in his travel diary struggling with new definitions of "normal" and "accepted." He knew that on the roads of the west he would encounter the already-fabled egalitarianism of the backcountry. However, he began his journey by riding south and east to visit former President George Washington at his home on the Potomac. Here, for the first time, a European royal confronted directly the racial realities created by the haste of European colonizers to exploit the economic resources of the New World. Egalitarianism was nowhere to be seen as he tried to make sense of the obvious inequality of slavery in a land where equality of rights and freedoms was celebrated.

The travelers arrived at Mount Vernon at six in the evening on April 5, 1797. Washington personally welcomed them and introduced them to another guest, his French namesake George Washington de LaFayette, teen-aged son of the Marquis who had fought on behalf of the American Revolution and championed the moderate stage of the French Revolution. Young LaFayette, too, was living abroad waiting for calmer times inside France. Louis Philippe began his diary entry with a description of the mansion (which he found a modest wooden building but beautifully situated) and of Washington's 10,000 acres of land and the approximately 400 slaves scattered among the various farms making up the plantation.

He then leapt immediately to consideration whether it would be possible to emancipate slaves gradually "without upheaval." He noted that Washington had prohibited whipping of his slaves and that Virginia state law equated killing of a slave by a master with ordinary murder. However, few masters seemed to follow Washington's example and few worried about the law defining murder; "here Negroes are not considered human beings."[8] Louis Philippe uniformly employed the term "*négre,*" equivalent to Negro, except for one use of "*mulâtre*" (mulatto) and one use of "*négrillons*" (small black boys and girls). The English translator used "Negroes" and "blacks" interchangeably and referred to the children as "pickaninnies." [9]

The diarist did not hide his surprise at both the number of enslaved people and their poor living conditions. He described "wretched wooden shacks" swarming with children "dressed in rags our beggars would scorn to wear."[10] Apparently it was here, too, that the young prince first encountered the numerous gradations of interracial mixing that Europeans seldom saw at home. Louis Philippe noted that the house servants were all mulattoes, described the varying skin tones and curliness of hair, and lamented the fate of one young boy of pale complexion who would nevertheless spend his life in slavery. He clearly found it difficult to escape Eurocentrism and his own personal background; his norms expected overwhelmingly white populations and filtered poverty through the eyes of wealth and privilege.

Yet when considering slavery in the United States, he may have consciously thought primarily of events in French colonial Saint-Domingue (present-day Haiti), where all combinations of racial blending had occurred and the condition of slaves on sugar plantations was more brutal than those working in general agriculture as at Mount Vernon. The extension of civil and political liberty in France itself had provoked various racial groups in the colony to demand the same rights for themselves. After five years of revolt, chaos, and bloodshed on the island, the radical revolutionaries abolished slavery in all French colonies in February 1794.

Nothing suggests that Louis Philippe personally discussed slavery with Washington as some visitors did. He apparently did not learn how many slaves Washington actually owned or that he planned to emancipate them in his will. Inventories of slaves drawn up as Washington prepared his will in 1799 showed 316 slaves at Mount Vernon (not 400) and of those 123 belonged to Washington. The others were "dower" slaves of his wife Martha and the Custis family, whose fate Washington could not control.[11] On the other hand, some of the personal information about slave life at Mount Vernon was supplied by slaves who spoke with Beaudoin. The man who served as valet, groom, and household supervisor for the princes was

personally free and a well-paid employee. Nevertheless he was obviously of a lower status and his role as servant allowed him to converse with servants and working men everywhere and to report back on these talks. Thus Louis Philippe did have a source of information flowing, as it were, from those on the bottom in America as well as those at the top.

According to Beaudoin, the house slaves had expressed hopes of gaining their freedom in perhaps ten years. They attended clubs held in Alexandria and Arlington, where "Quakers, Anabaptists, and Methodists" spread doctrines of freedom. Washington's slaves specifically disavowed violence, saying they did not want "to follow the example of the blacks in Saint-Domingue, they would do no harm to any man, etc."[12] Beaudoin also contributed the story of a cook/chef who had run away from the estate, leaving behind a young daughter who was happy her father was gone because that meant he was free.

Louis Philippe connected these accounts of freedom clubs with his (erroneous) belief that slaves composed three quarters of Virginia's population and would inevitably rise in bloody revolt. The source of his information about the population of Virginia is unknown and of varying accuracy. He recorded that the most recent census had shown about 770,000 people living in the state and that "it is estimated that some three fourths of them are blacks. This ratio is terrifying, and will sooner or later prove deadly to the southern states. Ideas of freedom have already made headway among them."[13] The duke was approximately correct on the census figures for the state's total population: in 1790 Virginia counted 747,550 people in the official census and in 1800 it contained 885,171. The 1790 count showed that 39.14 percent of the total were enslaved and the 1800 census showed 39.16 percent enslaved. Thus Louis Philippe undercounted whites and greatly exaggerated the number of slaves.[14] There is no doubt as to the inaccuracy of his observation and it led him to a dubious prediction.

Perhaps he accepted that inflated total of slaves for the whole state because the area he was visiting contained a large number of enslaved blacks. He asserted that slaves "must naturally hate" their white owners and that under the influence of doctrines of freedom and equality, a large black majority would someday wage racial war on a small white minority. The fear of a struggle similar to that in Saint-Domingue may have led Louis Philippe to his faulty census reporting. If so, he would not be the only European visitor to have such a conviction. Even that master of observation and analysis, Alexis de Tocqueville, prophesied thirty-five years later that a war between blacks and whites would wreak havoc in the southern states.[15]

The subject of slavery dominated his journal entries, and the French nobleman failed to record any extended personal portrait or impressions of George Washington. He noted Washington's "great courtesy" upon their arrival and then little else until the day of their departure. Louis Philippe then wrote "The general was kind enough to give us letters [of introduction] and some comments in his own hand on our proposed itinerary."[16] Decades later U.S. Minister to France Lewis Cass published Louis Philippe's memories of Washington.

> They coincide with the statements generally given by his contemporaries of his private life and personal habits. He was comparatively silent, somewhat reserved, methodical in the division of his time, and careful in his use of it. . . . His household was that of a wealthy Virginia gentleman of the old school—unostentatious, comfortable, and leaving his guests to fill up their hours as they thought fit, and at the same time providing whatever was necessary for pleasant employment.

The king, who suffered from vociferous attacks by the Paris press, also told the tale that one morning he inquired how the general had rested and received the reply, "I always sleep well, for I never wrote a word in my life which I had afterwards cause to regret."[17] Louis Philippe surmised that the former president's reply was prompted by an attack upon his recent policies by some "scurrilous" publication.

All of Washington's French visitors departed together the morning of April 10. Young LaFayette and his tutor shared a mid-day meal with the princes before departing for a different destination. Louis Philippe's party took a wrong turn and had to cut back on a poor-quality road in order to rejoin the main route to Leesburg, where they were to meet one of President Washington's relatives. They traveled late in miserable weather and spent the intervening night at "a detestable inn."[18] The next day they rode through a thickly-forested area with few settlers until reaching Leesburg where they found Colonel Ball, a cousin of Washington on his mother's side. They presented their letter of introduction, and Ball conducted them to his 1,500-acre estate along the Potomac River. Although Ball's house was "little more than a shack" in the royal estimation, his host delighted him by giving his party an entire room with two good beds. Louis Philippe's emphasis on the word "two" in his journal makes it clear that already the paucity of comfortable accommodations had become an irritating problem, one which grew as the travelers moved deeper into the backcountry. Despite the modest house, he noted that the estate was "a handsome holding that

anyone would envy if it were not in Negro country."[19]

However, as they entered the house, an incident occurred which indicated that perhaps they were no longer in "Negro country" and were much closer to the egalitarian frontier than the royal guest imagined. Louis Philippe recounted that

> As we entered the house he [Colonel Ball] did something that might have astonished me in another country: he held out his arm so I could help him out of his redingote [long double-breasted riding coat]. I thought of my own frequent pleas for help in putting mine on, and did not hesitate to take him by the sleeve. This won me no thanks, as he carried off the redingote without a word to me.[20]

This incident was not trivial in meaning. No house servant sprang forward to help the master and his guests out of their coats or to hang them up. Ball's expectation that a Bourbon prince would help him off with his riding coat was, in European terms, a shocking breach of etiquette. As Louis Philippe wrote, this egalitarian behavior might have amazed him "in another country," but not in the United States. Furthermore, his own pragmatic disposition suggested the logical nature of Ball's request; he who had wished for help with his coat should surely give help to others. It is tempting to see in this everyday experience a young prince from an older world being transformed by the new world; he was preparing to become the mature king in a bourgeois world who simply picked up his own umbrella and hooked it over his own arm when he went out walking in Paris on a rainy day.[21]

Riding westward the next day, the Orleans brothers traversed an area where, they saw, Quakers had settled in a group and slaves were few. They were rapidly leaving behind the long-settled plantation country and crossing the frontier to the backcountry, represented by thick forests and the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.[22] In line with the incident at Colonel Ball's home, they were to discover that in general behavior was more deferential where slaves were numerous and more egalitarian in forested and mountainous regions where the work force consisted primarily of free people.

The Frenchmen's perception that the eastern part of Virginia with its fine mansions, aristocratic behaviors, and concentrated slave population constituted a distinct cultural, ethnic, and economic zone is confirmed by modern researchers. Cultural historians have identified and described various dominant "folkways" brought to the British colonies and firmly

implanted there by immigrants from different geographical areas of Britain.[23] The Tidewater area of Virginia was dominated by the aristocratic Cavalier lifestyle of the south and southwest of England; it was based on large agricultural landholdings and a subservient labor force. The transition to plantations worked by enslaved laborers was easily made. In contrast, Quakers often immigrated from the Midlands of England and settled together in clusters; their unique religious beliefs had frequently led them to be among the first free people opposing slavery.

By mid-April Louis Philippe had passed through portions of these two folkway regions and distinguished their differences in his journal. Upon entering the mountains and valleys of Virginia, he found a zone dominated by a third British folkway that remained the dominant cultural element for the remainder of his travel in the state. In the large geographic area composing the southern mountains and backcountry, the dominant English-speaking element was descended from immigrants from the borderlands of northern Britain. Whether they had lived in northern England, southern Scotland, or eastern Ireland, this "mixed people" had formed their culture under the intense pressure of endemic civil chaos and warfare inflicted upon them by would-be rulers, primarily the kings of Scotland and England. The group today called "Scots-Irish" by Americans may be the best-known borderlands element, but many thousands of strictly English, Scottish, and Irish people fled their homes and settled in the backcountry from southwestern Pennsylvania southward through Georgia by 1797. Scattered along the way among them were other ethnic groups in much smaller numbers (notably German, African, and Native American). The English speakers from the borderlands dominated the backcountry in part because their traditional way of life transferred so successfully to frontier conditions. They brought a tough military tradition and a personal sense of fierce pride, egalitarianism, and independence; these and associated traits came to compose the southern highland culture.[24] They settled in scattered homesteads that were linked to far-flung neighbors by strong kinship ties uniting nuclear families to extended families to large clans. All strangers were under suspicion and offering hospitality was not considered a virtue. Although most of the borderers were poor, a more affluent "backcountry ascendancy" provided strong leadership. The leaders (such as Andrew Jackson) invited poor men to participate politically by supporting members of the ascendancy and both elements cultivated the ideal of social equality and mutual esteem. The borderers preferred easily-replaceable houses and emphasized portable property in the form of livestock rather than field crops, preferences formed because they had been forced from their old homes or burned out repeatedly

in Britain. Men were warriors and women were workers. There was little concern to seek long-term material improvements, and men treasured the freedom to spend each moment as they would, regardless of the wishes of others, including paying customers. David Hackett Fischer notes that many outsiders traveling the area were puzzled or frustrated at some aspects of this culture; Louis Philippe was no exception, as shown below.[25]

Louis Philippe's reactions to the geographical features of Virginia's mountains and valleys themselves were filtered through his extensive experiences in Swiss and German Alpine areas, where he had spent many months in exile in 1793 – 1794. Thus the Blue Ridge Mountains seemed to him neither particularly lofty nor steep. Their unique hold upon the viewer was that "the range is drawn up like a regiment, and the eye follows its undeviating spine irresistibly." He quickly began to record in his diary a complaint about the mountains that revealed psychological discomfort. The countless trees and dense forests distressed him; they were barriers to vision and obstacles to travel. Even on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge he recorded with surprise that "the forest stretches uninterruptedly to the summits" and "the view from the far slopes of the Blue Ridge Mountains would be very beautiful if only the trees did not obscure it."[26] The next day he found the forested areas "monotonous" and any attendant agriculture "indifferent."

In welcome contrast to the repetitive view of mountains, the duke found the relatively treeless banks along the Shenandoah River "charming" when he crossed it at Keyes' Ferry. The visitors rode out of their way to see the picturesque junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers at Harper's Ferry. He found the river-hewn gap and frothy waters "quite wild" but not nearly so dramatic as similar gorges along the Rhine and in Switzerland. While the scenery did not enchant him, Louis Philippe did find points of great interest in this area. He accumulated geographic and economic information, such as where gaps in the ridges would allow for construction of canals to penetrate through the mountains and into the interior and where "good agriculture" had begun in deforested areas.[27] These early reactions to the landscape in the mountains and valleys and gaps set the tone for his later comments. He had barely entered the realm of the American wilderness and it was proving wilder than he found comfortable. Henceforth, areas which Louis Philippe described as beautiful or pleasant were either meadows or natural grasslands (as in south central Kentucky) or regions where people had cut down a critical mass of trees, imposing human structures and replicating primarily northwestern European patterns of agriculture.

Making their way toward the broad Shenandoah Valley, the Frenchmen spent an uncomfortable night in the billiard room of an otherwise full inn at Charles Town (then in Virginia but now in West Virginia due to the creation of the new state during the Civil War). The next day the riders covered the relatively short distance to Winchester, which was already a sizeable town.[28] Here they encountered in full flow the migration of Germans and German-speaking people moving southward from Pennsylvania. Winchester had proven the final stop for many of them, and the Roman Catholics among them already had their own church there.[29] Louis Philippe had become aware of the increasing influx of German speakers from his own passage across the Atlantic; his ship had carried several dozen "Germans and Alsatians" in steerage, fleeing war-torn Europe.[30]

In *The Golden Buck*, a well-known Winchester inn run by a much earlier German immigrant named Philip Bush, Louis Philippe chatted with the older man in German, giving him an update of developments he had recently seen in Germany. The inn was so pleasant that the princes lingered a day to get some necessary laundry done and planned to spend a second night. However, they made a mistake that violated the egalitarian sensitivities of their host and sent Bush into a rage. The error was to request to dine privately in their room rather than at the common table with the other visitors. Later Louis Philippe indicated the request was made because one of his brothers was feeling ill, but he did not say so at the time. The innkeeper exploded at the request and shouted that the Frenchmen considered themselves too good to dine with everyone else. Not even General Washington, Bush declared, had asked for such a thing and no one else would have the privilege either. Unknown to the traveling royals, George Washington had indeed stayed at the inn four decades previously while strengthening defenses of the town during the French and Indian War. Apologies for their misunderstanding did nothing to mollify Bush, and the princes then declared they would not stay a moment longer with someone so "impertinent." Before they could be thrown out they packed up, paid up, and trotted off. They found their dinner and passed the night several miles away.[31] Some two weeks later, Louis Philippe conceded he had erred. While describing their accommodation in Knoxville, he wrote that "the common board (where we are obliged by local custom to take our meals) is not bad."[32] In the backcountry, the offense was not actually to hold superior status or power; the offense was to appear to assume one's social superiority.[33]

The future king did not allow the unpleasantness with Bush at Winchester to deter him from enjoying his ride through the Shenandoah Valley or from seeking out other German-run inns. As they moved southward

in the broad valley and the mountains stood away at some distance, Louis Philippe grew more comfortable; he now had an expanded field of vision and saw types of agriculture to which he was accustomed. As for the German taverns and inns, he enjoyed their general ambience and perhaps above all their home-brewed beer. He found the beer a refreshing break from the strong spirits (whiskey, rum) and heavy ale and wines (sherry, port) which British-style public houses offered. He also happily employed his German language skills, talking with his host and hostess in their native tongue. He often considered their version of German impure or corrupted, almost a Swabian dialect compared to his own *hoch Deutsch* of the upper classes. Despite this preference, he found that ethnicity was no guarantee of cleanliness or quality. Inns in Strasburg and Staunton were excellent, while the one outside New Market was a "squalid boozing-ken."[34]

For several days the entries in the travel diary recorded stops (Keezletown, New Market, Staunton, and Lexington) and fairly repetitious descriptions of the countryside. The next major objective of the trip was a visit to Natural Bridge south of Lexington, so halts were brief. Louis Philippe did inscribe a jibe at American methods of naming geographic features: the uninspired name "South River" would surely be repeated many times across the nation, causing great confusion. And meanwhile he could find no single unifying name for the prominent ridge on the east side of the valley and running, as he estimated, some fifty miles. Apparently no one mentioned the terms "Massanutten" or "Peaked Ridge" (from the Joshua Fry-Peter Jefferson map of 1755). Instead, local residents gave him their name for the mountain's nearest face, such as "Three Head Mountain." He quickly noticed the point where the valley's mountain walls seemed to come closer. On the mountainsides, he observed a preponderance of *pins*, which could denote simply "pines" or a mixture of firs and other evergreens.[35] A persistent cool rain complicated travel; in the dark they missed river fords and took the wrong roads. They stayed at good and bad inns, meeting "decent" and "nice" people along the way. One horse became lame and they all walked for most of a day, preferring to remain together rather than have one of them (Beaudoin would be the obvious choice) fall far behind with the injured animal.

As they approached Natural Bridge, the duke found northern Rockbridge County "mountainous, indifferently farmed and uninteresting."[36] On April 18 they arrived at an inn chosen for its nearness to Natural Bridge. It was physically "a real hovel" operated by a Captain Bartley, who proved "a decent sort and a jokester." Based on this description, it seems likely that this may have been one of the inns operated by former soldiers as a condition

of receiving a pension or partial pay; often such innkeepers tried to avoid guests as a nuisance rather than entertaining them as Bartley did. On a cold morning with light snow, the captain conducted the Frenchmen to the stone bridge itself, a mere two miles away. At this site, Louis Philippe allowed himself to record perhaps his greatest appreciation of a natural wonder. "This is a very unusual bridge," he wrote. "It is a tall mass of rock which seems to have been hollowed out by the water's steady action, perhaps like the rifts of the Rhône. . . . This is truly an exceptional sight and though the region is scrubby, the bridge is surely picturesque."[37] This was high praise from a man whose reaction to unusual natural phenomena seldom entailed artistic sentiments. Even here most of his journal entry consists of his reasoned effort to understand the physical origins of the bridge, considering the factors of time, water, rock, and soil. He carefully recorded all the measurements of the bridge (how far above the water, width of the span and so on). He concluded this entry by noting briskly "Otherwise it seems to me that a good sketch and a precise description should do the trick and that it is not really worth a second trip." Montpensier made several sketches, now lost.[38]

The next day the brothers rode through the forest toward the James River, observing the high clay content in the soil and speculating on why some oak trees were in full leaf and others still barren. They took a ferry across the James River and approached a fork in the road. Here they apparently consulted their map carefully, as Louis Philippe gave a fairly detailed and accurate description of the two main routes before them. They desired to attain and follow the Great Road westward across southwestern Virginia and then swing south into Tennessee. They realized they needed to climb the eastern continental divide and cross the "Kanhaway" (New) River, via either Pepper's Ferry or "English's" (Ingles) Ferry. On the basis of advice from locals and their excellent map, first intended to guide postal carriers, the travelers decided to make their way to Fincastle and then follow the road to Ingles Ferry.[39]

The popularity of their choice was soon evident, as for the first time they encountered large groups of American settlers on the way to Kentucky. While all were eating mid-afternoon dinner at a tavern near Fincastle, one group of Kentucky-bound pioneers invited the Frenchmen to join their party. There was news of Indian unrest to the west and the four men would be welcome additions to the settlers' forces. The Frenchmen politely demurred since they were headed toward Tennessee. Later Louis Philippe gave other reasons for avoiding large groups of travelers, complaining they totally overwhelmed the tiny roadside inns and made very irritating companions.

"Every man has his own way of traveling and travelers are mutually annoying." A large group always contained "some who never shut up for a moment and others who . . . could not stop yawning, scratching, belching, etc."[40] They made sure the Kentucky-bound group had moved on before they emerged from their room the next morning.

Nevertheless, this spontaneous invitation by a group of pioneers to join them marching to Kentucky illustrates how ordinary Americans perceived the Frenchmen. Their clothing, equipment, and behavior allowed them to blend in with the heterogeneous flow of humanity moving along the main routes. The future Kentuckians did not think of them as possible foreign aristocrats, rather assessing them simply as more vigorous men going west to get a farm or otherwise make their fortunes there. It did not matter who they actually were or how they spoke; the frontier overlooked such differences.

Leaving the inn at Fincastle, the French travelers directed their horses southward and westward, forded the "Raunoake" (Roanoke) River a half dozen times and by nightfall were in present-day Shawsville. They spent a very pleasant night at the home of a son of Andrew Lewis in a landscape Louis Philippe enjoyed. He found the little river valley traversed in modern times by federal highways number 11 and 460 "a pleasant and comfortable place" with "lush meadows" and a pleasant stream. He visited the remains of an old fort he called "Voss's fort" (Fort Vause), which he thought Indians had captured "in the old days."[41] The following day began with the final climb up several hundred feet to reach the eastern continental divide near Christiansburg.

While nowhere near the Alps in height, the first substantial mountains west of the Shenandoah Valley constituted a major geographical barrier in the United States, which then stretched only to the Mississippi River. In his notebook Louis Philippe wrestled with a problem of perception—or misperception—that visitors in the same area may still experience. Of the mountains he had just climbed, the prince declared that "I do not know their height above sea level; not great, I suspect, because they rise above the valley floors no higher than the hills around Paris . . . and the Blue Ridge Mountains are real mountains by comparison." This perception was quite inaccurate, although perhaps understandable since he had no practical means of determining elevation above sea level. He did not seem to realize that the valley floors themselves were at a higher elevation than the area where he first saw the Blue Ridge and entered the Shenandoah Valley. For example, the elevation at Harper's Ferry is 535 feet above sea level, that at Fincastle is 1,115 feet, at Colonel Lewis' 1,397, and finally at Christiansburg between 1,968 and 2,133 feet. Various peaks visible in the Christiansburg

area approach or exceed 4,000 feet, whereas the tallest of the hills around Paris is Monmartre, at 427 feet. From the low-lying basin of the old city of Paris, only 115 feet above sea level, Monmartre's height deceived the eye, as the relative heights of Virginia's mountains sometimes did.

Louis Philippe had ascended almost 600 feet in altitude that very morning and he did complain about the long steep hill the road climbed to reach the continental divide. With irritation he ascribed the road's steepness to inferior road building. "Crossing the Alleghanys I saw evidence of the Americans' ignorance, or laziness, about mapping their roads. The one we followed crossed over the tallest of the rounded hills, leaving vales left and right where it would have been far easier to cut a road."[42] A road keeping to lower areas would, of course, still be required to ascend the same amount in altitude to reach Christiansburg. The choice lay primarily between a shorter steeper route which drained better and a longer meandering one more susceptible to mud. The Americans had chosen the former.

The travelers found Christiansburg, the new Montgomery County seat established only three years earlier, to be "a tiny village of about ten houses."[43] Riding westward from the village, Louis Philippe again observed that the forest completely carpeted the Alleghenies and that, compared to the Alps, no large bare rock faces were evident. These accurate factual observations evoked his interest in geology and an effort to explain these differences scientifically. He mulled over a widespread "notion" of why the smaller continent of Europe should have much higher, rockier mountains than the much larger expanse of eastern North America. He wrote that perhaps "the effect attributed to the trade winds is real" and that the ocean was deeper and had come further inland into eastern North America and was still slowly draining away. This gradual ebb of the water left intact the soil and plants in the American mountains, whereas a precipitous movement of water away from the Alps had torn plants and soil from the Alps, leaving bare exposed summits and large rocky faces.[44]

This explanation echoed a then-current theory of mountain formation, as presented by Austrian geologist Johann Gottlob Lehmann in his 1759 study of the natural history of the earth. Gottlob premised large original "primitive" mountains on earth, which were later overlain by the floodwaters recorded in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures. The larger steeper mountains were thought to have lost much soil and plant cover as the water receded rapidly, and over time smaller "secondary" mountains formed from that eroded material.[45] To an extent modern science has confirmed portions of this scenario, providing material evidence of the shallow sea that once covered much of Virginia and deposits of soil that Louis Philippe labeled "sandy."

As the four adventurers rode toward "the big Kanahaway" (New) River and the Ingles Ferry to cross it, the scarcity of settlers and the tiny size and primitive nature of their villages were obvious. Louis Philippe attributed the lack of settlement partly to poor soil and partly to the fears of Indian attacks that had persisted until a few years previously, when treaties were made with Cherokee bands in Tennessee, and General Anthony Wayne's victory on August 20, 1794, lessened the possibility of raiders from the north and west.[46] A halt at Fort Chiswell in Wythe County to shoe a horse enabled the visitors to validate the latter part of this theory. There they briefly examined the remains of "a big fort torn down since the peace." As historian Mary B. Kegley has ably argued, Louis Philippe's record of the once sizeable fort indicated that Fort Chiswell had been a substantial fortification.[47] The fort's deliberate demolition suggested to the Frenchmen that local whites no longer feared "*les indiens,*" as they commonly named Native Americans. Recent construction of "handsome" houses and inns in Wytheville (then Evesham), the county seat of newly-created Wythe County, reinforced this conclusion.

Back on the road, the royal brothers again encountered groups of settlers, these leaving North Carolina for the Cumberland area. They learned that "a prodigious number" had migrated through the area the previous year. The soil along the road was "yellow and sandy," and most of the pioneers passed by. Their route soon brought them to the "Holstein" (Holston) River as they headed toward Abingdon. There a substantial local landowner, whom they had met by chance, insisted they must visit and spend the night with him. Colonel Campbell led them to a 3,000-acre estate lying along the south bank of the Holston River in Washington County. Although Louis Philippe did not specify which of the numerous Campbell clan he visited, his description of the estate and Campbell's six sons make it possible to identify their host as Arthur Campbell (1743 – 1811), revolutionary soldier and colonel of the Washington County regiment for decades.

The Frenchmen were surprised at how few acres the colonel had cleared of trees and put under cultivation, particularly since he had "several Negroes" as well as six sons to help him. Campbell explained that he had several other properties and spent much of his time and labor on them. Despite his large property holdings, Campbell's house had somewhat limited space for guests, and the arrangements for sleeping amused the visitors. The family crowded the four visitors and two sons into one room with two beds normally used by the sons. Louis Philippe wryly recorded that "Montpensier was assigned to be my wife and Beaujolais was reserved for the elder son of the house." A younger son and Beaudoin slept on the floor. [48]

During relaxed conversation with their host, the Frenchmen realized another reason for Campbell's pressing invitation and hospitality to them. It became obvious that he was very interested in and reasonably well-informed about affairs in France (so far as a foreigner might be, noted Louis Philippe). Campbell made a hesitant inquiry as to the fate of the Duke of Chartres, Louis Philippe's title before the execution of his father. Campbell was "stunned" to receive confirmation of his suspicion that he was entertaining the head of the house of Orleans deep in the Virginia backcountry. Campbell then "redoubled his courtesy and deference, and he told me that my serenity was incredible, and that if he had lost all that I had lost, he would be heartbroken."[49]

Arthur Campbell was the only person west of the Blue Ridge to recognize the significance of the name of "*Monsieur* d'Orleans" and his true identity. His astonishment was great at finding a man of such a privileged position now in modest circumstances, cheerfully sharing the rigors of the American backwoods while waiting to be called to a throne in France.[50] Campbell's French sympathies indicated he was Democratic Republican in his politics, with an admiration for the earlier triumphs of the French Revolution. This incident made it clear that even in the backcountry, national political battles raged over foreign policy and political ideology. Like many in the American west, Campbell had chosen America's old ally France over the old enemy Britain and Thomas Jefferson over Alexander Hamilton. His choices were compatible with frontier egalitarian ideals.

Later, to his visitors' surprise, the colonel confided that his own family was originally named Camille and had left France for Britain as followers of William of Normandy. Over the centuries they had gradually changed the spelling of their name to its present form. He claimed kinship with an early revolutionary, Camille Desmoulins, and regretted his death on the guillotine. Louis Philippe concluded his host had a romanticized view of his obviously Scottish family origins and perhaps a lack of finesse about French affairs. Nevertheless he declared "the colonel is a stout fellow. . . he meant everything well and we can only be grateful to him" for his kindness.[51]

Louis Philippe in turn seemed at ease with the Campbells and used his visit to answer some of his own questions. One of their crops was unknown in Europe and fascinated the prince, who appeared interested in the possibility of large-scale production. Campbell had large groves of sugar maples, which Louis Philippe had admired in smaller numbers elsewhere but now made an object of serious investigation. He had observed that high-quality white cane sugar was seldom available in the backcountry, and

that either poor-quality dark cane sugar or maple sugar was served instead. He personally far preferred the taste and texture of the maple sugar and asked about its production. He wrote down estimates of a single tree's sugar output in good years versus bad, how the changes in weather affected the date of the sap rising and its volume and quality, and other points.[52]

Considering the scarcity of white sugar in the backcountry and the prevailing situation in foreign affairs, Louis Philippe's interest in maple sugar was probably not idle curiosity. Hostilities between major European powers were beginning to disrupt international trade. Britain and France were at war in 1797, with naval actions on the Atlantic and the Caribbean. The United States was on the verge of undertaking an undeclared naval war on France, as new President John Adams yielded to Alexander Hamilton's pro-British war-hawk wing of the Federalist Party. Somewhat later the British government cut off sugar supplies to France and much of continental Europe by exercising its naval might against neutral carriers as well as belligerents. The shortage stimulated experimentation in Europe with alternatives to Caribbean sugar, and by 1810 a Frenchman devised a commercially-feasible process to produce sugar from beets. Beet production was easily adaptable to European conditions and soon became a major source of sugar. Louis Philippe's hopes for the uniquely-flavored sugar from the beautiful North American trees came to naught. The Frenchmen also inquired closely about the wild grapes whose vines they had identified as intertwining among trees and shrubs. After locals assured them the taste of the grapes to come was quite bitter, their interest waned.[53]

Leaving Arthur Campbell's estate on April 24, the horsemen rode in "rotten weather" and searched in vain for a "tolerable inn" and finally settled for an "intolerable" one at that day's destination of Abingdon. The soil appeared better here, "rich and black," and they anticipated more effort to clear and farm this land. However they continued to traverse a huge forest dotted at long intervals with a small cleared field or stand of sugar maples. They passed the homes of, or hoped for a meal at, the houses of several families with familiar names in the area, such as Craig, Smith, Rogers, and others. At one mid-afternoon dinner they stopped at the home of a Major Fulkinson (sic), who had cleared 150 acres and was doing well. Louis Philippe took the opportunity to discuss further maple sugar prospects, for Fulkinson had another 450 acres with perhaps a thousand maples for sugar making.[54]

One night was spent "at the home of James Campbell, an Irishman who came into the region twenty-three years ago without a penny and now owns a fine house and extensive lands he himself cleared." Campbell's actions in

clearing and improving his land met with Louis Philippe's quick approval. Following widespread usage of the time, he called all immigrants from Ireland "Irlandais" (Irish) and thus the distinction between Scots-Irish and Irish can only be inferred from names. James Campbell's property lay close to the Virginia-North Carolina border in an area claimed by both states, so Campbell, as a good citizen, took the liberty of voting in both. His frontier stories entertained the visitors, who enjoyed his generous hospitality.[55]

Their hosts gave very careful directions as the travelers left on April 26, attempting to guide them to the road affording the greatest likelihood of finding food and a decent night's accommodation. As spring progressed, food for travelers was becoming scarce and declining in quality. The same was true of feed for their horses; little grass grew along the trails through the dense forests, and oat supplies were very low.[56] Some inns simply said they had no food to provide and pointed the Frenchmen onward. The previous year's potato harvest had been completely consumed in some areas, and no fresh fruits or vegetables were readily available. Eggs were in short supply, as the spring weather was just warming and hens beginning to lay.

Fatback bacon (or "fatty ham") and cornmeal were often the only staples remaining, or the only food locals felt they could spare to strangers. Better inns and some well-supplied homes had a little flour, milk, butter, coffee, and maple or coarse cane sugar. Coffee and pan-fried corncakes or wheaten pancakes sweetened with maple sugar were frequent fare; Louis Philippe found them rather tasty. Once freshly-killed venison was available. Other than coffee and water, whiskey was the main table beverage; cows' milk was reserved for calves. It seems clear that the number of permanent residents and the total food supply were small in relation to the throngs of pioneers who passed through southwest Virginia. Travelers hastened depletion of many foodstuffs humans or beasts might have enjoyed in the springtime, and transportation was too primitive and residents too poor to replace them.[57]

During this week of long rides and scant food, the services afforded to travelers became equally poor and tempers sometimes flared. The quality of the inns, as of food, declined. Whereas the royals had found earlier inns "intolerable," the ones in the Virginia-North Carolina-Tennessee border area were even worse. They typically consisted of one large room on the ground level for eating and drinking and one large common room in the attic or loft for overnight visitors to sleep two to a pallet or in blankets on the floor. To Louis Philippe's amazement, no chamber pots were provided for guests. When the Frenchmen inquired, they were advised they would

find several broken window panes in the attic room and should make use of these openings as needed. The promise of broken and leaky windows certainly held true; "it is a rare thing here to sleep in a hermetically sealed room" the eldest brother sighed. Finding themselves in a loft one night, the travelers rebelled when they discovered the only window, while properly broken, was in a gabled end wall ten feet above the floor! They absolutely demanded something to serve as a chamber pot and to their astonishment received a cook pot from the kitchen.[58] Clearly such inns did not expect female visitors to stop overnight.

After dismal service at one wretched inn, Louis Philippe showed his exasperation. "If it were only a hovel that would be bearable, but the surliness, the peevish and grudging reception of travelers, I found most intolerable."[59] Most types of service hit a similar low. "The indolence and churlishness of the workingmen around here are unparalleled," complained Louis Philippe. Blacksmiths declined to interrupt other activities to re-shoe their horses; cobblers declined the opportunity to earn money by mending their boots or saddles. One shoemaker dismissed their inquiries about a sewing repair on some tack by declaring "sometimes I work, but I am not in the mood right now." A bit later the frustrated travelers took revenge upon a ferryman who agreed to take them and their horses across the North Holston River and then showed little inclination actually to do so. The four men and their horses filled the modest-sized vessel, but the boatman refused to take them across the river. He loitered on the bank for 45 minutes with no explanation. At that point, the four Frenchmen took matters in their own hands. They untied the mooring ropes and began to push off. The boatman hastily jumped on board and conveyed them across the river. Once there he demanded in vain that they pay him 50 percent more than they had agreed upon. But he had lost his monopoly power over them. They mounted their horses, handed him the precise fare, and trotted off leaving him fuming.[60]

While some of these frustrating experiences doubtless arose from personal irascibility, together they typify behaviors of southern backcountry males that drew angry comments from many travelers. The assertion of individual independence, the apparent laziness, refusal to work to produce immediate material gain, and distrust and lack of hospitality toward strangers were all consistent with the traditional borderlands folkways. Satisfaction with inadequate buildings, failure to repair obvious problems such as broken windows, and reluctance to undertake profitable improvements equally mystified outsiders. All, however, were integral elements of the dominant culture brought to the area in the decades before 1797.

Despite all the tribulations of the trail, Louis Philippe could not help himself from noticing and enjoying the onset of spring in the mountains. He forgot momentarily his distaste for endless forests and wrote "the trees are *charmants* (entrancing) and in some stretches entirely green. The wild grape vine one of the last to leaf." Pleasure and the joy of discovery overcame him: "The forest is quite beautiful. The oaks tower to an extraordinary height; some are enormous around the trunk." For the first time he spied wild turkeys, grouse, and many doves. He was intrigued by woodpeckers and sapsuckers, which he called "forest magpies, or rather hoopoes" (a Eurasian bird). He watched the dipping flight of the cardinals, "some winey-red" and "others completely scarlet," and enjoyed the cascade of spring bird calls echoing in the trees.[61]

Despite the joys of spring, however, his settled prejudice for a human-dominated landscape remained firm.

> A landscape cannot be beautiful where there are only trees. Only a blend of meadows, tilled fields, and human dwellings composes a truly pleasant countryside that charms the eye. But here nature seems dead; the dwellings are so few and far between that the forest seems endless and when we do reach the end it proves only a few cleared acres, where we hardly have time to glimpse the sun and be reassured that we are still in a land something like our own![62]

As they followed the Great Road toward the Cumberland of western Virginia and Kentucky in late April they reached the fork turning southward to Tennessee. Here they separated themselves from the majority of travelers; the spring warmth suddenly turned to heat, the numbers of insect bites multiplied, and the din of mating frogs was "tremendous." They reached Knoxville on April 28 and found a very reasonable inn. In this sizeable and prosperous town they found more abundant and varied food, as the residents of this booming area could command local surpluses and pay well. The Orleans brothers had learned well the lesson of sitting at the common tables with others and found the food quite acceptable, even tasty. The brothers sensed they were on the cusp of a new stage of their adventure. The Cherokee village lay a short distance away, the vistas of town life had banished the oppressiveness of the wilderness, and Louis Philippe had filled his first notebook. With a pleasant sense of anticipation, the royal party adjourned to the "broad and beautiful" Holston River for a long, cooling soak.

The Frenchmen had visited in Virginia from April 5, 1797, when they crossed the Potomac to Mount Vernon, through April 27. The bulk of these three weeks had been spent traversing the most heavily-traveled routes through the backcountry (April 11 – 27). By April 10 they had encountered two distinctive cultural folkways transplanted from Britain: the Cavalier society of eastern plantation and slave owners, and very briefly, a small Quaker community. Once they crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains they entered the backcountry, whose population was predominantly English-speaking peoples from the British borderlands but also contained some Germans, African Americans, Native Americans and scatterings of others.

Throughout the entire journey Louis Philippe remained faithful to his declared interests in "the temper of the country, the state of its agriculture, dwellings, population, etc." (see note 7). He found the "temper" of Cavalier country to be ominous, for it was also "Negro country" and as such destined to failure. Slavery offended his own forward-looking political and ethical values and he assumed it must end. Yet he saw no peaceful way to its termination. Erroneously assuming a large majority of blacks in the population, he predicted a racial war waged by blacks upon whites to gain freedom and terminating with general devastation in the area.

In contrast, the Frenchmen found that the backcountry offered a far more optimistic outlook in "the temper of the country" and in the relations among its more diverse populations. Large waves of foreign immigrants and American-born migrants were on the roadways and trails in search of a better life for themselves and settling side by side in conditions of general equality of civil and political rights. German-speakers were fleeing to the Shenandoah Valley to escape the wars ravaging Europe, joining others who had left Pennsylvania for greater opportunities to the south and west. People from several European countries and areas of the eastern United States were streaming toward fabled rich lands in the Cumberland areas of western Virginia and Kentucky. The prince described not only the people but also the foods they consumed, their methods of travel, and the frightening scarcity of food in far southwest Virginia in late April. In conversations with pioneers, he found them to be optimistic about a better future, although slightly worried about rumored outbreaks of Native American hostilities. He inspected remains of American forts no longer in use and deduced that Native Americans were no longer a serious deterrent to white settlement.

All along the way the prince observed the state of agriculture, habitations, quality of soil, types of trees and other factors. Market agriculture and substantial dwellings (for some) appeared to flourish in the

Cavalier region, but they were obviously dependent upon enslaved workers and likely doomed. The valleys of the backcountry offered stretches of cultivated fields and grassy pastures such as Louis Philippe knew in Europe and he understood their potential. He reiterated that frontiersmen should clear more land of trees and replicate European agriculture as quickly as possible. He was markedly uncomfortable in extended dense forests where dwellings and cleared fields were widely separated. He approved efforts to capitalize upon useful forest products, maple sugar above all. He regularly recorded geographic and geological data, particularly his evaluation of soil quality, types of vegetation, and transportation routes.

The further west they rode, the more the royal party became aware of a widespread European culture they did not understand. Where the British borderlands peoples flourished in the more mountainous areas, satisfaction with inherited folkways and distrust of outsiders revealed a different face of frontier egalitarianism. Whereas Louis Philippe felt at ease with Colonel Arthur Campbell, a member of the backcountry ascendency, he found the assertion of social equality among all men difficult to accept. Like many Americans, he assumed a social order in which the lowly deferred to the well-born, the poor to the affluent, and servants and workers to those who paid their wages. His occasional social blunders and his expressed frustrations about surly innkeepers and lazy tradesmen all involve this issue and the responses of prickly frontiersmen. Similarly he did not understand why people who could raise their material standard of living by moderate exertions chose not to take advantage of these opportunities. His travel diary reveals that borderer descendants about 1800 continued to live in and for the present, to exercise freedom every moment to do as they would, to "serve" only in the military sense, and to consider the future more a threat to life than a chance to improve it. Overall, Louis Philippe left a record of the Virginia frontier filled with useful descriptions and the viewpoints of a well-educated, practical, and basically optimistic man. He railed at some backcountry ways primarily because he valued the political liberty and potential for a fuller life he saw there.

Endnotes

1. This article employs the political terminology used in France at the time. The first French National Assembly met in an indoor riding arena which had been converted into a huge semicircular auditorium. It had numerous aisles to facilitate ease of seating along rows of benches. There was no "center aisle." By chance, conservatives sat together to the speaker's right, liberals to his left, and the undecided gathered in the center.
2. The most balanced treatments of Louis Philippe in English are Paul Beik, *Louis Philippe and the July Monarchy* (Princeton, N.J: Van Nostrand,1965), and Thomas Edward Brodie Howarth,

Citizen-King: The Life of Louis-Philippe (London: Eyrie and Spottiswood, 1961). Two more recent biographies are Guy Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), and Munro Price, *Louis-Philippe, le prince et le roi: La France entre deux révolutions* (Paris: Editions de Falbis, 2009).

3. Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe*, 288–289; 294–295.
4. Lewis Cass, President Andrew Jackson's Minister to France, testified to Louis Philippe's facility in learning languages. Lewis Cass, *France: Its King, Court, and Government by an American* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1840), 73, 133.
5. Louis Philippe, *Diary of My Travels in America by Louis-Philippe King of France (sic) 1830 - 1848*, tr. Stephen Becker and preface by Henry Steele Commager (New York: Delacorte Press, 1978). Originally published in French as *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1976). Citations used in this article will reference the English edition unless the French edition adds additional insight. Louis Philippe's royal title was *roi des français* and should be translated as King of the French (or French People); this new title deliberately stressed the importance of the citizens in contrast to the more geographic pre-revolutionary expression King of France.
6. Suzanne d'Huart, "Afterward," in Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 173, 160.
7. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 10.
8. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 32, April 5.
9. Louis Philippe, *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique*, 53–55, April 5.
10. Louis Philippe, Diary, 31–32, April 5.
11. Henry Wiencek, *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 349–351; 353–356.
12. Louis Philippe, Diary, 32, April 5.
13. Louis Philippe, Diary, 32, April 5.
14. Non-white free people numbered only 12,866 and 20,493 in 1790 and 1800 respectively. Figures in early U.S. census reports may be found at Historical Census Browser. Retrieved August 16, 2011, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html.
15. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Démocratie en Amérique* (Paris: Gosselin, 1835 and subsequent editions) I, 2, chap. 10, "Some Considerations on the Present State and the Probable Future of the Three Races That Inhabit the Territory of the United States," and particularly "The position that the black race occupies in the United States and dangers incurred by whites from its presence."
16. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 35, April 9.
17. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 35, April 9; Cass, *France*, 111–112.
18. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 35, April 10.
19. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 10.
20. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 10.
21. A habit made known to millions by Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables* (Paris: 1862 and subsequent editions), IV, 3 in which he describes the "bourgeois king" with approval. Traditional monarchists ridiculed this behavior.
22. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 11.
23. A study useful to historians of Virginia is David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Fischer discusses all three cultural folkways noted here.
24. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 605–782; an exhaustive account of the British borderlands and the southern Appalachian folkway, also referred to as the backcountry folkway or culture.
25. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 628, 660, 676, 740, 742.
26. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 39, April 11; 40, April 12.
27. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 39– 40, April 11.
28. The map in the American edition of the *Diary*, p. 10, places Charles Town, W.Va., on the lower Kanawha River near the Ohio River and labels it Charleston, completely confusing the town in

the Shenandoah Valley with the present capital of W.Va. Because of this error, much of the Frenchmen's route is shown incorrectly as well. The French map is correct.

29. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 40–41, April 11–12.
30. Cass, *France*, 107–109.
31. Louis Philippe's contemporary account is given in his *Diary*, 40–41, April 12 and 13. The expanded version is found in Cass, *France*, 114–15.
32. Louis Philippe, *Diary,* 63, April 29.
33. Fischer notes that elected officials and clan leaders took pains to act as though their humblest petitioner was their equal. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 754–755.
34. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 41–44, April 13–14.
35. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 43–44, April 14–16; *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique*: 62, April 14 for *les pins*.
36. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 44–45, April 16–18.
37. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 46, April 18.
38. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 46, April 18.
39. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 47, April 19.
40. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 47–48, April 19.
41. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 48, April 20.
42. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 50, April 21. Elevations for various sites from U. S. National Oceanographic and Aeronautical Agency, accessed November 2, 2011, *www.forecast.weather.gov* for individual locations.
43. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 51, April 21. Old Montgomery County had just been divided into two counties (Montgomery and Wythe), each with a new county seat.
44. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 49–50, April 21.
45. I am indebted to Professor William Henika of Virginia Tech for sharing his knowledge about earlier theories of mountain formation and types and supplying me an introduction to Lehmann's work. A summary of Lehmann's theory may be found in Frank Dawson Adams, *The Birth and Development of the Geological Sciences* (New York: Dover, 1938 and subsequent editions).
46. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 51, April 21.
47. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 52, April 22; Mary B. Kegley, "The Big Fort," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 10 (June 1978): 6–9. This issue also contains six pages of selected excerpts from Louis Philippe's journal with no commentary, titled "Seeing Virginia in 1797," 1–5.
48. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 52, 55, April 23.
49. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56, April 23.
50. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56, April 23.
51. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56, April 23, 24.
52. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 55–56, April 23.
53. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 55, April 23.
54. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56–57, April 24, 25.
55. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 58, April 25; French edition, *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique,* 75.
56. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 61, April 27 and 63, April 29.
57. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 728–730 lists as typical borderer foodstuffs several items mentioned by Louis Philippe, including heavy reliance upon potatoes, pork products as a replacement for British mutton, corn (maize) in many forms, griddle cakes and pancakes, and homemade whiskey as a common table beverage.
58. Louis Philippe, *Diary,* 60–61, April 26.
59. Louis Philippe, *Diary,* 63, April 28.
60. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 59, April 26.
61. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 59, April 26.
62. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 60, April 26.

A Floyd County Family in Wartime

The Civil War Letters of Lorenzo and Barbara Hylton

Edited by James Robertson

Floyd County seems remote from the Civil War. The major military target in the mountainous southwestern quadrant of the old Dominion was the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad. It did not pass through Floyd.

A second reason exists for why the county is overlooked by Virginia historians of the 1860s. The vast majority of Floyd's volunteers enlisted in five of the ten companies of the 54th Virginia Infantry Regiment. This unit had the distinction of never participating in a major engagement in its native state.

First duties for the 54th Virginia were in West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. Following brief garrison assignment in southeastern Virginia, the regiment became part of the Confederacy's premier force in the Western theater: the Army of Tennessee. Battles at Chickamauga, Chattanooga,

Lorenzo Hylton
Courtesy of Gerald Via, and on display
at the Floyd County Historical Society Museum.

Lorenzo Hylton
Courtesy of Gerald Via, and on display at
the Floyd County Historical Society Museum.

Atlanta, and Nashville took a heavy toll from the ranks. So did desertion, which was a natural consequence of homesickness and continual defeats.

The Civil War was very real for the Hylton family of Floyd County. Prior to the American Revolution, Hyltons had settled in the area between the present-day towns of Floyd and Willis. Burwell Hylton (1801 – 1883) became not only one of the county's largest landowners with over 300 acres; he and his wife, Mary Ann Slusher (1803 – 1888), also had one of the largest families: 14 children. Nine sons would serve in the Confederate army.

Lorenzo Dow Hylton was the fourth child. Born August 16, 1830, he followed family tradition by farming, but he also had a side-career as a music teacher.[1] Hylton married Barbara Ellen Huff, two years his senior, in July, 1857. When civil war came, the couple had two children: Lutaro Mecaltha (1858 – 1930) and Bethany Elvira (1860 – 1939).

Barbara Hylton was in advanced pregnancy when Lorenzo Hylton became part of the second great wave of volunteers for the 54th Virginia. On March 24, 1862, he joined Company D while the regiment was encamped at Abingdon. Hylton was obviously trustworthy and dependable. On May 13 —

1. Testimony of Carolyn B. Coyle. The *1860 Floyd County Census* listed Hylton as a "machinist," which could have been a garbled spelling of "musician" or "musicianist."

after but two months in service — he was elected second lieutenant of the company. He had family support as well: 24 Hyltons were in his regiment.

The wartime correspondence between husband and wife spans only two years, but it is unique. Preserved letters from men in the 54th Virginia are few. Even more rare in Civil War literature are letters to soldiers from wives. They either tended to be lost in the chaos of army life or else destroyed by addressees for the sake of privacy.

A further appeal of the Hylton letters is a human element. Lieutenant Hylton saw little excitement or glamor in the national struggle. He was more interested in when the war might end than in repulsing Northern invaders. The little events of family and home meant more to him than did military leaders and dramatic battles. In addition, Hylton's correspondence provides uninterrupted examples of the phonetic spelling characteristic of that era. The letters between the couple are printed here as written.

Mrs. Carolyn B. Coyle of Titusville, Fla., first alerted the editor to the Lorenzo Hylton letters. Her collection of Hylton papers is impressive, and her willingness to share part of this part of the collection is commendable. Barbara Hylton's letters are part of the Huff–Hylton Papers in Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech. Special thanks go also to Betty Ann Phillips Rice of Roanoke, Va. Another Hylton descendant, she was an excellent guide on this journey through the Hylton family trees,

The husband–wife correspondence begins here two months after the regiment arrived in Isle of Wight County to help man a defense line against Federals stationed in the Norfolk-Suffolk area.

Floyd Co., Va.
April 24, 1862

Dear Husband,

... I take my pen in hand to answer your kind letter of 16 April that I just read, which gave me great satisfaction to hear that you are well.

I can inform you that I have another Dauter.[2] It was born April 17th. Nathan Hylton[3] went for a Doctor. [John D.] Stuart and [Callohill M.] Stigleman were neither of them at home and Howard[4] was not able to

2. Roziner Emaline Hylton (1862 – 1939).
3. *1860 Floyd County Census.* Thirty-year-old Nathan Hylton, a farmer with three small children, owned property adjacent to that of his brother, Lorenzo.
4. Jeffrey C. Weaver, *54th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1993), 193. Dr. Thomas Henry Howard had been a hospital steward in the 54th Virginia prior to his January, 1863, discharge to return to civilian practice.

come. We then went after Mrs. Duncan[5] and I am as well satisfied as if I had a Doctor. Send the name that you choose that it should be called.

Your Father and Brothers will do all they can to get our corn in. it will be a bad chance to get help from Samuel Weddle[6] for another of his sons died the first of this week, and two more are sick. I want you to come home about harvest if you can.

Dear husband thou are kind and true
And every day I think of you
So my dear husband think of me
While many miles apart we be....

Camp on Black Watter
Isle of Wight Co., Va
January the 12, 1863

Dear Wife,

I take the present opportunity of droping you a few lines to let you know that I am well. Hoping these few lines come to hand they will find you all well. Hav nothing of particular intrest to write to you at present more than we hav had one little skirmish with the Yankees near Suffolk. It was nothing but a picket fight. We have but two Companys ingage in the fight, Capt. Dobyns and Capt. Edons.[7]

We was kep back as reserve. The fight lasted 2 hours and a half. Thare was none hurt on our side. On the Yankees side was some 4 or 5 wounded and we taken one prisoner which was wounded in the leg and in the thigh and in arm. He was wounded so bad in the leg that it had to be taken off.

We ar station on Black Watter River in the County of Isles of Wight near a little town[8] which lies in the County of Southamton on the other side of the River on the Rail Rode that leeds from Norfolk to Weldon, N.C. to gard the Rode that leeds to Petersburg and to Welden, North

5. *1860 Floyd County Census.* This was probably Anna Duncan, then in her mid-sixties. Her husband John had a farm close to the Hylton home.
6. *1860 Floyd County Census.* A farmer of limited means, Samuel Weddle in 1860 had seven children. The four sons were Caleb (who served briefly in the 54th Virginia Infantry), Johnson, Malachi, and Eli.
7. Thomas P. Dobyns commanded Company A from Floyd County, while William F. Eaton led Pulaski County's Company F.
8. Hylton's regiment was stationed at Franklin, the seat of Southampton County.

Carolina.[9] These two Rodes has to be garded. Thare is but a small force at Suffolk at present. Of the Yankees only a bout 25 hundred while we hav a bout 35 hundred.

I say to you that we ar doing fine here. At present we can git as many Sweet potatoes as we can eat and eggs at 50 Cts. per doz, Sweet potatoes at $1.50 per bushel and plenty of Pork, Beef, flour and most any thing in the way of eating....

February the 4th 1863

Dear Wife,

... I am well and hav had my helth better since I left Wytheville than I did before ...

We have had another battle whithe the Yankees,[10] our company was not ingage in the fight.—None but Capt Dobyns and Capt Edens Company was ingage in the fight. Capt Dobyns was killed[11] and Josiah Burnett[12] of his company was wounded. Two of Capt Edens Company was wounded. Brother Henderson[13] was taken prisoner. I have not herd from his since he was taken. Lieutenant John Lacy[14] was kild of Capt [Jeremiah] Spences Company. three of his privates ar missing. Some two or three

9. The Petersburg Railroad, the oldest line in the state, ran north-south from Petersburg to Weldon, N.C. A second line, the Seaboard & Roanoke, extended southwesterly from Portsmouth to a junction with the Petersburg railroad just north of Weldon. The North Carolina town was 10 miles from the state line.
10. U. S. War Dept. (comp.), *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880 – 1902), Ser. I, 18: 142–45. Hereafter referred to as *Official Records*. Late in January, Gen. Roger A. Pryor took his brigade across the Blackwater River on a foraging expedition. At Kelly's Store, midway between Franklin and Suffolk, Confederates encountered a strong Union defense line. The fight on January 30 was sharp but brief.
11. U.S. National Archives (comp.), "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia," Microfilm Roll 955. Hereafter referred to as CSR. The 25-year-old Dobyns had half-interest in a Christiansburg dry goods store.
12. *CSR,* Roll 954. Josiah B. Burnett, also of Company A, was a farm laborer in the Indian Valley section of Floyd County. He survived his wound and continued in service at least through 1863.
13. *CSR*, Roll 956; *Official Records*, 30, Pt. 2: 417, 432. A younger brother of Lorenzo, Henderson H. Hylton was quickly exchanged. At the 1863 battle of Chickamauga, Henderson Hylton received official praise for personally capturing the battle flag of the 89th Ohio.
14. CSR, Rolls 408, 956. John S. Lacy had originally been a musician in the 4th Virginia. The Carroll County native transferred to the 54th Virginia Infantry and was a first lieutenant when killed.

others wounded in the Rigment. Col. Pogue[15] of the 50th Rigment was kild and severl wounded. Severl of the 63rd was wounded. You can tell Riley Hylton and Hanah[16] that John W. and Joshua[17] was not hurt. they were exsposed to the fire of the cannons and guns. Thare was severl of the battry was wounded and kild. Thare was 35 or 35 kild and wounded out our Brigade. The enemys loss not known but will exseed ours three to one.[18]

You wrote to me that you had paid all but Dr Stiglemen and Stewart. you need not mind a bout paying Stiglemen yet a while if you have not the money to spar ... thare is some paper at Henry Slushers[19]... I will get his Brother to write to him to send it down to E[lijah] W[eddle] Hyltons for you as I cannot git any paper down here where we are.

You wrote to me that you had not bin vacinnated yet. I think you had better if you can conveniently. We all have bin vacinnated.[20] It does not hert much. It makes a persons arm a little sore for a day or so. Austin Harman[21] and S. P. Weddle[22] send their respects to you....

15. John D. Chapla, *50th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1997), 181. In 1861 Thomas Poage left his Pulaski law practice and became colonel of the regiment the following spring. At Kelly's Store, he was "struck in the thigh by a shell fragment ... which severed the main artery, and he bled to death in a few minutes."
16. *1860 Floyd County Census*; CSR, Roll 956. Riley Harrison Hylton, his wife Hannah Wade, and three children lived in the Laurel Branch sector of Floyd County. He was briefly imprisoned at Point Lookout, Md., near the end of the war.
17. John William Hylton, a distant cousin, enlisted in the 54th Virginia Infantry on the same date as Lorenzo Hylton. In 1864 he died of illness in a military hospital. Joshua Hylton was an original member of Company D. He was captured in 1864 and confined at Rock Island, Ill., until his February, 1865, parole. CSR, Roll 956.
18. *Official Records*, 18: 145. Confederate losses at Kelly's Store were 8 killed and 31 wounded. Federal losses, listed in one source as 13 killed, 108 wounded, 12 missing, are exaggerated.
19. CSR, Rolls 931, 957. A native of the Burk's Fork region of Floyd County, Henry Slusher had been captain of Company D until his January, 1862, resignation. He later re-enlisted in the 51st Virginia and spent March–May, 1865, as a prisoner-of-war at Fort Delaware.
20. Alfred Jay Bollet, *Civil War Medicine: Challenges and Triumphs* (Tucson: Galen, 2002), 291–92. "At this time," another member of the 54th Virginia Infantry recalled, "considerable Excitement got up about Small Pocks and we were Vaxinated." George Hungate Reminiscences, typescript in possession of the editor. The vaccination process was then so crude that it often produced pyemia and other forms of fatal blood poisoning.
21. CSR, Roll 954. Harman was captain of Hylton's company. This Floyd County farmer was eventually promoted to major and wounded twice before his 1865 parole.
22. CSR, Roll 958. Simon P. Weddle had been an original enlistee in Company D. Elected a lieutenant in March, 1864, Weddle deserted the army two months later.

Camp near Black Water Creek
March the 12th 1863

Dear Wife,

... We are ordered to Petersburg. we will leave this evening or in the morning.... I would like to come to the Southwest as it will be a heep better thare than it is down here and we can get better water....

I wish to God that this war would come to an end so as we all git to come home and enjoy the grate blessings that [we] once did enjoy, but I can tell you that thare will be Some of the hardest fighting done this Spring that ever has bin since the [war] began. Soon as the mud drys up the Yankees is determined to Strike one more blow....

Camp Jackson
Wytheville, Va
April the 4th 1863

Dear Wife,

I have know news of intrest to write to you at presant, only we ar under marching orders to Tennessee but I cant tell when we will start out.... I was very glad you sent me a pair of socks for I would have needed them before long. I could have done with out the sewing thread that you sent....

Capt Harman wanted me to come home yesterday morning but I would not come as he wanted me to come and take up deserters.[23] I would not agree to it as thare is line alredy enough full a bout deserters and enough kild so I did not want any hard thoughts on me a bout takeing up deserters, but I hope the time will come that I can git to come home with out coming on such an occation ....

Camp Knoxville, Tenn
May the 1st 1863

Dear Wife,

... I have know news of importence to write to you at presant that is interesting. Thare is a grate deal of news that is going that is not so that a boddy don't know when they here the truthe. So I will say but little a bout

23. Because desertion in the 54th Virginia Infantry was so high, authorities sent military details to home areas in search of the culprits. Hylton's negative reaction may have stemmed from a basic problem in apprehending runaways. The definition of desertion at the time was the abandonment of service without intent to return. Proving such intent was all but impossible.

this war as thare has bin a grate many things sed a bout me conserning this war but I want them to know that I [am] not ruler of the universe and can establish as good a carecter as the ones that is a pitching their slangs at me....

if I am spard to come home I want you to make me 7 yds of fine black mixt geans if you have the wool to spar and wont be two much trouble to you. If you think it will be two much trouble don't make it. i want it to make me a uniform for next winter if I have to stay in service ar live to see that time and this war don't end by that time and if this war dos stop before that time it will do for a Sunday soote....

Knoxville Tenn
May the 9th 1863

Dear Wife

... thare has bin a grate deal of hard fighting for the last 2 or 3 weeks[24] and it appears that thare will be a grate del more hard fighting done before this war is ended.

I am commanding the Gard that is a garding a bout eight hundred yankee prisoners and we are looking for a bout six hundred more in this evening. They ar to be sent to Citty point to be exchange.[25]

you wrote to me that I need not send you any more money you did not need any. I have know use fore it here so it will be safer at home than it will be here So you can buy anything that you want with it out to some good person or just lay it a way....

Knoxville Tenn
May the 16th 1863

Dear Wife

... we here of a deal of fighting going on at difernt plases and a grat many of our friends gitting kild and wounded which is all bad news but we must bar with this all as we have to encounter troiubles and afflections in this world but I hope the time will soon come when we will enjoy the pleasures that we once did when we lived as man and wife. I hope that these dark clouds of war will soon be driven a way and the

24. Hylton was referring to actions at Vicksburg, Miss., and Chancellorsville, Va.

25. North and South had a sporadic prisoner-exchange policy throughout the war. One of the exchange sites in Virginia was City Point (now Hopewell) at the confluence of the James and Appomattox rivers.

bright sunshine of pease burst fourth on our land once more upon our land of trouble so that we all live as a band of brothers and not as enmys.

I will say to you that we ar station here as a provost gard to gard Knoxville and I can tell you that thare is a heep of mean people her.[26] Things ar selling at a very high [price] here. Bale cotton is selling from 20 to 25 dollars per barrel and every thing else as high.

I recived a letter from Beaufort Howell[27] Since I have bin here. his family was well and sends his best respects to you and to Father and Mother.... while I have not [heard] from M. F. Hylton[28] and J. H. Hylton[29] for a long time I have written the two letters and have no got any anser yet....

Knox County Tenn
June the 25th / 63

Dear Wife

... we ar Stationed a bout 8 miles from Knoxville at a bridsge called Bells Bridge. the Yankees made a raid in here to the Rail Rode and tore up some of the track and burnt some three or four bridges and tore down the Telegraph wire and burnt some of the depots and two houses of raw cotton.[30] the damages Is Small to what they could hav done if we had give them time but our Cavarly did not give them time to do much. they had to leave and git a way the best way they could. they capturd some of our Regt and pyrold them. they capturd our Commissary and his horse and four thousand Dollars.... the men that they capturd of our Regt was men that was broke down and left be hind. it was some two or three and they was a Straglin wher they had kno bisness. you will here a heep of big

26. Weaver, *54th Virginia Infantry*, 69. Floyd County soldier William Howell found the Knoxville area more enjoyable. "The sitzens around heard has sined a petition to keepe this redgiment hear to guard this place," he wrote home. "I would be very glad to stay at this place being that I haft to be in service."
27. William Beaufort Howell farmed in the Indian Valley area of the county.
28. CSR, Roll 683. Mathias Francis Hylton was a corporal in Company A of the 24th Virginia until his April 2, 1865, wounding near Farmville.
29. CSR, Roll 683. Another of Lorenzo's brothers, John Hancock Hylton, served in the 24th Virginia. He was captured April 6, 1865, and died at Point Lookout Prison, Md.
30. *Official Records*, 23, Pt. 1: 385. Anxious to bring East Tennessee under control, Union authorities in June ordered Col. William Price Sanders to take a large mounted brigade on a raid to destroy rail lines and other communications in the Knoxville area. Federals ripped up over 20 miles of track, burned two major bridges, and reached the outskirts of Knoxville itself.

tales a bout it but you ned not to believe half you here about it so I will Say know more....

thare is a rummer in camp that we will have to go in to Kentucky a gain but I cant tell whether it is so or not. I hope it is not so for I don't want any thing to do with Kentucky.

you will have to do the best you can a bout your harvest for I don't think that I will get to come home to help do it this time. you dont know how I want to see you and the children. I tell you that it would do me more good to see you and the children than anything that I ever saw but I don't think that this thing will last much longer for the souldeiers is gitting so dissatisfied that it is hard to keep them to gether any more but I am a fraid that it will make a bad matter worse to brake up and go home with out a compromise.... I want to see pese as bad as any boddy but I want to see it on fair turms. so I hope that you will pursue the corse that you have under taken and hold fast to that is good if we never should see each other a gain on this earth is my prare....

Knoxville Tenn
July the 7th 1863

Dear Wife

I am blesst one more with the privilidge or writing you a few lines to [let] you know that I ... am nealy broke down and werid out from the effects of our long march.... I have bin in service 15 months and I have never seen such a time as this one. I thought that our trip last fall in Kentucky was a hard one. it was nothing to this one to Tullahoma.[31] we was 19 days and nights out on the Scout after the Yankees, 8 after them that come by Knoxville and 9 days from the time we left Knoxville till we got back to Tullahoma. I[t] was the awfullist time that I ever saw ... it rained all the time while we was gon.

we left Knoxville on the 6th of June and got back on the 6th of July. we had nothing but a blanket, a pice [musket] and our rations in our haver sacks. we started Friday and landed at Tillahoma on Sunday. we then got off of the cars and marcht a bout a quarter of a mile and took up camp in

31. Why Hylton's regiment was sent to Tullahoma, lying midway between Nashville and Chattanooga, is not known. His previous letter was written June 25 from Knoxville.

the rain and mud for the night. the next morning we was ordered in to a line of battle a bout 4 miles from where we campt to wait for the Yankees. we staid in line for a bout 2 hours and it ... raind so hard that the Yankees did not come ... we fell back and commenst throuwing up brest works and chopping down the timber in front of them. We worked for a bout 24 hours and it was raining very near all the time. we completed a line of brestworks a bout a mile in length and lay down in the rain and mud to rest and lay thare till about 1 oclock when we was roused by Col Wade.[32] we then began to retreat through the rain and mud. our Brigade coverd the retreat with a bout two thousand Caverly in our rear and of all the times that I ever [knew] it was one of them. mud bout half leg deep.

a bout 12 oclock the sun come out and [of] all of the hottest wether that I ever felt, it was then. It appeard like it would melt evry thing be kneeth it and of the sight that I ever saw the rodes was crowded with men and wagons and horses so that you could not tell head or tail. thare was severl cases of sun stroke. some of them proved fatle.... we traveled on in this way for 4 days and my feet had grate blisters on them and nealy evry boddy that I seen was broke down.

So we ar back at Knoxville but I cant tell how long we will stay here ... you said that you herd that we all had bin in a fight and a grate many was kild and the rest taken prisoners.[33] you need not put any dependence in such tails until some one writes it to you or some other person ... that you know will tell the trouth for thare is men in this Regt that will not tell the trough when they see any thing with their own eys....

Floyd Co. Va
July 15th 1863

Dear Husband,

...Your kind and welcome letter of the 7th was received today and I was glad to hear that you was not in a fight and hope that you may never get in a fight and hope also that you will trust in the Lord that he may provide a way for you that you may never be in a fight, for it is my desire that you never may. I am sorry to hear that you had such a long and fatigueing march.

32. Lieutenant Col. John Jesse Wade of Montgomery County was the last commanding officer of the 54th Virginia Infantry. He was practicing law in Pearisburg when war began.
33. Weaver, *54th Virginia Infantry*, 71–72. Actually, the condition of the regiment was quite the reverse. So disgusted with army life was a Carroll County company that it deserted en masse.

It has been very wet here which has thrown people back with their work, but I have got over my Corn and yesterday I got some hands and cut down all my wheat and put in shock. it made ninety dozen good wheat.

We have heard that the troops that went into Marryland had a very hard battle and a good many of them were killed and wounded. we hear that George Pfleiger,[34] George Kitterma[35] and Frazer Dobyns[36] are among the killed and that George and William Goodykoontz,[37] John Head[38] and John Helms[39] are among the wounded. John A. Matthia[40] we have not heard from yet but hope that they are not hurt.

I want to know if Vixburg is taken or not.[41] we have heard that it was and want to know ....

You don't know how bad I want to see you since I have professed a change from nature to grace and we don't know whether we ever shall see each other again and want to know if you are also aiming to obtain the great blessing as for my own part. I feel and desire to persevere onward on trying to walk in the ways of the Lord to the end of my days and I want you plainly to write what Church you think right or that you would rather than I should join, for I have heard that you had wrote that you believed that no other Church were right but the Dunkards [Primitive Baptists] and if you think they are, I want you to cite me to the Scripture that you believe it from, and if you never wrote it I want you to say nothing about it for I want to live in peace, the reason why I want to settle down upon some Church for I have been solicited by different Churches which tends rather to confuse my mind.

34. CSR, Roll 410. Mrs. Hylton was referring to the July 1–3 battle of Gettysburg. George W. Phlegar, a member of the "Montgomery Fencibles" in the 4th Virginia, was killed on the third day's fighting.
35. CSR, Roll 684. The next five soldiers mentioned by Mrs. Hylton were all members of the 24th Virginia. It took heavy casualties in Pickett's Charge. Lieutenant George W. Kitterman, a 20-year-old Floyd farmer, was captured and held prisoner for eight months.
36. CSR, Roll 684. Dobyns, son of prosperous merchant Samuel Dobyns, was likewise captured and not paroled until February, 1865.
37. CSR, Roll 681. Brothers George W. and William McKendree Goodykoontz were from the Wills Ridge area of Floyd County. George was wounded in the face at Drewry's Bluff in June, 1864. William had suffered two injuries when he was disabled again at Gettysburg.
38. CSR, Roll 682. John W. Headen left medical studies for the army and was a lieutenant when wounded at Gettysburg. He ended the war as a captain.
39. CSR, Roll 682. A 19-year-old barkeeper when he joined the 24th Virginia, John W. Helms was promoted to sergeant and wounded at both Second Manassas and Gettysburg. He subsequently transferred to the 21st Virginia Cavalry.
40. CSR, Roll 684. Floyd County resident John Albert Matthews was a wagoner by trade when he enlisted. He served as an ambulance driver until his April, 1863, desertion from the army.
41. The last major Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River, Vicksburg surrendered to Union forces on July 4, 1863.

I believe that I would be satisfied in either the Methodist or Baptist Church, if the Methodist will baptize by immersion. The Methodist have visited me and have seemed very kind to me and have lent me a book on baptism but I have not read it through yet, but I am not convinced that baptism by sprinkling is the proper mode for the scripture speaks of John baptizing in Jordan.

I want you to write me your opinion and I will keep it to myself and if we never meet again on this earth I hope that we will be meetin in heaven where I hope expect to go when I leave this world.

I can go to a Church but not be baptized till you come home if you choose. So no more but remain your lovin wife.

Barbara E. Hylton

Knoxville Tenn
July the 17th 1863

Dear Wife

It is through the kind mercys of God that I seat myself to write you a few lines to let you know that I am well as common. I have redust in flesh till I only weigh a 160 lbs. I am grate porer than I was when at home last summer. I hav bin falling off ever since I have bin in this state....

we ar here a throwing up brest works a round Knoxville but I cant tell how long we will stay here. I don't think we will stay here long. Some thinks we will come back to Virginia and [some] thinks we will go to Ky ... but I think we will come to Va. And if we do I will try and git a furlough and come home. I don't known whether I can git one or not as furloughs is hard to git....

thare is a grate many of our Regt sick. Ira[42] has bin sick for severl days but is some better. Francis Herter[43] is very low. I don't think he will last long. John Thomas,[44] that Marid Almira, was taken last evening very sudden with the cramp Collick and was sent to the horse pittle and is bad. thare has bin some 3 or 4 other cases of the same kind .

so I will say a few words to you about you joining a church. I want you to join some church and be baptize but I want to hold on till I come

42. CSR, Roll 956. Ira Slusher Hylton was the eldest of Burwell Hylton's 16 children. A Wills Ridge farmer, he was thirty-six years old at his enlistment in the 54th Virginia Infantry. In June, 1864, he deserted into Union lines.
43. CSR, Roll 955. Francis Harter of Company D died of disease on July 19 at Knoxville.
44. CSR, Roll 958. John W. Thomas and his wife Almira lived near Floyd Court House. On May 15, 1864, he was captured at Resaca, Ga. Thomas died at Camp Douglas Prison, Ill.

home if I live to come as it will be a grate pleasure to me to talk with you before you ar baptize....

Floyd County Va. August the 5th 1863

Dear Husband,

... I have no news of intrest to rite. we have a great deal [of] wet wether that hinders us from work. I got my wheat up to day. you wanted to hear from John and Mat.[45] we heard from them to day. they are well and near Culpeper Court Housr and Jacob[46] we have not heard from him in a long time. I can say to you that William Goodykoontz is at home wounded verry bad in the left breast and shoulder. I wrote to you that George Pfleger was ded. he is not dead but is wounded very bad.

I can say to you that the people keeps Marring. Old John Wade[47] to Miss Mazy Smith and Eden Spangler to Miss Eve Read.[48] people would marry if the plow had to stand still....

you rote to me that you wanted me to join the Baptist. that was my choice.... I am going to the Westfork Church Saturday week to unite myself with the Church if they will receive me ....

I want you to strive on. You said you could not get along. don't give it up. the last and darkest hours will be the litest.... no more at present but remain your true wife until death.

Bells Bridge Knox Co Tenn
Aug the 13th 1863

Dear Wife

... helth is the grates blessing that we can enjoy in this wourld. if we could only have pease with it [it] would be a grate blessing but a grate many of us is deprived of that privilege. my helth has bin bad ever since I have bin in this State tho some better at this time. the hot wether don't a gree with me and the watter is not good. it is not cool like our watter....

45. CSR, Roll 683. See also note 28. The seventh of the Hylton siblings and a carpenter by trade, John Hancock Hylton served in the 24th Virginia. At the end of the war he was a prisoner at Point Lookout, Md.
46. CSR, Roll 650. In February, 1862, a younger brother, Jacob S. Hylton, enlisted in the 22nd Virginia. He was captured in November, 1863, and died March 4, 1864, at Fort Delaware Prison.
47. *1860 Floyd County Census.* John Wade, Sr., a widower in his early fifties, lived in the Wills Ridge area.
48. Elza B. Cox and Phyllis G. Phillips (comps.), *Cemeteries: Floyd (Montgomery) County, Va., Indian Valley District* (Chicago: Adams Press, 1980), 1: 95. Eden Spangler married Eva Read and spent his career as a physician.

I recond you here most of the news that is a going. the Yankees [are] in middle Tenn and is reported a disstroying a grate deal of grain and driving off all of the Stock and negros they can lay hands on.[49] from the citizens it is reported that thare is a larg army at Kingston a bout 50 or 60 miles from here but I cant tell whether it so or not. we here that they ar fixing for another big battle at Gordonsville below Richmond.[50] may God for bid that ever an other battle should be fought like the one in Pennsylvania or any where else. oh how cruel it is in the sight of God for men to be Slaughterd up in such a manner as our people has bin in this war.... I always have believed that this war was sent upon us for our wickedness to scurge us for our sins and in his own good time [God] will remove it from our land so I will change the subject.

I State to you that ... to the best of my recollection I wrote to him [cabinet-maker J. H. Slusher] that I could give the dunkards credit for being opposed to this [war] and they were right in being against it. that is a bout [the] words I wrote to the best of my knolledge. I did not say that the church was right ... so I wish when people heres anything they would tell it as it is write.

I will say to you that I have sent a big check blanket of yourn home in Austin Harman's Trunk and them brown pants of mine they are nearly wore out ... I also sent some thing in Samuel Slusher's[51] Trunk from Wytheville....

Floyd Co, Va
October 8th 1863

Dear Husband,

... Your kind and welcome letter of 25th September was received yesterday which gave me much satisfaction to hear that you did no get hurt in the battle,[52] for I have seen more uneasiness for the last two months than I have since this war commenced....

49. With Vicksburg now firmly in Union hands, Federals stepped up their activities to carry the war through Tennessee. No major battles occurred at this time.
50. It was then quiet in Virginia. Both sides were still recovering from losses incurred at Gettysburg.
51. *1860 Floyd County Census*; CSR, Roll 957. A shoemaker in the Greasy Creek area of Floyd County, Lt. Samuel Slusher deserted the 54th Virginia Infantry in June, 1864.
52. Mrs. Hylton's reference was to the September 19–20 battle of Chickamauga, Ga., where the Confederates won a bloody but hollow victory.

Ananias[53] has got home safe and probably will write to you today and can inform you himself better than I can, and John H. Hylton is now at home on a fifteen days furlough but is to start back tomorrow. he is well and states that Mat was well when he left them. They got a letter from Mat yesterday stating he was well. We have not heard from Jacob Hylton for some time. if you know anything about him when you write let me know if he is in the hospital or whether he has come back to the regiment.

Old Aunt Caty Hylton[54] is dead. she was buried last Sunday week, and also Len Dickerson[55] is dead. he died a few days before old Mrs. Hylton died. Jacob S. Harman and his daughter Nancy[56] have both joined the Dunkard Church some weeks ago.

I have got all my corn cut off and put up in and have seeded a part of the field in wheat. I have sowed five bushels and a half of wheat. A. J. Jones[57] helped to cut off the corn and done the seeding for me.... I have sold my bacon. I could not sell it for gold and silver. I sold it for a dollar a pound for bail cotton and some calico. I thought that better than taking confederate money for it....

I want you to write me and answer this letter as soon as you can for I shall be uneasy till I hear from you again and I want you to write as often as you can. Give my love and respects to Henderson and all my friends after reserving a portion for your self.... The children seem to be the gladest to hear this last letter from you than any one before. they said they wanted you to come home.

Nothing more but remain your loving wife till death.

53. CSR, Roll 955. Ananias Burwell Hylton enlisted March 28, 1862, in Company A of the 54th Virginia Infantry. He returned to duty and was captured at Atlanta. Ananias Hylton died November 11, 1864, at Camp Douglas Prison, Ill.
54. Phyllis G. Phillips and Genevieve Cochran Starkey (comps.), *Cemeteries: Floyd (Montgomery) County, Va.*, Vol.2, *Burk's Fork District* (n.p., 1992), 76. Catherine Weddle Hylton, wife of Archelaus Hylton, had been born in 1784.
55. *1860 Virginia Census — Patrick County.* Leonard Dickerson, a carpenter, lived in the Elamsville section of Patrick County.
56. *1860 Floyd County Census.* A well-to-do farmer in the Wills Ridge region, Jacob S. Harman had eight children. The third was Nancy, then in her upper teens.
57. L. D. Hylton to Barbara Hylton, May 10, 1862, Huff–Hylton Papers. Jones was a young hired hand on the Hylton farm. In a note to Barbara soon after entering service, Hylton stated: "I want you if you cannot manage Jimmy not to keep him .... I told him to be a good boy when I left but I understand that he has bin acting up since I left."

Chattanooga, Tenn
Nov the 4th 1863

Dear Wife,

It is through the tender mercies of God that I seat myself this evening to write you a few lines to let you know that I have not bin well for the last 8 to 10 days and am some better than I was ....

Simon P. Weddle is coming home after clothing for the company and I want you to send me my things by him: 2 pair of socks, 1 pair of Boots and 2 lbs of butter and one doz of apples. put them in the boots. anything else I can git here such as shirts and drawers without troubling you for them.

A. J. Jones [can] have anything he wants and if he wants any pork this fall and if [we] have any to sell let him have it at the old price and I don't want you to take any confederate money for any old debts that is owen me that was made before war began ....

James W. Pratt[58] died at the Hospital Rome, Ga. ...

Lorenzo Hylton was wounded in the November 25, 1863, fighting at Missionary Ridge. Two months later, he sent a short note home.

Mariette, Ga.
Jan. the 20th 1864

Dear Wife

I take the pleasure of writing you a few lines in anser to your kind and welcome letter that come to hand this morning which give me grate satisfaction to here from you. I will say to you that I am Still improving. I can turn myself with out help and can set up long enough to wash and com[b] my head. I shall make an application for a furlough before long if I Still keep improving....

I will have to close. Give my love to A. J. Jones and all inquiring friends. So hoping these few lines may reach you and find you in good health and all the rest. So I will close. Write when you can and give all the news. So remains your husband until deth.

58. Weaver, *54th Virginia Infantry*, 209. The Floyd County farmer was buried in Rome, Ga.

On February 14, 1864, Lt. Slusher informed Mrs. Hylton that her husband had died the previous day. Lorenzo was aware toward the end that he would not recover, Slusher wrote. "He was prepar for death. He was always Steddy while in camp and bore the hardships of a Soldier patiently."

Midway in his service, Hylton had his picture taken and sent the framed ambrotype to his wife. Her undated response serves as the couple's benediction.

When I received your likeness
I was overfilled with joy
I looked upon your smiling face
And laid it in the drawer.
I often look upon it
And shed a many a tear
And think of you my husband
The one I love so dear.
I show it to the children
And ask them who is that
They will look a while at it and laugh
And say I know it is Pap.
And then they will say O Mother
Cant you turn it rong side out
Turn up the pretty little box
And let poor Pap come out.[59]

59. Undated poem, Huff–Hylton Papers. Lieutenant Hylton is one of 3,000 Confederate soldiers buried in Marietta Cemetery, Marietta, Ga. His grave is unmarked. In September, 1875, Barbara Hylton married Patrick County farmer James Dillon, who was 19 years her senior. She died April 17, 1911, and is buried in Greasy Creek Cemetery near Willis (which originally was called Hylton).

The Phoenix Privateering Syndicate and Marine Captain John Floyd

*David L. Mordy and James C. Mordy**

(Authors' note: The story of the Revolutionary War privateer *Phoenix* tells of Kentucky pioneer backwoodsman John Floyd and wealthy, elite patriots from Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania who joined the risky *Phoenix* syndicate. The historical context for the *Phoenix* and others who financed or assisted the ship's venture fleshes out the Floyd family story as related by authors such as Tapp,[1] Cartlidge,[2] Ambler,[3] Draper,[4] and Wills.[5] Newly-assembled documents supply expanded context and identify some of the ship's owners, as well as the ship's captain and Floyd, in his probable role as Captain of Marines, not as ship's captain. The *Phoenix* is traced to Martinique, where it took several prize ships before Floyd was captured by the British and taken to Forton Prison in England, from which he escaped to France and returned to America.)

The Colonies Challenge the British Navy

There was no American navy to challenge the British Navy that dominated the oceans of the world when Massachusetts minutemen fired on British regulars at Concord and Lexington in April 1775. Recognizing its need for a navy, the Continental Congress established a Marine Committee in October 1775 and, in an act of war, took its first steps to form a navy. Congress voted to fit out two sailing vessels, armed with 10 carriage guns, as well as swivel guns, manned by crews of 80, and to send them out for three months to intercept transports carrying munitions and stores to the British Army in America.[6]

Even as it added more ships to the embryonic Continental Navy, Congress was well aware that its new navy was totally overmatched by the British Navy. Within a few months, in a well-calculated move, Congress provided incentives for privateering — a business in which private parties were authorized and commissioned to capture war ships or merchant ships of an enemy country, in this case England, but not neutral countries. Under the prize rules established by Congress on November 25, 1775, the privateers

who had privately-owned ships got everything they captured. For vessels fitted out by a colony or by Congress, the government would receive two-thirds of the proceeds and the captors would receive one-third, unless the prize was a ship of war; in that case the captors' share would be increased to one-half.[7]

The subsequent capture of British merchant ships in the West Indies by privateers proved to be of critical strategic importance to America. As the British Navy responded by capturing hundreds of privateers and other American ships in the West Indies,[8] it was drawn away from the Atlantic seaboard of the colonies, reducing Britain's iron grip on the essential coastal transportation arteries of America during the war.

As in other colonies, Virginians responded to the incentives that the Continental Congress provided for those willing to own and operate privateers as part of the revolutionary cause. Virginia did not lack for patriotic fervor. On March 23, 1775, Patrick Henry of Virginia gave his famous "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" speech in Richmond only a few weeks before Paul Revere's ride and the battles of Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. On the first anniversary of Henry's speech, the Continental Congress took action to authorize and publish its privateering resolution.[9] John Floyd's decision to venture into privateering may have been influenced by the climate of patriotism in Virginia but may also have been a natural result of his earlier connection with the land dealings of important Virginia men. These men saw an opportunity for profit in privateering just as they had in western land speculations. Privateering was patriotic and also held out the promise of enormous profits to wealthy investors. The captured ships and contents could be sold at high prices, and those who owned or manned the privateers could share large sums of money.

John Floyd

John Floyd became a key figure in the *Phoenix* privateering venture, which might seem a surprising undertaking for a landlubber. Yet he had proved himself a tough frontiersman, able to lead expeditions into the Kentucky wilderness, deal with unforeseen circumstances among hostile Indians, and organize a company of militia in "Dunmore's War."

It is helpful to go back a few years to explain his background and the connection that developed between Floyd and the rich and powerful elite of Virginia. Floyd's family in Amherst County, Virginia, were neighbors of Col. William Cabell Jr., "the worthy son of a famous father, who, as Indian fighter, trader, surveyor, coroner, deputy sheriff, planter, vestryman,

and surgeon, had done much to extend the frontier. It was not surprising that the son [Cabell Jr.] had become the first citizen of Amherst [County] while in his twenties."[10]

On December 27, 1769, Col. Cabell gave John Floyd, then 19, a letter of introduction to Col. William Preston. Col. Preston had been a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses 1766 – 1769 and later became a justice of the Botetourt County court, county surveyor, and colonel of the county militia. Preston was active in all the affairs of the region at that time and was the "most powerful figure in western Virginia and in the westward expansion of its settlers."[11] Preston hired Floyd as a teacher and tutor for his children and for the three youngest daughters of his cousin, Margaret Buchanan, whom Preston had adopted into his family after the death of their father, Col. John Buchanan. For the next several years Floyd lived with the Preston family, first at Greenfield in Botetourt County and then at Smithfield, Preston's new home in the newly-formed Fincastle County. Floyd not only taught the children of the household, but he also surveyed extensively and maintained land claim records for Preston. Floyd became both deputy sheriff and deputy surveyor under Preston, and in 1774, he was also commissioned a captain in the Fincastle County militia.

During 1774 - 1776, Preston sent Floyd as his deputy to Kentucky to make land claim surveys that were among the first surveys of Kentucky. Floyd and his party of seven men traveled by canoe and made their first survey on the Kanawha River at Coal River — two thousand acres for George Washington.[12] Washington sent payment to Preston and Floyd for the Coal River survey:[13]

> By Col. Christian I send, £3.6.8 for your Fee, & £2.10.0 for Capt. Floyd — It was impossible for me, with any sort of propriety to judge the value of Captn. Floyds extra: Services, & being told that this survey was made in his way to Kentucke, & that no uncommon expence could possible have arisen, I have thought this an ample allowance — if I am mistaken, I shall be willing at any time hereafter, to make a further allowance.

Although Floyd's surveying party heard news of frightful Indian massacres, and some of his party turned back, the surveyors pressed on to the Ohio River to do surveys for Patrick Henry, Col. William Christian, Alexander Spottswood Dandridge, Col. William Preston, and others.[14] When Floyd and his group of four men returned home, he led the men through trackless mountains in order to avoid growing danger from the Indians. "For fifteen

endless days and nights they fought their way through almost impenetrable forests and underbrush, swam rivers, waded creeks, and scrambled up and down mountains"[15] to the Clinch River and to Smithfield, where Floyd and others immediately began to build a defensive fort.[16] As Indian war approached, militia captain Floyd recruited and commanded a company of one lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants, and 38 men.[17] Floyd's company, under Col. William Christian, was part of a rear detachment of Col. Andrew Lewis's army. The army spent an arduous month traveling 200 miles through forested mountains with ammunition, baggage, and provisions on packhorses to Point Pleasant on the Ohio River. This became the site of a major battle between Indians led by Chief Cornstalk and Lewis's army. When Col. Christian and his Fincastle men, including Floyd's company, arrived at midnight, the battle was over.[18]

Floyd returned to Kentucky the following year, leading 30 adventurers to found the St. Asaph settlement.[19] At Boonesborough, Floyd participated with Daniel Boone in many activities, including their successful rescue of Boone's daughter, Jemima, and the two Calloway sisters who had been captured by the Indians.[20] Theodore Roosevelt called Floyd "among the ablest of the Kentucky pioneers."[21]

In the fall of 1776, Floyd's position as a surveyor in Kentucky evaporated. He returned to Virginia from Kentucky and met frustration in attempts to find a position as a surveyor or as captain of a company of militia. At age 26, he was a widower whose daughter was under the care of his in-laws, and was jobless. Capt. Floyd stopped at Col. Preston's Smithfield estate on his way back to Amherst County, and Preston, interested in finding a job for Floyd, suggested renting a ship for the West Indian trade.[22] Floyd acted on the idea of becoming involved in this trade by agreeing to serve on board the *Phoenix,* a privateer backed by prestigious men of Virginia and other colonies.

Elite Speculators

Although some of the sponsors of the *Phoenix* were powerful men in the Continental Congress who had already declared independence from England, Floyd went to sea as a junior and uncertain revolutionary. As an investor putting money into the syndicate, Floyd was a minnow among whales. The merchant princes who speculated in privateering ventures were some of the richest, most powerful, and famous men of the revolutionary colonies. Who were these men that invited Floyd to join the enterprise and sent him to sea? Scarcity of documents that identify partners in the *Phoenix* enterprise comes as no surprise. It was prudent not to broadcast

one's participation in a hanging offence against the Crown. The available clues suggest that investment syndicates sponsoring privateers such as the *Phoenix* had much in common with groups that speculated on land claims in the west such as the Ohio Company and the Loyal Company, "powerful syndicates of influential men," that had each received grants of 800,000 acres of frontier land by 1749.[23]

Many years later, relying on her memory, Letitia Preston Floyd, who was Col. William Preston's daughter and John Floyd's daughter-in-law, named three men as part of the syndicate owning the privateer *Phoenix*: Col. William Preston, Dr. Thomas Walker, and Edmund Pendleton.[24] Col. Preston and Dr. Walker were long-standing clients of Edmund Pendleton, one of Virginia's most prominent lawyers. Pendleton was president of the 5th Virginia Convention in May 1776, when it unanimously instructed its delegates to introduce a declaration of independence at the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia. These men had interests connected to the Loyal Company, an interconnected network of around 70 partners — aristocrats, planters, landowners, merchants, and politicians.

For those partners, Dr. Walker explored the Virginia-Kentucky frontier in 1750, and discovered the Cumberland Gap. When Walker's friend Peter Jefferson died in 1757, Walker was named one of four estate administrators and guardians of Thomas Jefferson, who admired Walker and sought his advice on financial and other matters.[25] During the French and Indian War, Walker became commissary general of the Virginia troops with the rank of major. He accompanied Gen. Edward Braddock and George Washington to Fort Duquesne and was an eyewitness to that losing battle,[26] called the "Pearl Harbor of the French and Indian War."[27] Walker was one of the Loyal Company's keenest investors,[28] and "had the political clout to obtain grants for thousands of acres of land. "[29]

The Loyal Company and other land ventures necessarily depended upon Col. William Preston as county surveyor and John Floyd as his deputy for surveying and processing hundreds of land claims throughout Southwest Virginia and the area that became Kentucky. William Preston's possible participation in the *Phoenix* venture is uncertain. Floyd wrote[30] that Preston might have considered Floyd's joining to be "silly and imprudent," and his letter seems unaware of any Preston participation, so Letitia Preston Floyd may have been incorrect with respect to her father's participation.

Not named as a *Phoenix* partner by Letitia Preston Floyd was Carter Braxton, a wealthy Virginia planter and merchant who actually assembled the syndicate for the ship. Braxton had extensive business relations — buying tobacco from Virginia planters, merchant shipping, and trading.

Braxton's network of family connections reached many Virginia families that were powerful in the business and political world. He had served in the Virginia House of Burgesses, was a member of the Continental Congress, and had signed the Declaration of Independence. He was the Virginia member of the Marine Committee in Congress[31] along with a member from each other colony. Braxton was also a member of a committee to arrange exchanges of Continental and British prisoners. As war approached, the Virginia Committee of Safety "under the leadership of Edmund Pendleton now governed Virginia."[32] This committee included Chairman Pendleton, Carter Braxton, Dr. Thomas Walker, Col. William Cabell Jr., George Mason, and Thomas Ludwell Lee, among others.[33] It is hardly surprising to find that a privateering syndicate was supported by several men in this group.

An important partner of the syndicate for the privateer *Phoenix* was Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, a signer of the Declaration of Independence who became known as the "Financier of the Revolution." He was a Philadelphia merchant in the Willing & Morris firm and a merchant partner of Carter Braxton. When things looked darkest for Washington and his army, Morris was usually able to find money. He was an active member of the Continental Congress, its Marine Committee, and several other committees. In addition, he invested in many privateering ventures including the *Phoenix*.

An example of the merchant connections between Robert Morris and Carter Braxton is reported in a September 28, 1776, letter from Carter Braxton to Isaac Gouverneur of Curacao. This letter describes Braxton as a partner with Willing & Morris in a deal for £10,000 of merchandise from an Amsterdam merchant to be paid for with 300,000 pounds of tobacco.[34] American exports such as rice, indigo, and especially tobacco sales to France played a leading role in paying for American imports of arms and other war supplies.[35]

Morris and Braxton had many other useful connections. The Willing & Morris firm employed Benjamin Harrison Jr., son of Braxton's first cousin, Benjamin Harrison,[36] who was a Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and later governor of Virginia. "Early in the spring of 1776, Morris appointed his former apprentice, Benjamin Harrison Jr., Continental paymaster in Virginia to oversee Morris's public affairs in the state. Young Harrison also acted as the leading purchaser of tobacco in Virginia for Willing & Morris's private account."[37]

Another Morris connection was William Bingham, who had worked for Morris in Philadelphia. Bingham played a critically important role in privateering in the Caribbean. In 1776, at age 24, he became a Continental

agent in Martinique, and he continued to serve as an agent for Willing & Morris during the next three years. Under French protection, Bingham provided logistical support for the extensive American privateering activities in the West Indies and, in a naval intelligence role, kept track of merchant shipping and warships in the area. For example, instructions from the Continental Marine Committee to the captain of the *Virginia* outlined Bingham's role in merchant trading, as well as supplying "Arms, ammunition, Cloathing and Other Stores," providing intelligence about British ships, and consulting about actions for "distressing the enemy."[38]

Phoenix syndicate member Michael Gratz and his brother, Barnard, were Jewish merchants in Philadelphia who traded with western fur traders and land speculators during several decades prior to the Revolutionary War. They had close business relations with William Murray, George Croghan, and Joseph Simon — men involved with western development and speculation in companies such as the Indiana Company and the Illinois Company.[39] During the Revolutionary War, Michael Gratz was not only a part owner of the *Phoenix*, but also other privateers such as the *Industry*, the *Shippen*, the *Mercury*, and the *Neptune*.[40]

Although various northerners joined the *Phoenix* privateering syndicate, a number of other partners were probably Virginians, as suggested by the fact that Braxton later used Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* to call for the owners to meet at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg on December 11, 1777.[41]

The Ship *Phoenix*

The ship on which Floyd was to sail was the *Phoenix,* a Massachusetts sloop, "burthened ninety tons, armed with ten three and four pounders, eight swivels and cohorns [small brass cannons], one thousand weight of powder with shot in proportion."[42] It had a crew of 60 men, and had been commissioned as a privateer through the efforts of Carter Braxton of Virginia and John Rowe, a Boston merchant with a warehouse in Boston Harbor, later described by Robert Morris as "agent for the owners of the *Phoenix*." On September 24, 1776, "John Rowe, in behalf of himself of Boston and Carlton B [sic], of Virginia, . . . owners of the sloop *Phoenix*," submitted a petition for a privateering commission to the Massachusetts Bay Council naming ship's officers Joseph Cunningham, Captain, William Lovering, 1st Lieutenant, Daniel Malcom, 2nd Lieutenant, and Henry Jackson, Master.[43] A $5,000 bond was issued that same day, naming John Rowe and Elias Warner sureties.[44] The council also allowed John Rowe to purchase 500 pounds of gunpowder from the powder mill at Andover for six shillings a pound.[45]

In his biography of Edmund Pendleton, author David John Mays mistakenly stated that John Floyd was the captain of the privateer *Phoenix,* and Mays concluded that Floyd's ship was an entirely different ship than the ship with the same name under Capt. Cunningham, owned by Carter Braxton and others.[46] In fact, the ship owned by Braxton's syndicate was also Floyd's ship, as indicated by the naming of Floyd in the first sentence of Braxton's December 16, 1776, instructions to Capt. Cunningham (see Appendix).

Captain Cunningham

Capt. Joseph Cunningham was part of a Massachusetts family that was connected to the family of President John Adams by the marriage of Cunningham's uncle, James Cunningham, to Elizabeth Boylston, sister of Adams's mother, Susannah Boylston. Prior to his service as captain of the *Phoenix,* Cunningham had skippered the sloop *Lady Washington.* On May 7, 1776, Cunningham, as captain, with Ebenezer Dorr and Joseph Gardner as sureties, provided a $5,000 bond to the Continental Congress for the commissioning of the *Lady Washington* as a privateer.[47] On May 19, 1776, the *Lady Washington*, under Capt. Cunningham, and the schooner *Franklin* were attacked by 13 British vessels. The Americans sank two British ships, but Capt. James Mugford of Marblehead, Massachusetts, captain of the *Franklin*, was killed.[48]

The *Phoenix* Syndicate

This tentative list, based on available reports, includes about half of the partners of the *Phoenix* syndicate — the other half are not now known.[49]

Joseph Cunningham, captain
John Rowe,[50] Boston merchant and agent for the *Phoenix*
Elias Warner, Boston merchant
Carter Braxton, Virginia merchant
Matthew Phripp,[51] Norfolk, Virginia merchant, Phripp & Bowdin
Edmund Pendleton, Virginia
Dr. Thomas Walker, Virginia
John Floyd, Virginia
Robert Morris, Philadelphia merchant, Willing & Morris
Michael Gratz, Philadelphia merchant

Activities of the Schooner *Phoenix*

The home port of the *Phoenix* was Boston, although its rigging was changed from sloop to schooner in Virginia.[52] Cannons were added in order to make the ship suitable for service as a privateer. For a privateer, as compared with a merchant ship, there was a requirement for additional crew to fire the cannons, serve as a boarding party, manage prisoners, and deal with the burden of bringing a captured prize ship into port. In his instructions to Capt. Cunningham, Braxton indicates that Cunningham and Floyd were each responsible for recruiting men for the venture (see Appendix): "With the materials with which I have now supplied you [Cunningham] I expect you will be ready to embark on a Cruize in a short time with the Men under your command now and such as Mr. Floyd shall enlist to the time of your sailing." Capt. Cunningham, who was responsible for sailing the ship, had recruited sailors in Massachusetts. Floyd was most likely responsible for the marines. For two years, Floyd had experience as a captain of the Fincastle County militia, a suitable background for him to be captain of marine troops aboard ship.

The plan for the venture was to sail in the West Indies for about three months, and capture British vessels as prize ships, even though some of the crew had signed on only for a month or so. Braxton's instructions indicated that it might be necessary to arrange for some of these crew members to be returned to Boston. Prize vessels were to be brought to port in Virginia if possible, otherwise to Philadelphia or the nearest port. Braxton's instructions state that if a refit in the West Indies became necessary, Mr. Isaac Gouverneur at Curacao or Mr. Rawleigh Colston[53] at Surinam could provide assistance. These men were part of international trading and shipping merchant networks that were often needed to deal with unforeseen circumstances. In later instructions Braxton named merchant correspondents that could be called upon in Guadaloupe, Haiti, South Carolina, France, and Amsterdam.[54] On December 16, 1776, from Williamsburg, Carter Braxton sent instructions to Capt. Cunningham for the cruise of the *Phoenix,*[55] and Floyd wrote Preston that he had joined in the purchase of a privateering ship:[56]

> I am almost afraid to mention that I have (I fear too inconsiderately) joined in the purchase of a vessel fitted out for privateering, at four thousand pounds including all expenses for a three months cruise. There are twenty partners at £200 each.

Floyd's letter did not state his exact share in the venture. One of the partners, Robert Morris, later indicated that he had not 1/20th but rather a 1/24th share.[57] This may mean that certain individuals such as Capt. Cunningham, John Floyd, and the ship's crew had a carried interest of 20 percent to divide in some fashion before any payment to investors, who were assessed 1/20th of any losses.[58] In the same letter to Preston, Floyd recognized that he had comparatively little ability to undertake financial risk as compared with rich syndicate investors, and also expressed reluctance and foreboding.[59]

> When I was advised to engage in this plan, and saw how much the partners were taken in, I did not reflect that they were mostly men of opulent fortunes, and that two hundred pounds could make but little difference with them if lost. . . .
> It is a folly to repine, but I could wish from the bottom of my heart, I had never undertaken the journey; I can't account for it, but somehow or other I am made to doubt that I shall return as much poorer as the sum amounted to that I brought away, if I should escape with my life. I must tell you I am exceedingly unhappy, and shall be more and more so till I return. I wish I could have consulted you before I took this step, which I fear you will call silly and imprudent, but I must bear it with all the fortitude I can collect. If any accident should prevent my return in a few months, I shall be the most miserable man living.

Ten days later, Floyd wrote to Preston from on board the Privateer *Phoenix*:[60]

> This is an exceedingly fine vessel & is very well fitted out for three or four months. I have great encouragement from those experienced in this way, but let my future be good or bad, I intend to sell out, should I live to return, & pursue some kind of business I am better qualified for, than what I am now engaged in. . . . I wish to Heaven I was with you this minute. Farewell my best & worthy friend! May God prosper you, & grant me another interview with the man I love.

As required by law, Floyd put a notice in Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* that he intended to leave the colony for a few months.[61] His notice did not disclose the reason for his absence or any other details. Braxton's instructions (see Appendix) indicate that the *Phoenix* was to "sail from York," i.e. Yorktown, Virginia, a few miles from Williamsburg. Floyd's ship presumably sailed out across the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay about

the first of January 1777, a time when the British fleet generally controlled the area and made highly risky any rebel passage through it. On March 24, 1777, a British journal reported that "His Majesty's ships stationed about Chesapeake and Delaware bays have destroyed or taken, within the space of the last two months, above 70 sail or rebel ships and privateers."[62]

The *Phoenix* successfully carried out its plan to capture British ships in the West Indies, selling the ships and cargo there. Newspaper articles in Massachusetts and Virginia notified interested parties of the ship's successful return on April 9, 1777:[63]

> Yesterday arrived at a safe Port, a Privateer Schooner, commanded by Capt. [Joseph] Cunningham, in a short Passage from the French West-Indies, where she has lately sent in several Prizes. We learn that the French Ports are crowded with Cruizers and Merchantmen, belonging to these States, and that all Kinds of Goods are sold at a moderate Price.

This report is consistent with the original plan for returning after a three-month voyage, and there is no suggestion that the *Phoenix* had been taken by the British. Nevertheless, the British captured Floyd, evidently while he was coming into port on a prize ship, probably in early April as the *Phoenix* was heading to a "safe port." As the story was later told by the family,[64]

> The voyage was successful; and they were on their way back with a prize cargo, among which was a beautiful wedding gown John was bringing to his fiancée,[65] when the ship was overhauled by a British cruiser at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. Although he was confined to his bunk with a bad case of malaria, John was put in irons and transported with the crew to Forton Gaol in Portsmouth, England.

In early April, Floyd would have realized his plan to leave the ship after cruising for three or four months had not his capture intervened. It is clear that the *Phoenix* itself was not captured in the spring of 1777; otherwise, Capt. Cunningham would have been in an English prison in July instead of being in Boston. Braxton's original instructions indicate the intention to recruit men for a second voyage of five months. During the April to July interval the ship had time for a refitting, and by July, the number of cannons included 12 carriage guns.[66] Capt. Cunningham and John Rowe petitioned the State of Massachusetts on July 8, 1777, for a new surety bond for the *Phoenix*, naming Carter Braxton and Mr. [Matthew] Phripp among the

owners.[67] The petition states that they had been at a large expense fitting the ship for sea. A curious condition of this bond was a restriction "from Shipping on board said vessels of War any Inhabitant of any of the New England States other than the State of Massachusetts Bay . . . ."[68] Two weeks later Cunningham cited difficulty in recruiting seamen and suggested turning the *Phoenix* over to the Continental Navy.[69]

Cunningham was skipper of the *Phoenix* during August when it seized a neutral Portuguese ship, *Our Lady of Mount Carmel and Saint Anthony,* bound from Brazil to Portugal. On August 28, from aboard the Phoenix, far out in the Atlantic, Cunningham instructed John Wardwell to take the prize ship to "Ocracock," North Carolina, or to Boston and "not to speak with any Vessell if it be Possible to avoid it."[70] This seizure, later found illegal, was a serious international matter that potentially undercut the Continental Congress in its relations with other countries.

John Floyd Imprisoned

After John Floyd's capture, he was sent to Forton Prison in England. He was one of many prisoners. During the war the British captured several thousand men from privateering vessels and imprisoned them at Forton Prison in Portsmouth and at Mill Prison in Plymouth, England. Floyd could have been among the first American seamen jailed in Forton Prison in June 1777 or a little later in the year. He was already there by October 13, 1777, when William Radford, lieutenant of marines on the Continental ship *Hornet,* was imprisoned at Forton.[71] Radford was one of the earliest marines in the Continental Navy.[72]

England passed the "Pirate Act" in March 1777, denying due process and prisoner exchange to captives charged with committing "piracy upon the ships and goods of His Majesty's subjects." On the heels of the Pirate Act came the British Board of Admiralty's announcement on June 13, 1777, that Forton and Mill Prisons were ready to receive captives taken at sea. Under the act, it was not necessary to try prisoners. One way to get out of these prisons was to consent to join the Royal Navy, and another was to escape.[73] Several first-person accounts by prisoners relate being interrogated and examined once or twice by a magistrate or by the admiralty upon arrival in Portsmouth, England, before being committed to Forton Prison. Letitia Preston Floyd reported that after John Floyd had been in prison for some time he was tried and acquitted.[74] The authors have not eliminated the possibility that Floyd had a delayed trial or acquittal, but that does not seem to have been the usual practice.[75] There is one indication that Floyd's pending release or escape was either known or anticipated by

other prisoners. When he left, Floyd carried documents to Paris from Forton prisoner Capt. John Welsh, so it was no secret to Welsh that Floyd was about to leave the prison.

Variations on the family story say that Floyd escaped from Forton through the aid of the jailer's daughter, that he received help from a kindly clergyman, and that an old sailor helped him. Actually, escape from Forton was common — dozens of prisoners escaped during 1777 — and those who escaped often found aid and assistance from the local population. The suggestion that there was an underground network of assistance is, to some extent, true. Initiatives on behalf of the prisoners sprang up at all levels of British society. Churches and charities donated food and clothing. Money was raised and distributed to inmates according to rank and went for the purchase of tobacco, tea, books, and writing supplies; much of it may have gone for gambling and drinking as well. The cause of prisoner relief inevitably became linked with Britain's peace movement.[76]

Letitia Preston Floyd said "Floyd begged his way to Dover, where he found a clergyman who was in the habit of concealing all American fugitives and procuring a passage for them to France." Her reference to a clergyman may tie in with accounts by various Forton prisoners who were helped by the Rev. Thomas Wren, a Presbyterian dissenter.[77] One specific explanation comes from *The Memoirs of the Life of Nathaniel Fanning,* which explains that the Rev. Wren visited the prison every week and distributed money to the inmates — 5 shillings to the officers and half that to the other men. The Rev. Wren also provided a hiding place, change of clothes, and money to escapees to help them on their way.[78]

One should also give credit to Benjamin Franklin, who had the prisoners very much on his mind. Franklin knew about generous people such as the Rev. Wren, and did what he could to encourage them. In writing to his English friend David Hartley, a member of Parliament, on October 14, 1777, Franklin said:[79]

> If you could have Leisure to visit the Gaols in which [American prisoners] are confined, and should be desirous of knowing the Truth relative to the Treatment they receive, I wish you would take the Trouble of distributing among the most necessitous according to their Wants five or six hundred pounds, for which your Drafts on me here should be punctually honored. . . .

Franklin later wrote to Hartley, thanking him, sending him money, and commending Wren's conduct.[80]

So Floyd was released or escaped, not necessarily with help from a jailer's daughter. He may have found it necessary to escape in some other way, such as bribing a guard, tunneling, or climbing over the eight-foot-high iron pickets that surrounded the prison area.

One version of the Floyd story is that he was hindered on his way to Dover by press gangs. This may have been an embellishment, although it was a problem for many escaped prisoners. Author Robert Patton explained that "Impressment, or 'the press,' was the age-old way that warships were manned whenever there were shortfalls in volunteers. Its techniques ranged from mere marketing to brute force. . . . [S]ometimes, especially during war, press gangs were used. These were comprised of moonlighting navy men or local toughs. Paid up to 40 shillings per head, they filled quotas by snatching citizens from the private workplace and herding them to His Majesty's ships."[81] This practice created a public outcry against impressment. Nevertheless, considering that Floyd carried Capt. John Welsh's letter dated October 20 from Forton Prison and reached Paris about a week later, it is unlikely that he was delayed by press gangs.

Floyd arrived in Paris after a trip through France subsisting on grapes, and sometimes bread.[82] In Paris, it most likely was a straightforward matter for Floyd to introduce himself to Continental Commissioner Arthur Lee of Virginia and to the other commissioners, Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin. Overlapping networks of rich merchants and political luminaries connected Floyd to men known to the commissioners. For example, as members of the Continental Congress, Commissioner Arthur Lee's brothers, Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee, had signed the Declaration of Independence just as had Phoenix syndicate members Braxton and Morris. Morris had served with Silas Deane on the Continental Marine Committee, and worked with all three American Commissioners (Franklin, Lee, and Deane) in arranging sales of tobacco to France to pay for arms shipments to America.[83] Another key player in the trading and shipping of tobacco, as well as privateering in the West Indies, was William Bingham, Morris's commercial partner, and also the Continental government agent in Martinique. In addition to all those connections, Dr. Thomas Walker had met Benjamin Franklin at least once, having dined with him in Philadelphia in March 1755.[84]

In order to cover Floyd's living and travel expenses the commissioners issued him 10 Louis d'ors — gold coins approximately equal in value to English guineas. Floyd carried the following note from Continental Commissioner Arthur Lee to Commissioners Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane:[85]

Challiot, Thu, Oct 30, 1777

Mr. Lee presents his Compliments to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dean. He has been prevented from waiting upon them this morning as he intended, but will do it this Evening having a Letter to communicate. The Bearer Mr. Floyd will wait to carry Dispatches, if the Gentlemen think it necessary; if not he is sollicitous to go off this Evening, and wants an advance of 7 Louis in addition to the three already given, which if Messrs. F. and D. think proper Mr. Lee will furnish him with, taking a receipt for the whole in the name of the Commissioners and payable to the President of Congress.

The reply from Franklin and Deane was as follows:[86]

Messrs. Franklin and Deane present their Compliments to Mr. Lee. They very much approve of the Assistance within propos'd to be afforded Mr. Lloyd [sic]. They would not detain him for Dispatches.

Floyd's receipt for the money is also dated the same day:[87]

John Floyd to the American Commissioners: Receipts Challiot. October 30th 1777. Received of the Commissioners at paris the Sum of ten Louidores which I promise to repay to the Honble. the president of the United States of America or to his Order.
John Floyd of Fincastle County Virga.

When Silas Deane was later called before Congress he provided bookkeeping accounts relating to John Floyd as shown below:[88]

Oct. 30, 1777, entry shows 10 Louis (240 livres) advanced to John Floyd
Nov. 5, 1777, entry shows 312 livres advanced to Capt. Welsh

It is interesting that Capt. John Welsh in Forton Prison gave Floyd a letter and two notes to carry with him during Floyd's trip to France. John Welsh's October 20, 1777, letter to Benjamin Franklin, carried by Floyd from Forton Prison to Paris, reads as follows:[89]

> Sir,
> Excuse the Freedom of my Presumption, in Writing to you tho not Personally Acquainted. Still from the Charector you bear from every Loyal American, induces me to let you Know of my Misfortune of being taken Prisoner, and brought here from the Westindias, Where I commanded a Privatier fitted out by Wm. Bingham Esqr. Agent of the Honourable Congress of the United states. Am in a Distress'd Situation, the Particulars you'l Excuse as time does not permit. Begs your Assistance if Convenient and hopes you'l make Known to Congress, as we may Expect a Carteel [for the exchange of prisoners] some time tho' God Knows when. However any service I may Recieve will be Greatly thankful, as Wm. Bingham or Richd. Harrison[90] of Martinicoe [Martinique] Wood be Answerable. I am sir Yours
>
> Jno. Welsh
>
> n.b. Those letters you'l be Pleas'd to forward to Martinicoe: I mention to these Gentlemen in these letters of my application made to you, Which I hope will Reach them. If this Answers you'l Direct to Portsmouth at Fortune Goal I draw for 20 Guineas as per Note. Superscription thus To Capt. Jno. Welsh at Portsmouth in the Goal of Fortune [Forton Gaol]

One of the other notes that Welsh had Floyd carry gave the bearer bank credit in Cherbourg for 4 or 5 guineas, probably to help with travel expenses. A second note asks Floyd to make out a 20-guinea draft on William Bingham in Martinique so that Benjamin Franklin could forward money to Forton Prison for Welsh, and to beg Franklin to arrange Welsh's exchange.[91]

Capt. Welsh was apparently confident that Bingham would honor a 20-guinea draft from Floyd, a confidence likely based on prior dealings between Bingham and Floyd. Taking prize ships captured by the *Phoenix* into port and selling them in Martinique provided an opportunity for Bingham and Floyd to meet and make Bingham fully aware of the privateering activities of the *Phoenix*. Capt. Cunningham later referred to sales of prize ships taken by the *Phoenix* to Martinique after he heard from John Rowe that Morris was dissatisfied with the price received from these sales.[92]

The Benjamin Franklin papers do not mention fellow prisoner William Radford, although Floyd and Radford were said to be together part of the time in Paris. A memorandum provided to the American Commissioners in France[93] lists William Radford among Forton prisoners on December 29, 1777, so Radford must have escaped after that date.

While Floyd was in Paris, "he obtained his wedding Clothes, a rich and beautiful pair of brilliant shoe buckles for his intended bride, a Scarlet Coat for himself."[94] He returned to Virginia, arriving in America in February 1778.[95] When he reached home, his friends and his fiancée Jane Buchanan had given him up for dead. According to a family story, Floyd unexpectedly showed up just after Jane agreed to marry Robert Sawyers, a distant kinsman of hers.[96] The engagement with Sawyers was broken, and after months of recuperating from his illnesses, Floyd married Jane Buchanan on November 2, 1778.[97]

Floyd's activities as captain of the marines on the *Phoenix* were at an end. Nevertheless, the owners of the *Phoenix* were forced to deal with issues of criminal and civil liability relating to the illegal capture of the Portuguese ship *Our Lady of Mount Carmel and Saint Anthony*.[98] Claims by the owners of that ship and related legal proceedings continued for years, eventually requiring the attention of the War Board in Massachusetts, the Continental Congress, and others including Virginia Attorney General Edmund Randolph and Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson. Carter Braxton was relieved of criminal charges, but was found to possibly be liable for civil damages, according to the legal opinion of the Attorney General.[99]

Eventually, *Phoenix* owners were assessed damages amounting to £3,440. These losses were paid entirely by Robert Morris at first and then charged to Carter Braxton. In 1781, Braxton requested payment of £172 from syndicate partner Michael Gratz, as his share of the damages.[100] Court proceedings disclosed *Phoenix* owners Braxton, Phripp and Morris, but other owners such as Floyd were apparently not disclosed. Braxton eventually lost most of his fortune. Robert Morris became a U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania 1789 – 1795. He bought a large part of western New York State in 1791, including, with some exceptions, the six western counties of New York lying between Pennsylvania and Lake Ontario.[101] Morris also speculated by purchasing millions of acres in the South, eventually leading to a collapse of his financial empire. William Bingham was said to be the richest man in America. In addition to his landholdings in Pennsylvania and New York, he owned some three million acres in Maine.[102] He became a member of the Continental Congress and followed Robert Morris as U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania. Beginning in 1795 and for many years

afterward, the head of Liberty on United States coins was based on a portrait of Bingham's beautiful wife, Anne Willing Bingham, daughter of Thomas Willing of Willing & Morris.

Regarding the money that Floyd had borrowed from the Continental Commissioners in Paris, Dr. Thomas Walker wrote to Col. Preston on July 9, 1778, "Please give my compliments to Captain Floyd, and tell him I have paid the ten guineas, he had of Dr. Franklin, to the Treasurer, who is thought the proper person to receive it."[103] Record of the repayment eventually found its way into the Franklin papers provided to the Continental Congress, listed as "May 19, 1779, John Floyd, 140.00."[104]

Floyd returned to the Kentucky he loved, never to be a privateer again. His property, known as "Floyd's Station," is now part of Louisville, Kentucky. Among other things, Floyd was to be remembered as a militia colonel under Gen. George Rogers Clark and as one of the founders of Louisville. Highway markers scattered around Kentucky today memorialize Floyd's Kentucky activities. He was ambushed and killed by Indians in April 1783 while on horseback, wearing the scarlet coat he had brought from Paris. John Floyd's widow Jane preserved the scarlet coat until 1812, when the coat was buried with her, as she had requested.[105]

John Floyd's posthumous son, John Floyd, became governor of Virginia 1830 – 1834, and his grandson, John B. Floyd, was governor of Virginia 1849 – 1852. Col. William Preston's son, James Patton Preston, was governor 1816 – 1819. Preston's daughter, Letitia, married the first governor John Floyd, and Letitia's sister, Sarah, married James McDowell, whose son, also named James McDowell, was governor 1843 – 1846.

Appendix—Carter Braxton Instructions to Captain Joseph Cunningham[106]

Sir Williamsburg Decr 16th 1776

With the materials with which I have now supplied you I expect you will be ready to embark on a Cruize in a short time with the Men under your command now and such as Mr. Floyd shall enlist to the time of your sailing. The Company to whom the Privateer *Phenix* belongs have instructed Mr. Phripp and myself to give such directions as appear to us necessary for my part I shall rely in a just measure on your skill and judgment in this Cruize, knowing you are so much better acquainted with these things than myself and only give general directions in

particular circumstances. You are I presume to proceed to the West Indies and there endeavour to apprehend some of the English Vessels either those belonging to Great Britain or such as belong to any of their Islands or countries except Bermudas or the Bahama Islands, or should you hear that the Portuguese are actually taking our Vessels in that case you may seize any of theirs. If you make any captures of any ships or Vessels above described you are to send them into this State directing them to Mr. Phripp and myself, but if you should know that our State is stopt up in that case you will order them to Philadelphia to the care of Mr. Morris or the nearest Port, giving Orders that immediate notice be sent by Express to Mr. Phripp and myself. Should any accident happen to you at Sea and a refit be necessary you will apply to Mr. Isaac Gouverneur at Curacoa or to my Mr. Rawleigh Colston at Surrinam with my Letters of Credit or any others on whom Mr. Phripp shall give you credit for such assistance as you may want which expense is to be charged to the Company as your Men are not enlisted to serve longer than some time in January should they insist any of them to return home to Boston when their time is expired you are by no means to go there with your Vessel but rather put such Men on board some Vessel that may be going to Boston. The terms of their enlistment do not oblige you to carry them home at the end of the time, and the Company will by no means agree that the Vessel should be carried so far out of her way If you prove unsuccessful during the continuance of your Provisions and Stores which expect will serve you three Months, after they are expended you are to return home to receive another recruit of necessaries and Men which are to be engaged on account of the Company but at present I have obliged myself and Messrs Willing and Morris to find a three Months supply of all necessaries whatever, Powder I put over a thousand weight you will remember is our property after the Cruise is over by Agreement.

You are to send me before you sail from York a perfect Account of all your disbursements since you came to this Country and the Articles that have been added to your Vessel &c. Mr. Reynolds at York will Supply you with any thing further you may have occasion for there.

Those of the Company that are here have agreed that if you are out near three Months & can take no Prizes, in that case you may return to Boston to discharge these Men and enlist others for a five Months Voyage and that you will apply to Mr [John] Rowe for such necessaries as you may want until you can get here to take in your stores for a further Cruize.

You will remember to send with any Vessel you may take all the Papers belonging to said Vessel with respect to her clearance, age, Owners &c.

CARTER BRAXTON

Endnotes

* The authors are great-great-great grandnephews of John Floyd. They express grateful appreciation to Alexandra Luken and especially to Isobel Ellis for their contributions.

1. Hambleton Tapp, "Colonel John Floyd, Kentucky Pioneer," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 15 (January 1941): 1–24.
2. Anna M. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd, Reluctant Adventurer," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 66 (October 1968): 317–66.
3. Charles H. Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd, Governor of Virginia, an Apostle of Secession, and the Father of the Oregon Country* (Richmond, Va.: Richmond Press, 1918), 24–25.
4. Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone,* ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1998), 559–63.
5. Wirt H. Wills, "The Phoenix Caper — A Frontiersman Goes to Sea," *Smithfield Review* 10 (2006): 21–32.
6. William Bell Clark, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (11 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1964 – 2005), 2: 442. Hereafter referred to as NDAR.
7. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774 – 1789* (34 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904 – 1937), November 25, 1775.
8. NDAR, 11: 447–53, lists 235 ships.
9. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, March 23, 1776.
10. David John Mays, *Edmund Pendleton, 1721 – 1803: A Biography* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 2: 40.
11. Meredith Mason Brown, "The Central Role of William Preston and Other Smithfield Region Leaders in the Opening up of Kentucky," *Smithfield Review* 13 (2009): 33.
12. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd, Reluctant Adventurer," 326.
13. George Washington to William Preston, March 27, 1775, Correspondence and Miscellaneous Notes, 1773 – 1799, Series 8a, George Washington Papers, 1741 – 1799, Library of Congress.
14. Ambler, *Life and Diary of John Floyd,* 15.
15. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd, Reluctant Adventurer," 330.
16. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Pulaski, Va.: B. D. Smith & Bros., 1976), 135.
17. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd, Reluctant Adventurer," 332.
18. Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots*, 148.
19. Draper, *Life of Daniel Boone,* 560.
20. Draper, *Life of Daniel Boone,* 411–21.
21. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889 – 1896), 1: 159.
22. Wills, "Phoenix Caper — A Frontiersman Goes to Sea," 23.
23. Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Surveyors Foundation, 1979), 85.
24. Letitia Preston Floyd to Benjamin Rush Floyd, letter, in "John Floyd, Kentucky Hero, and Three Generations of Floyds and Prestons of Virginia," transcribed by June Stubbs, introduction by Wirt H. Wills, in *Smithfield Review* 2 (1998), 43. Hereafter referred to as Letitia Preston Floyd letter.
25. Alexander C. McLeod, "A Man for All Regions: Dr. Thomas Walker of Castle Hill," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 71 (April 1997): 173.
26. McLeod, "A Man for All Regions," 180.
27. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 163.
28. McLeod, "A Man for All Regions," 177.
29. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 74, 94.

30. John Floyd to William Preston, December 16, 1776, in "Letters of Col. John Floyd, 1774 – 1783," 1783," ed. Neil Hammon and James Russell Harris, *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 215–17.
31. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, December 11, 1775. The Marine Committee was formed with one member from each colony: Josiah Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Stephen Hopkins, Silas Deane, Francis Lewis, Stephen Crane, Robert Morris, George Read, William Paca, Richard Henry Lee, Joseph Hewes, and Christopher Gadsden. The entry that added members Carter Braxton, Robert R. Livingston and Matthew Tilghman is in *Journals of the Continental Congress,* June 6, 1776.
32. Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots*, 173.
33. *American Archives, Fourth Series* (Washington, D.C.: M. St. Claire Clark and Peter Force, 1851), 3: 334–85 and 4: 87. The Committee of Safety was formed August 17, 1775, on the day the convention chose as president Robert Carter Nicholas, who was the last treasurer of the Virginia colony and a cousin of Carter Braxton. Other 1775 members of the Committee of Safety were John Page, Richard Bland, Paul Carrington, Dudley Diggs, James Mercer, Joseph Jones, and John Tabb.
34. NDAR, 6: 1039, "September 28, 1777 [sic 1776]."
35. Jacob M. Price, *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoloy, 1674 – 1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades* (2 vols.; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973), 2: 690, 701.
36. Mary Carter, Carter Braxton's mother, was a sister of Anne Carter, mother of Benjamin Harrison and grandmother of Benjamin Harrison Jr.
37. John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), 172–73.
38. Marine Committee to James Nicholson, April 8, 1777, in Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774 – 1789* (26 vols.; Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976 – 2000), 6: 556–57.
39. William Vincent Byars, ed., *B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754 – 1798: Papers of Interest to Their Posterity and the Posterity of Their Associates* (Jefferson City, Mo.: Hugh Stephens Printing Co., 1916), 14.
40. Byars, *Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia*, 22, 162, 200–205, 227, 229.
41. Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, December 5, 1777.
42. "Petition of Owners of Sloop Phoenix," in *American Archives, Fifth Series,* 2: 787.
43. *American Archives, Fifth Series,* 2: 787.
44. Charles Henry Lincoln, comp., *Naval Records of the American Revolution, 1775 – 1788* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 18. Hereafter referred to as NRAR.
45. *American Archives, Fifth Series,* 2: 789.
46. Mays, *Pendleton*, 2: 369–70n52.
47. NRAR, 11.
48. Gardner W. Allen, *A Naval History of the American Revolution* (2 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), 1: 75-77.
49. A possible owner is "Mr. Reynolds at York," mentioned in Capt. Cunningham's instructions in the Appendix. Yorktown merchant William Reynolds had previously been with the firm of John Norton & Sons, along with John Hatley Norton, whose wife was Sarah Nicholas, daughter of Carter Braxton's cousin, Robert Carter Nicholas. Another possible owner is "Joseph Webb, Esq. of Boston," mentioned in a letter from Joseph Cunningham to John Wardwell, August 28, 1777, "Claims for Captured Vessels, 1777 – 84," *Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774 – 1789* (microfilm, National Archives, Washington, D.C.), 57. The authors' list of owners omits doubtful or uncertain references to "Col. John Radford" mentioned in Draper, *Life of Daniel Boone,* 560, also "Col. William Radford" in Tapp, "Colonel John Floyd, Kentucky Pioneer," 9, and in Mays, *Pendleton*, 2: 369n52.

50. Anne R. Cunningham, ed., *Letters and Diary of John Rowe* (Boston: W. B. Clarke Company, 1903), 318, entry for September 24, 1776: "went to Watertown w. Capt. Jos. Cunningham, Mr. Parker & Mr. [Elias] Warner, 'I had some business with the Council'" [submitting a petition for commissioning the *Phoenix* as a privateer].
51. E. James Ferguson et al., eds., *The Papers of Robert Morris* (9 vols.; Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973 – 1995), 2: 333n1. See mentions of Phripp in the Appendix.
52. NRAR, 95.
53. Rawleigh Colston later married Elizabeth Marshall, sister of Chief Justice John Marshall.
54. Carter Braxton, "Instructions to Capt. Thomas Chamberlain, Sloop *Molly*, May 24, 1777," in *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (Philadelphia) IV (April 1, 1778), 143 (American Antiquarian Society).
55. NRAR, 30.
56. Floyd to Preston, December 16, 1776, in "Letters of Col. John Floyd, 1774 – 1783," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 215–17.
57. Robert Morris to James Searle, NRAR, 93.
58. Byars, Gratz, *Merchants in Philadelphia*, 204.
59. Floyd to Preston, December 16, 1776, in "Letters of Col. John Floyd, 1774 – 1783," 215–17.
60. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd, Reluctant Adventurer," 343, cites Draper 33S312, Collection of Lyman C. Draper, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisc.
61. Purdie's *Virginia Gazette,* December 27, 1776, 3.
62. "Domestic Intelligence, America, New York, March 24, 1777," *London Town and Country Magazine* [for 1777]: 278.
63. *Boston Independent Chronicle*, April 10, 1777, in NDAR, 8: 308–9; in Dixon and Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, May 9, 1777, 2.
64. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd, Reluctant Adventurer," 343–44.
65. Floyd was at this time engaged to Miss Jane Buchanan, daughter of the late Col. John Buchanan, also a kinswoman and ward of Col. Preston.
66. NDAR, 9: 242.
67. NDAR, 9: 241–42.
68. NDAR, 9: 247–48.
69. Joseph Cunningham to Willing and Morris, July 23, 1777, item 46, Correspondence Regarding Naval–Maritime Matters, 1775 – 1783, Franklin D. Roosevelt Naval and Marine Manuscript Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.
70. Joseph Cunningham to John Wardwell, August 28, 1777,"Claims for Captured Vessels, 1777 – 84," *Papers of the Continental Congress,* 57.
71. "A Yankee Privateersman in Prison," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 30 (July 1876): 346. From the journal of Timothy Conner, one of the crew of the brigantine *Rising States*, committed to Forton Prison the 14th of June, 1777, the first prisoners in that place: "October the 13th, this day twenty-two more prisoners were sent on shore Capt. John Nicholson of the *Hornet*, and Capt. Welch, and all their officers and men."
72. David L. Mordy and James C. Mordy, "William Radford, Revolutionary Patriot of the Continental Marines," *Smithfield Review* 15 (2011): 23–34.
73. Robert H. Patton, *Patriot Pirates* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2008), 34, 142.
74. Draper, *Life of Daniel Boone*, 560.
75. Marion Kaminkow and Jack Kaminkow, comps., *Mariners of the American Revolution* (1967; reprint Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1993), xxi.
76. Patton, *Patriot Pirates*, 143, 144.
77. Sheldon S. Cohen, "Thomas Wren: Ministering Angel of Forton Prison," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (July 1979): 279–301.

78. Nathaniel Fanning, *Fanning's Narrative* (1912; New York: *New York Times*, 1968), ed. John S. Barnes, 18.
79. Benjamin Franklin to David Hartley, October 14, 1777, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al. (39 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959 – 2008), 25: 64–68.
80. Franklin to Hartley, February 12, 1778, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 25: 650.
81. Patton, *Patriot Pirates*, 140.
82. Letitia Preston Floyd letter, 43.
83. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, 2: 700–717, discusses Arthur Lee, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris and William Bingham in relation to sales of tobacco to France to pay for arms supplied for the French.
84. McLeod, "A Man for All Regions," 180.
85. Lee to Franklin and Deane, October 30, 1777, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 25: 125.
86. Franklin and Deane to Lee, October 30, 1777, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 25: 125.
87. Floyd to American Commissioners, October 30, 1777, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 25: 124.
88. Silas Deane, "Accounts While in Europe 1776 – 1781," *Papers of the Continental Congress*, 162.
89. John Welsh to Benjamin Franklin, October 20, 1777, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 25: 92–93.
90. Baltimore merchant Richard Harrison was an agent in Martinique for both Maryland and Virginia.
91. John Welsh to John Floyd, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 25: 93n.
92. Joseph Cunningham to Robert Morris, December 24, 1777, item 61, Correspondence Regarding Naval–Maritime Matters, 1775 – 1783, Franklin D. Roosevelt Naval and Marine Manuscript Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.
93. "List of the American Prisoners Confined in Forton Prison Decr 29th 1777," NDAR, 11: 885–91.
94. Letitia Preston Floyd letter, 43. Letitia's account is more prosaic than family stories of Queen Marie Antoinette giving the shoe buckles to Floyd and Radford after they were introduced to the Queen by Benjamin Franklin or the Marquis de Lafayette. The Lafayette version can be dismissed, as he was in America at the time, not in France.
95. William Preston to Col. Peachey, April 29, 1778, item 1P9267f, Preston Davie Collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.
96. Tapp, "Colonel John Floyd, Kentucky Pioneer," 12.
97. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd, Reluctant Adventurer," 346.
98. *Papers of Robert Morris,* 2: 333–36.
99. Edmund Randolph to the Governour [Thomas Jefferson], November 13, 1779, in Dixon and Nicholson's *Virginia Gazette,* January 8, 1780, 3. Edmund Randolph's wife, Elizabeth Carter Nicholas, was a daughter of Carter Braxton's cousin, Robert Carter Nicholas.
100. Byars, *Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia*, 204–5.
101. F. W. Beers, ed., *Gazetteer and Biographical Record of Genesee County, N.Y., 1788 – 1890* (Syracuse, N.Y.: J. W. Vose & Co., 1890), 22.
102. Abstract, 3, Collection 53, William Bingham Correspondence, 1791 – 1803, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
103. Draper, *Life of Daniel Boone,* 574n15.
104. "Benjamin Franklin account, May 31, 1783," *Papers of the Continental Congress,* 1: 137.
105. Letitia Preston Floyd letter, 43, 48.
106. Ezekiel Price copy from original, "Claims for Captured Vessels, 1777 – 88," Papers of the Continental Congress, 17; transcription in NDAR, 7: 497–98.

Susanna Smith Preston
The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY

Spring's Green Peas, Nocturnal Thieves, and Other Family Lore about Susanna Smith Preston

Jennie Hodge

Scarce primary sources exist to provide enlightening analysis about Susanna Smith Preston, wife of Colonel William Preston. However, some stories survive in various institutions across Virginia and Wisconsin that illustrate a familial admiration and possible mythology of the Preston family matriarch. The following recollections show the esteem in which later generations of the Prestons regarded her qualities of strength and compassion even if concrete conclusions may not be supported.

In light of the fact that Colonel Preston's wife, his "Dearest Sucky,"[1] outlived him just 39 days shy of four decades, it disappoints that more of her personal correspondence and her presumed business transactions have not been archived or possibly survive to this time. Meager public records remain: a few letters, farm supply orders, and her last will and testament. Interestingly, five of the six items uncovered show her signature without the letter "h" at the end of her given name.

Susanna Smith Preston's wintry birth in 1739 to Elizabeth and Francis Smith of Hanover, Virginia made her a third generation American. As an educated young woman, she met William Preston, fell in love and married him, left the Hanover area to move with him to the frontier, and had twelve children with him.

As with any family's lore, the following stories offer potentially idealized and possibly inaccurate versions of her life. These remembrances must be absorbed with caution since they may contain errors given that the recollections may be up to four generations removed from her lifetime.

What does a well-cherished mother and wife, an accidental defender of the state's treasury, and a reluctant yet gracious hostess look like? According to three female descendants she appears to be the matriarch of their family: Susanna Smith Preston. Their reminiscences of her derive their power from the reverence, sentimentally exaggerated or not, in which her family continued to hold her memory. Enjoy the following archived anecdotes assembled for the first time in this volume of *Smithfield Review*.

Let us share in the fond memories preserved by a daughter. Feel the weight of the responsibility of guarding the state's treasury while Colonel Preston remains absent. Dine with Susanna Smith Preston at the moment that British soldiers question her trustworthiness, and experience the way in which she graciously handles their discourteous actions. Lastly, consider all three women's memories as crucial commentary about their family's matriarch.

Letitia Preston Floyd's Recollections

In the mid 1800s, the Prestons' tenth child and sixth daughter, Letitia Preston Floyd, provides accounts in a lengthy letter reprinted in the weekly *Richmond Standard* about early settlement life in southwestern Virginia. Floyd reveals the love shared by Susanna and William Preston. Additionally, she offers some information about her mother's upbringing and education. Caution must be used when evaluating Floyd's stories since the accuracy of some of her remembrances has been questioned.[2]

Image courtesy of Ben Smith (fourth-great-grandson of Susanna Smith Preston)

In 1843, two decades after her mother's death, Floyd responds to a request and writes a letter to her son recounting some of what she recalls from early Preston family history. In turn the *Richmond Standard* reprints her recollections in three June and one July editions in 1880.[3] Despite being too young to be an eyewitness, Floyd recalls her mother's father "as a rich man [who] had an extremely beautiful daughter by the name of Susannah, who was educated by the Rev. Patrick Henry, uncle to the future Virginia governor of the same name. Colonel Preston was soon attracted by her beauty and manners. He addressed her, and was married the 17th of July 1761."[4] Floyd describes her family's arrival to southwestern Virginia, and the presumed strength of her mother considering what must have been a challenging environment, when she records, "in March of 1774 Colonel Preston removed my mother and her children to Smithfield. There was a fort and stockade around the house. Several of the neighbor's families came into it for safety because the Northwestern Indians made constant attempts on the settlement."[5] She also provides insight into the love shared by her parents with two recollections. She recalls that her father "had a well-cultivated intellect and a fine taste for poetry. I remember reading several beautiful productions of his addressed to my mother, in praise of her domestic virtues."[6] Lastly, she retells as her father lay dying, "Mrs. Preston was sent for, who immediately came. Colonel Preston's reason had not been staggered by the conflict; he caught his wife's hand, kissed it, shed tears" and passed away in the night.[7] All of these anecdotes introduce the themes of strength and compassion that become the hallmark of family stories about Susanna Smith Preston.

Lucy Preston Beale's Remembrances

Lucy Preston Beale, a great-granddaughter of the Prestons, adds to the mythology when the Wisconsin Historical Society recorded her recollection of how Susanna Smith Preston heroically saved some portion of Virginia's treasury being stored at her home.

Beale travelled in 1922 to Wisconsin to review the Draper Manuscripts. The Society records that it

> was recently honored by a visit from Mrs. Lucy Preston Beale of Virginia, the great-granddaughter of Col. William Preston, whose papers constitute a portion of the Draper Manuscripts.... Mrs. Beale had family recollections ... which she related for the Society's benefit and which add to this bit of frontier life. She also gave an interesting account of how Smithfield, the ancestral home of the Prestons, acquired

its name through the bravery of its first mistress, Mrs. William Preston, nee Susannah Smith.[8]

In an anecdote entitled "How Smithfield Plantation Got Its Name," the following retelling relays Beale's notion of her great-grandmother's bravery and how Colonel Preston rewarded her following an attack by thieves:

> My great-grandfather, Col. William Preston, many years later, built an old-fashioned house on the site of the fort. It was on a summit of the Allegheny Mountains, surrounded by several thousand acres of beautiful country.
>
> There were still no banks in the country, and the state money was kept in Colonel Preston's home, the best house in that part of the state. Colonel Preston was a surveyor, and often used to be absent from home all week, generally returning on Saturday night. This left his wife, nee Susannah Smith (a woman from Henrico County), alone, save for the protection afforded her by the slaves.

Image courtesy of Ben Smith (fourth-great-grandson of Susanna Smith Preston)

One Saturday evening, before Colonel Preston arrived home, his wife was called to the front door by two men riding large mules and astride saddlebags. These bags, which were full of gold, had been sealed with the state seal at Richmond and directed to Colonel Preston, to be kept by him in safety. His wife refused to accept them, saying her husband had not returned and the money would not be safe. But the men persisted, saying, "the risk would be ours if we took the saddlebags anywhere else. We were ordered to bring them here, and here we will leave them." After much remonstrance she told the men to bring them upstairs, and she hid them between two feather-beds in her bedroom.

That evening the slaves were to have their usual Saturday evening dance, and they asked their mistress if they might prolong it until the master came home, since with him was their best banjo player. Their request was granted and my great-grandmother made preparations for the night. She bolted the front door, consisting of two parts [that] overlapped. In her bedroom was a bell rope which ran through the house and to the outer end of which was attached a large bell which could be heard a mile off. It was ordinarily used to summon the slaves to dinner, but it also served to call them to the aid of their master and mistress when necessary. She saw that this rope was within her reach, and also that a large sword (which had been carried through the Revolutionary War) was near at hand. Then she went to bed, while the party was in full swing.

About eleven o'clock she was awakened by a robber standing beside her bed. No one knows how he managed to unbolt the door and get in, but he did. He said, "I have come to get that money. It is known that you have two saddlebag loads of state money in this room." Another robber was waiting outside.

"Never will I give up that money without a fight." She reached for the sword, but the robber had it in his hand.

Holding it in front of her he said, "If you don't give me the money I will kill you."

Being a powerful woman she tried to fight him, but she was at a disadvantage because she was on the bed. She raised herself and said, "I will summon my slaves." But the robber had cut the rope.

She then told him that her husband was due and would soon arrive to help her. But the robber replied, "No, it is a very still night. I can hear two horses coming miles away. Your husband is not within two miles of the place."

Just as he seized her by the shoulders she knocked the sword out of his hand. It fell under the bed, with just the sharp point sticking out. As the robber stooped for the sword, my [great] grandmother raised to

her full height, seized the remaining part of the bell rope, and rang the bell. Immediately between fifty and one hundred slaves rushed into the house and up the stairs, to rescue their mistress. She sat back on the mattress, and the robber, seeing the odds were against him, dashed from the house. Soon he and his comrade were heard fleeing on their horses, having been foiled in their attempt to secure the state money.

Meanwhile Colonel Preston had met with delay because his horse had cast a shoe. Determined to reach home that night, because he felt his wife was not sufficiently protected, he mounted the inferior horse of his trusty, and left the slave behind strongly protesting because he would not get back in time to "fiddle." Great-grandfather said that when he came over the hill, in full view of the house, and saw the brilliant lights (burning pine knots) and the yard full of slaves, he thought Judgment Day had come. He hastened his horse, and when he reached the house he heard the story of how his wife had heroically saved the money, and his own reputation as a keeper of the state funds. The next day he named the estate Smithfield, in her honor.

The news of the attempted robbery was carried to Blacksburg,[9] and the next morning a man from that place arrived with a wagon and four horses. He and [great] grandfather accompanied by several trusty slaves, took the money to Christiansburg, where it was locked up in a big desk in the courthouse of Montgomery County.[10]

Beale's story focuses on her great-grandmother's strength. She portrays her as a larger than life defender of the money entrusted to her husband's safekeeping. Beale claims these qualities motivate Colonel Preston when he christens the family's homestead Smithfield. This great honor parallels the importance of "this home [that] was the center of their lives."[11]

Janie Preston Boulware Lamb's Re-Creations

Lastly, Janie Preston Boulware Lamb, a great-great-granddaughter, writes in second person, adding amplification to her admiration, of an encounter Susanna Smith Preston experienced as a less than enthusiastic hostess to British soldiers. Her re-creation of the occasion illustrates the personal strength Preston summoned and showed the unsolicited intruders. Lamb writes:

English officers rode up to your [Susanna Preston's] porch, demanding forage and food for themselves and the soldiers with them. You say to them coldly, but politely, — a dignified lady in her own home speaking

to unwelcome guests, — that you can have dinner prepared for them within an hour's time. Meanwhile, "will you gentlemen retire to the guest rooms and make yourselves ready?" You yourself dress in your best damask gown, and later, sit at the table to entertain the intruders. It is late [S]pring outside, in the Alleghany Mountains, and your faithful slave gardener, Uncle Norton, has gathered the first delicate, bright green peas for your pleasure. Now they come in on the butler's tray, steaming hot and smelling deliciously. The British Captain gives the dish a suspicious stare, and exclaims in a loud angry voice: "What very green peas, madam! I believe you mean to poison us! That is the meaning of all your fine airs!" You turn to the butler, standing aghast behind your chair, and speak in a quiet tone: "Tell Mammy to send Miss Elizabeth to me." In a few minutes your pretty little daughter comes running in and stands beside you. She is somewhat bewildered by so many strange men but rather intrigued with their bright uniforms, and gives them a shy smile. Lifting the child on your lap, you feed her a generous portion of peas. Looking up with your great dark eyes full of silent contempt, you say in your musical, deep voice: "You may feel safe now, gentlemen. Whoever sits at my table, invited or uninvited, has my best care. My husband, my young sons, my brothers, are all in our Army, fighting against you, — and I pray God for their success and your defeat, — but you will receive no harm from me in my own house." It is a gracious, an arresting figure, you present, Susanna, sitting, in your flowered, damask gown, with your lovely child on your lap, in the early American dining room, surrounded by British officers in red coats, — with red faces. Cool mountain breezes are stirring the window curtains, blowing the white candles in the silver candelabra on your Hepplewhite table."[12]

Once again Preston's portrayal as a gracious and strong woman saturates Lamb's imagining of events surrounding her hospitality.

All of these anecdotes center around a well-loved matriarch. Clearly, for at least the four generations following her death, her family members shared stories reflecting the admiration and affection the family maintained for their beloved mother and grandmother. These stories give life to Susanna Smith Preston's qualities of strength and compassion as an iconic matriarch of a frontier plantation family.

Endnotes

Jennie Hodge lives and works in Blacksburg as the Director of Micah's Backpack, a weekend feeding program for low-income youth. A graduate of the University of Virginia

and Hollins University, this is her second article for the *Smithfield Review* (see Volume 14, "Mother Dearly Loved Flowers"). She admires the women of the Preston family.

1. William Preston, McDowell (Mss1M1485a1), Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va. Colonel Preston sent this letter dated July 9, 1777 from Fort Henry to Susanna Smith Preston.
2. Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "The Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," *Smithfield Review* 15 (2011): 40, and Richard Osborn, "William Preston: Origins of a Backcountry Political Career," *Journal of Backcountry Studies 2* (2007): 1, *http://libjournal.uncg.edu/ojs/index.php/jbc/article/viewFile/40/82,* accessed November 21, 2011.
3. Letitia Preston Floyd, "Incidents of Border Life in Virginia," *The Richmond Standard,* G.W. James, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, the University of Virginia, np., also transcribed in Anna Kenney Papers (Ms91-022), Carol Newman Library, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Va.
4. Floyd, 2.
5. Floyd, 9.
6. Floyd, 14.
7. Floyd, 14.
8. Joseph Schafer, ed., "Society and the State," *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* 6 (1922 – 1923): 109.
9. The frontier settlement surrounding Smithfield was called Draper's Meadows at time of this event. It later became known as Blacksburg in 1798.
10. Lucy Preston Beale, "How Smithfield Got Its Name," Joseph Schafer, ed. (Menasha, Wisc: George Banta Publishing Co., 1923), np.
11. Richard Osborn, "Smithfield: More Than a Home for the Prestons," *50th Anniversary Smithfield Homecoming,* August 14, 2010, Smithfield Plantation, Blacksburg.
12. Janie P. B. Lamb, "What of Time," Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Montgomery County Branch. 1958 – 1983. Records (Ms 62-001), Carol Newman Library, Virginia Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg.

Southwest Virginia: A Thoroughfare of Nation-Building[1]

*Jim Glanville**

Introduction

This article tells the story of the part of America's westward expansion that funneled through Southwest Virginia. The expansion symbolically began in 1716 when a party of Virginia aristocrats, much later labeled the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe,"[2] explored beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. By 1770, the rutted wagon road traversing the region was briefly the most heavily traveled route in all America.[3] In the decades following Independence, hundreds of thousands of Virginians moved westward to newly created states carrying with them their culture and their political institutions. The expansion symbolically ended in 1869 with the driving of the Golden Spike[4] in Utah, uniting America by a transcontinental railroad.

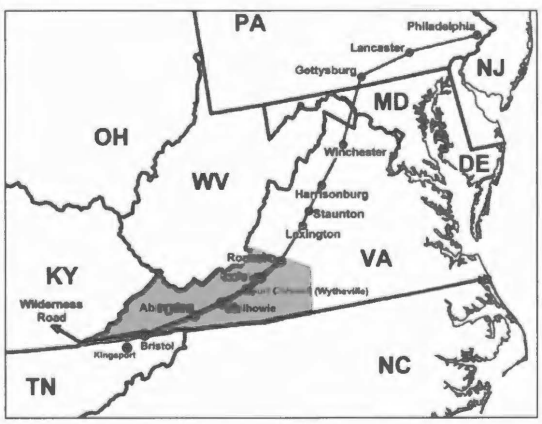


Figure 1. The Great Road and Its Extensions. The route of the Great Road in Virginia is today familiar as the Interstate 81 Highway corridor. "Southwest Virginia" is shaded. From the West Virginia state line to Roanoke County it has been designated "The Great Valley Road of Virginia." From Roanoke County to the Tennessee state line it is here designated "Virginia's Great Southwest Road." To the north, the Great Valley Road connected to the Great Wagon Road to Philadelphia. To the west, Virginia's Great Southwest Road connected to Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road across Scott and Lee Counties to the Cumberland Gap at Virginia's most westerly point. Author's diagram.

"The Great Southwest Road of Virginia" or "Virginia's Great Southwest Road" is the author's newly-coined name for the travel corridor between Roanoke County and Bristol, Virginia (Figure 1). Today that corridor is dominated by Interstate Highway 81. The author uses "Southwest Virginia" to refer to the Virginia counties that lie west of Bedford County and south of Bath County, i.e. the gray-shaded area in Figure 1. Virginia's Great Southwest Road runs northeast-southwest and bisects Southwest Virginia. In Virginia, Highway I-81 runs 323 miles from the West Virginia state line above Winchester to the Tennessee state line at Bristol. Recently, Warren Hofstra and Karl Raitz edited a collection of essays titled *The Great Valley Road of Virginia.*[5] Their Great Valley Road of Virginia runs 193 miles from the West Virginia border to the Roanoke County line, and thus to the beginning of Southwest Virginia. There it becomes the Great Southwest Road of Virginia, which continues the remaining 130 miles to Tennessee. Together, the Great Valley Road of Virginia and Virginia's Great Southwest Road compose the Great Road in Virginia. Or, stated a different way:

The Great Southwest Road of Virginia + The Great Valley Road of Virginia = The Great Road of Virginia.

Different sections of the Great Road in Virginia have at different times been known by many different names, and nomenclature has been controversial.[6] To its north, the Great Road connected to the Great Wagon Road to Philadelphia. To its west, the Great Road led travelers to Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road.

The present-day Virginia counties that lie successively (northeast to southwest) along the Great Southwest Road, and their formation years, are Roanoke (1838); Montgomery (1776); Pulaski (1839); Wythe (1789); Smyth (1832); and Washington (1776), which adjoins Tennessee. All were once part of Augusta (1738, organized in 1745, and now much reduced); Botetourt (1769 and now much reduced); and (with the exception of Roanoke County) Fincastle (1772, now extinct).

It was along the Great Road that travelers passed on their way to take up new lives in the regions to the west. Popular-audience books have been written about both the Great Road[7] and the Wilderness Trail.[8] One book on the latter topic carries on its dust jacket the squib "The path of empire in the conquest of The Great West." And indeed the Great Road and the Trail were a path that led to the conquest of an empire.

By virtue of its cultural and physical geography, Southwest Virginia served not only as a gateway for one of America's most important internal migrations but also as the key geographic element in the process of nation-building during the early republic. By providing access to the old southwest

in the early national period, the region linked East and West together at a time when many doubted the capacity of a republican form of government to oversee such a vast extent of territory effectively. It is these factors that enable Southwest Virginia to claim a special role in the process of building the Unites States.

In telling this story the author necessarily relies almost entirely on secondary sources. America's national westward expansion was a grand epic. Consequently, this article can present only one aspect of the story and does so by focusing on that aspect to the exclusion of almost all others. The challenges faced by a writer who undertakes to compose broad scale, interpretive history were summarized exceedingly well by the late John Whyte who wrote about the difficulty of understanding the history of Ireland as follows:

> Even if everyone read all the research; even if everyone was completely unbiased in studying it; even if the amount of research done was far more extensive than it has been; there would still be the problem of comprehending it. The human mind is unable to grasp the full complexity of a social situation. We need an organizing principle, some thread to guide us through the intricacies. Publishers insist on this from their authors. University teachers insist on it from their graduate students. If the organizing principle is not there, the book or thesis becomes just a jumble of facts, which no reader will accept. However, an organizing principle entails emphasizing some theme which the author thinks important so as to clarify reality. That brings with it the inevitable corollary — that other factors, really present, will be de-emphasized so as not to obscure the dominating theme. To organize is to simplify. To simplify is to distort. Writers who simplify reality in order to clarify it are by that very action making sure that the picture they put across is incomplete.[9]

Thus, the author's guiding thread has been to stand, as it were, beside the rutted wagon road, watch the passing traffic, and consider where it went and what cultural ideas the travelers carried with them.[10] There were, of course, other "thoroughfares." For example, westward emigration from New England is here omitted, while only slight attention is paid to the northwesterly migration from Virginia to the Ohio country which, beginning after 1760, traveled over the paths of the military roads built by the British Generals Braddock and Forbes during the French and Indian War, and down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh.

Taking a western Virginia perspective on Virginia history has been done before this author by the Virginia Tech historian Peter Wallenstein and others. In an important, and not widely known, paper entitled "The Grinch That Stole Southern History: Anthem for an Appalachian Perspective," Wallenstein wrote:

> It is easy, when the Tidewater region of the South appears to be the center of the universe, to see all southern history from the perspective of that portion of the South. ... That view, that version of the past, fails to specify that it has reference primarily to white men living in the Piedmont or the Tidewater .... Will the Grinch relent? Can "the South" get its history back? That history has been hijacked too long. The place to begin to retrieve it may be to ... survey the southern landscape, ... instead at Mount Rogers, the highest point in Virginia; Clingmans Dome, the highest in Tennessee; or Mount Mitchell, the highest peak in North Carolina. Each is on or west of the Blue Ridge and on or near the Appalachian Trail; each is more than a mile above sea level. The view from each differs much from a Tidewater perspective. ... We could, then, begin our view of the South, our understanding of its history, from a mountain perspective, from a perch somewhere west of the Blue Ridge. Let the plantation country recede in importance — reduce it to life size, down from bigger-than-life. A view from the mountains ... may give us a very different version of many portions of the history of 'the South.'[11]

The "Grinch" of Wallenstein's metaphor is the dominant slave-owning, plantation-based, white supremacist view of southern history. The view from Mount Rogers (pictured in Figure 2 and shown on the map in Figure 3) overlooks the Great Southwest Road of Virginia.

Figure 2. Mount Rogers with a light dusting of wintertime snow. This picture was taken from Highway 107 between Saltville and Chilhowie from a spot about two miles north of Chilhowie. The camera view is looking to the southeast and the peak (Virginia's highest point) is about fifteen miles distant. Virginia's Great Southwest Road ran from left to right either through or close to modern-day Chilhowie. Author's picture, December 2006.

Another historian who has spoken about significance of western Virginia history is the two-time Pulitzer Prize winner David McCullough. In the video program shown at the Visitors' Center at the Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia in Staunton, and speaking of that place, he says:

> What started here a long time ago as a hodgepodge of dissenting immigrants evolved into the America of today — a patchwork quilt of many influences and beliefs existing side by side. These diverse immigrants from Europe became the backbone of America. Jamestown may have been the site of the first European settlement in Virginia, but it was here that America took root — here in the Valley of Virginia.[12]

The most famous proponent of the view of southern history from the backcountry was the Charlotte, North Carolina, journalist Wilbur J. Cash, author of the classic work *The Mind of the South.*[13] Cash's biographer Joseph L. Morrison wrote:

> Cash was a Southerner who "psychoanalyzed" his native South, who revealed its extraordinary talent for self-deception, and who warned that the South had better wake up and come to terms with the Twentieth Century. Since World War II ... Cash's prophetic book has come into its own. It has been cribbed from, plagiarized, and imitated. It has been cited and quoted endlessly. Nobody has excelled it as a feat of historical interpretation, sweeping in scope, detailing the Southern experience in its totality. Historians are generally agreed that studies of the South today must begin where W. J. Cash left off.[14]

The author will return to the work of Wilbur Cash later in this article.

Two frequently cited sources for this article have been: (1) The book *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* by David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, which began as a catalog for an exhibition at the Virginia Historical Society to mark the centenary of Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis concerning "The significance of the frontier in American History,"[15] and (2) The book *Steps in the Expansion of Our Territory* by the statistician Oscar P. Austin, which was published in 1903 and contains many useful and interesting maps that collectively provide a clear overview of the building of the American nation.[16] Additionally, in describing the people who traveled through Southwest Virginia, this article includes many citations of books and scholarly articles about the region and thereby serves as an overview of Southwest Virginia's history prior to 1800. A good Internet

source of detailed information, the presentation titled "Encountering the First American West," provides a useful overview of the westward movement.[17] The main page, titled "The Ohio River Valley, 1750 – 1820," consists of 15,000 pages of original historical material documenting the land, peoples, exploration, and transformation of the trans-Appalachian West from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.[18] Among the many works cited in the endnotes to this article are two heavily-footnoted, modern academic works that deal with the theme of this article: the third edition of the book *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775 – 1850* by Malcolm Rohrbough[19] and the long article "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History" by François Furstenberg.[20] Modern historians who study the Virginia frontier tend to place it within the context of a larger Atlantic world. Valley of Virginia historian Warren Hofstra has recently published a critique of the present state of historical studies of the Virginia frontier.[21]

The author has adopted the chronological approach in writing the article and in the earlier sections describe in some detail the opening of the Great Southwest Road. In the later sections the author paints with a broader brush and recounts the formation and settlement of new states during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Before 1513:[22] Prehistory

During the prehistoric period, American Indians traveled the trails of Southwest Virginia on their trade and hunting expeditions. A map (Figure 3) showing those trails prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Americas was published in 1925 by William E. Myer.[23] Controlled by topography, principal Indian trails in the region ran along a northeast–southwest axis, just as do today's highways and railroads.

Compared with many other regions of the country, there is relatively little professionally-obtained archeological evidence from Southwest Virginia. Much of what is professionally known comes from a broad survey of the region.[24] However, from the anecdotal evidence it is clear that the Saltville–Chilhowie region was a major trading center during the protohistoric period.[25] The author's work has documented a rich material culture from the region that has escaped the purview of the professional archeologists.[26] One of the few roadside monuments to the prehistoric people of the region (in Tennessee) is shown in Figure 4. There are no monuments in Virginia's southwest region that commemorate American Indians.

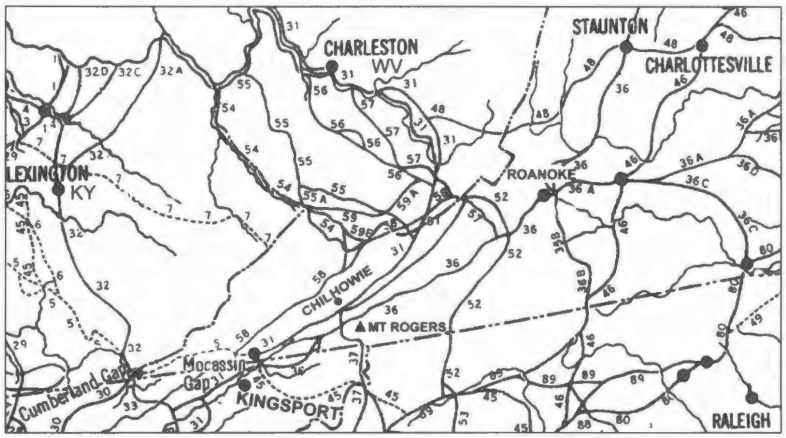


Figure 3. The Southwest Virginia section of the map of *Indian Trails of the Southeast*. Indian Trail 58 runs from the New River to Cumberland Gap via Bluefield and the Clinch Valley. Trail 31 is the Great Indian Warpath (today's Interstate 81 corridor at Chilhowie) and Trail 36 is the Chesapeake branch of the Great Indian Warpath. Modern towns and state boundaries are shown on the map for reference. The map has been somewhat simplified, and features such as Roanoke, Chilhowie, Kingsport, and Mount Rogers have been added.

Figure 4. The Indian Trail Marker in Kingsport, Tennessee. It stands beside West Stone Drive, about five miles south of the Virginia State line. The two bronze plaques on the marker together read: "The Great Indian Warpath. Placed by the Long Island Chapter, D. A. R. November 11, 1934." Author's picture, September 2008.

1513 – 1570: Spanish Contacts

Spanish influence made itself felt in Southwest Virginia by around the middle of the sixteenth century. Hernando de Soto and his army passed to the south of the region in 1541 and Juan Pardo's subordinate Hernado Moyano was likely in the region in 1567.[27] By this time, or soon after, an

observer would have seen Indians carrying European manufactured goods passing along the Great Southwest Road.

Spanish trade goods perhaps reached the region directly from one of these two expeditions, or more likely made their way along Indian trade networks, being carried into the region along the trails by Indian travelers. Formal archeology tells that Spanish glass beads were recovered during excavations in Radford (the Trigg site) and in the Roanoke Valley (the Graham–White and Sawyer sites). Relic collectors tell that blue Spanish glass beads were recovered at sites they excavated in Chilhowie. These Chilhowie beads were sold and are not available for study, but two Chilhowie residents confirm that they saw them before they were purchased by dealers.[28]

It is just possible that the English-speaking sailor David Ingram traveled through Southwest Virginia around 1570. Ingram was set ashore on the Gulf coast of Florida following the Spanish attack in 1568 on Sir John Hawkins' fleet. He walked, perhaps via inland Indian trails or perhaps along the seaboard, to the Canadian maritime coast where he found a French ship which returned him to Europe.[29]

1570 – 1700: Disease and Colonization

For the period of disease and colonization, it is hardly possible to write any history of the American Indians of western Virginia, or indeed most of the Southeast. This time has become known as the "forgotten centuries," an appellation taken from the title of a collection of essays that discussed the difficulty of writing documentary history for the period.[30]

American Indians lacked immunological resistance to common European diseases such as diphtheria, influenza, measles, smallpox, and typhus. Thus, the infection of Indians occurred almost at the moment of first contact. European diseases were quickly taken into the interior by Indians traveling from the coast whereupon waves of disease epidemics occurred among Indian populations who had never themselves met a European. Definitive numbers are impossible to establish, but typical estimates are that more than 90 percent of American Indians were killed by European diseases during this period.[31]

The problems faced when attempting to write an Indian history of the Southeast for the forgotten centuries have been eloquently described by the Yuchi historian Woktela:

> The muddled mess that is the agglomerated remnant culture of Post Contact Indigenous America can tell us little of these peoples as people. The confusion and duress of population collapse followed by years of

being drawn into the bloody politics of the European factions mostly destroyed the fabric of the original culture(s). One must look deeper in time to the pre-Contact period before the Contact holocaust in order to sort out the peoples and diversity of the subcultures involved in the Southeastern Mound building culture. It is only here that a meaningful understanding of these tribes may be had without the churning influence of Contact's chaos. Sorting out the agglomerated tribes and cultures post contact is rather like trying to appreciate a house after it's been flattened by a tornado. The fragments are torn asunder and spread about and are not likely to ever be sorted out and properly reassembled into anything like the house of which they were once a part.[32]

Colonization of North America, or at least the exploration and opening of the continent, was largely undertaken by the Spanish and the French.

For over a hundred years after the foundation of their colony, Virginians clustered around the rivers and inlets of the Chesapeake Bay. In 1650, the English-settled areas of the Virginia/Maryland and New England colonies, separated by the Dutch in the Hudson River Valley of New York, were small compared to the vast areas of French and Spanish land claims in North America. The regions claimed in North America by five different European nations in 1650 are shown in Figure 5.

One can see clearly from Figure 5 that European exploration of western Virginia came late compared to other parts of North America. The explanation of this relative lateness of exploration in the Middle Appalachian

Figure 5. North America 1650. Showing European land claims arising out of exploration and occupancy. See the description in the text. The star near the center of the map shows the approximate location of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Map much modified from Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, 1913.[33]

region is its topography, as illustrated in Figure 6. Using the St. Lawrence River as a route to the American heartland, French explorers, missionaries, and traders were far west of the Appalachian mountains by the 1660s.[34] Virginians, on the other hand, were "Shut off by the Appalachians and unconnected to the South's river system," so "Virginia in the Mississippian and colonial eras had little impact on the region beyond the Jamestown colony's traders, who generally did not go farther than the Cherokee in the southern Appalachians."[35]

A map with delimited regions of political claims, such as that shown in Figure 5, tells only part of the story. In Figure 6 the political boundary of Virginia from 1784 to 1863 is outlined on the underlying topography. Topography is often a key to understanding history, and the Appalachian mountain chain was a great impediment to the early traders and settlers going to western Virginia. This map shows that the Appalachian barrier could be crossed by west-bound travelers at only a few points. Virginia's Great Road ran southwesterly along the eastern edge of the barrier with branches off it to the several crossing points. The three principal crossing points were (and still are) the New River route north to Ohio, the Cumberland Gap overland route west to Kentucky, and the Holston River route southwest into Tennessee and beyond.

The earliest English speakers who we can say with some certainty traveled at least a portion of the Great Southwest Road were Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam in 1671. These men had been sent west by Abraham

Figure 6. The political boundary of Virginia from 1784 to 1863 outlined on its underlying topography. Author's diagram modified from an original by Andrew D. Birrel.

Wood from his trading station at Fort Henry (at modern-day Petersburg) to explore and seek Indian trade contacts.[36] However, despite the efforts of Wood and others, Virginia trade through Southwest Virginia did not develop for another 50-60 years after Batte and Hallam's journey. The first English-

speaking traders who likely made use of Virginia's Great Southwest Road probably came from [South] Carolina. Wood's efforts notwithstanding, the English advance into the South was actually spearheaded by the Charles Town (Charleston, South Carolina) traders who sought deerskins and slaves in an aggressive policy of expansion. In the lower South this expansion brought them into competition with the French and thereby to the important realization that the English colonies were at risk of being encircled by the French.[37]

1700 – 1730: Governor Spotswood and Indian Trade

Only after the arrival of Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1711 was much attention paid by Virginians to the western regions of their colony.[38] A well-trained English soldier, Spotswood understood the global reach of the British Empire and realized (like the Carolinians before him) that French presence and control of the inner part of the continent, along the corridor of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, threatened permanent constriction of the Virginia Colony to the coastal plain.[39] As part of a newly implemented western policy, in 1714 the Virginia Assembly passed the "Act for the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade," which provided for the establishment of the Virginia Indian Company in which Spotswood became the leading investor. In 1716 Spotswood personally led an expedition party of leading Virginians, to which history gives the colorful name of "The Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," across the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Shenandoah River Valley near modern-day Elkton.[40] This trip sensitized Virginians to the possibility of westward expansion, and within a few years they were seeking to establish new western counties. By 1718, an Indian Company train of 70 deerskin-laden packhorses had returned from the Cherokee country, though we do not know the route they traveled.[41]

After the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe expedition, Spotswood reported the strategic situation to the Board of Trade in London and made recommendations for Virginia's western settlement and occupation:

> ... that the French by their trade and forts had surrounded the British plantations, and could engross the whole fur trade, harry the back settlements with Indians, and by widening their own settlements so as to join Louisiana with Canada could possess themselves of any of the British plantations. He recommended, therefore, that while the countries were at peace, settlements be made in the western region, and that the passes in the mountains be occupied. This far-sighted report

> lays out for us at the start the policy which proved on the whole the controlling one, of encouraging western settlement in order to get the fur trade, and protect the colony against the Indians and the French.[42]

Settlement at the northeastern end of the Great Valley Road began in the late 1720s with that locality soon becoming a center for raising cattle. Cattle drives from the northern Shenandoah Valley to Philadelphia were one of the earliest uses of the Great Valley Road,[43] although the cattle traveled in the opposite direction to the settlers. No doubt the very first "Cowboys and Indians" conflicts occurred along the road at this time.

It is not possible to know exactly when packhorse caravans began to travel the Great Southwest Road; however, it must have been between 1728 and 1740. William Byrd II, who was about the business of surveying the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, was near present-day Martinsville, Virginia in October 1728. He knew that the then-current packhorse route from Tidewater to the Cherokee country was a long detour and thought that the Virginia Assembly should seek "a shorter cut to carry on so profitable a trade." He bemoaned that he could not himself seek the route because "want of bread and weakness of our horses hindered us from making the discovery," and wrote before turning back eastward on October 29, 1728:

> Our traders are now at the vast charge and fatigue of traveling above five hundred miles for the benefit of that traffic which hardly quits our costs. ... I am persuaded [a route exists] half the distance that our traders make it now. ... [Its] discovery would certainly prove an unspeakable advantage to this colony, by facilitating a trade with so considerable a nation of Indians. ... Our traders at that rate would be able to undersell those sent from the other colonies so much, that the Indians must have reason to deal with them preferable to all others.[44]

A report from Judge John Haywood of Tennessee states that twelve years after Byrd wrote the above, the shorter route Byrd believed existed had been found and put to use.

> Mr. Vaughan, who lived as late as the year 1801, in the county of Amelia, in Virginia, was employed about the year 1740, as a packman to go to the Cherokee Nation with some Indian traders. The country was then but thinly inhabited to the west of Amelia; the last hunter's

> cabin that he saw was on Otter River, a branch of Staunton, now in Bedford County, Virginia. ... The trading path from Virginia, as he describes it, proceeded nearly upon the ground that the Buckingham road now runs on, and to the point where it strikes the stage road in Botetourt County; thence nearly upon the ground which the stage road now occupies, crossing New River at the fort, at English's [Ingles] Ferry, onward to the Seven Mile Ford, on the Holston; thence on the left of the line, which now forms the stage road, and near the river to the north fork of the Holston, and crossing the same at the ford, where the stage road now crosses it [and into Tennessee]. ... This was an old path when [Vaughan] first saw it, and he continued to travel upon it, trading with the Indians, until the breaking out of the war between the French and English nations about the year 1754.[45]

So here with Haywood's report we have the first description, albeit at secondhand, of the route of the Great Southwest Road in 1730. Today it is mostly guesswork as to where the packhorse trail ran, although it probably followed the Great Indian Warpath in Southwest Virginia. Figure 7 shows an image of a possible modern-day remnant of Virginia's Great Southwest Road.

Figure 7. A possible remnant of Virginia's Great Southwest Road at coordinates 36.791072, -81.731122 north of the equator and east of Greenwich. This site is on private property owned by B. B. Huff about two miles west of Chilhowie (shown on the maps in Figures 1 and 3) near Hutton's Creek between the present-day railroad and I-81/Route 11 (which hereabouts run adjacent to one another). The Indian Fields pictured in Figure 9 are about a mile distant from here. Author's picture, March 2009.

1730 – 1753: Settlement in Augusta County and Down Virginia's Great Southwest Road

During this period the seeds of future nation-building were planted in the funnel that Southwest Virginia became for people moving westward.

We come now to the first time period when Virginia's Great Southwest Road is historically well-documented. Settlement from about 1740 onward, and the taking up of land claims, have been described by F. B. Kegley in one of a number of now-standard books of western Virginia history.[46] Governor Francis Fauquier summarized the history of the 1740s' land grants along Virginia's Great Southwest Road in a letter to the Board of Trade in London in 1764.[47]

Around 1740, possibly a decade earlier, Virginians began to think of their Great Southwest Road as a segment of a continuous route that ran from Pennsylvania and Maryland down their western frontier (map in Figure 1). The concept of a frontier highway was certainly crystallized by 1744 when the "Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster" from Philadelphia to the Yadkin River (a distance of 435 miles, much of which was contiguous with the Great Valley Road) was formally adopted as part of the treaty.[48]

Figure 8. The recreated "1740s American Farm" at the Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia in Staunton. The interpretive sign in front of this cabin begins: "Settlement of America's Appalachian River Valleys began in the late 1720s. The colony of Virginia enacted land policies to attract settlers to create a buffer of Protestant farmers on the colony's western frontier...." Also seen here to provide scale is the author's frequent coauthor Ryan Mays. Author's picture, 2011.

The first-ever grant of land-ownership in the Valley of Virginia (at its northeastern end) was made by the soon-to-be exiled Charles II in 1649, in the form of the Northern Neck Proprietary, to Lord John Culpeper and six others. Lord Thomas Fairfax became the sole proprietor in 1685 when he married Culpeper's granddaughter and heiress. It took over 150 years

for the boundaries of what came to be called Fairfax Grant to be finally litigated. Squatters were probably in the Valley by as early as the 1720s, and legitimate settlers were there by 1731.[49]

By 1730 Tidewater Virginians were quickly expanding into the piedmont and forming new counties: Spotsylvania (1720), Goochland (1728), and Orange (1734).[50] Early grants of land along the Great Valley Road of Virginia included those to Jost Hite, who was settled on Occoquon Creek at the northeast end of the Valley Road in 1731, William Beverley's 60,000 acre grant in 1734 for land in present-day Rockingham County, and Benjamin Borden's grant of 1735 for land in present-day Rockbridge County (the Borden tract).[51]

Virginia Council member William Beverley of Essex County in August 1736 obtained his so-called Beverley Manor grant (also known as the Irish tract) of 118,491 acres in the vicinity of modern-day Staunton[52] (Figure 8). In the Valley, these so-called grants of land were not outright grants, but rather orders from the Virginia Council empowering the recipients to distribute land on behalf of the colony.[53] Beverley's leapfrogged the James River expansion, linked the upper and lower sections of the Great Road, and brought the long-lasting and dominant Scotch-Irish connection to Virginia and the American South. Subsequently, Scotch-Irish people and their descendants made an enormous impact on Virginia and U.S. history. Henceforth, our discussion of Virginia's Great Southwest Road is intimately bound up with the Scotch-Irish story.[54]

The Scotch-Irish connection began more or less by accident. During the 1730s William Beverley formed some type of business relationship, tobacco shipping and perhaps smuggling, with James Patton — a ship captain who had likely been born in the northern part of Ireland. The author has recently published two papers (coauthored with Ryan Mays) that explore the rise of James Patton and his relationship with Beverley.[55] Consequent to the relationship, Patton brought settlers to Beverley Manor (Beverley's land grant), where Patton quickly rose to prominence and prosperity. In 1745 (surprisingly speedily) Patton received his "Great Grant" of 100,000 of acres of land to be taken up piecemeal on the "Western Waters" (i.e., in the Mississippi watershed) and along Virginia's Great Southwest Road.[56] Among the many pieces of land surveyed for Patton were Draper's Meadows near present-day Blacksburg, Kilmacronan[57] near Chilhowie (Figure 9), the Aspenvale property near Marion, and the salt lick property at Saltville. John Buchanan (who later became Patton's son-in-law) was making surveying trips to this region as early as 1742.[58]

Figure 9. The Indian Fields near Chilhowie. Viewed from the back yard of the Kilmacronan House on the David Johnson Dairy Farm looking toward the Northeast. The Middle Fork of the Holston River runs behind the tree line in the center of the picture. Fort Attakullakulla was built near here in 1761, and was quite likely on this very spot. Author's picture, October 2011.

The grand sweep of the eighteenth century Scotch-Irish story in America has been famously told by David Hackett Fischer in his book *Albion's Seed*.[59] Unfortunately, Fischer focuses almost entirely on Carolina settlement and neglects the story of western Virginia.[60] For example, he devotes only a single sentence to James Patton whose Great Grant, as noted, was the first colonial endowment of land in the Mississippi River watershed.

It is axiomatic that the great western migration of Americans was about the travelers' search for land and the new life that went with land acquisition. Two books that describe the way western land was taken up by Virginians are the older work *Western Lands and the American Revolution* in 1937 by the Virginia historian Thomas Perkins Abernethy and a newer work, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land*, published in 1992 by the New York City businessman Daniel Friedenberg. Opening of land in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio established settlement and cultural patterns for American national expansion and thus for the entire western tier of states.[61] Historians of the Ohio Valley have particularly well-documented the land lust which one historian has called "the alchemy of property."[62]

Settlement of the New River Valley, a hundred miles down the Great Road from Staunton, was well under way by 1750,[63] with deer skin traders such as Adam Harman (a German) having already been on the New River for six or more years. In addition to the Scotch-Irish, many people of German origin made their way into Southwest Virginia. There are a number of books that tell the story of these German settlers.[64] Harman reached the

New River in the 1740s.[65] German Sabbatarian brethren from Pennsylvania established themselves in 1745 at Mahanaim (also known as Dunkard's Bottom and under today's Claytor Lake).[66] Samuel Stalnaker of German stock was settled on Virginia's Great Southwest Road fifty miles beyond the New River near present-day Chilhowie by 1749; he was likely located near the place pictured in Figure 8. The well-known explorer and land magnate Thomas Walker traveled the length of Virginia's Great Southwest Road in 1749 on his way to Kentucky, becoming the first person we definitely know to have traveled the entire length of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Walker's journal records that he helped Stalnaker put up a cabin near present-day Chilhowie on the 24th of March, 1749:

> We went to Stalnaker's, helped him to raise his house and camped about a quarter of a mile below him. In April 1748 I met the above mentioned Stalnaker between the Reedy Creek Settlement and Holstons River, on his way to the Cherokee Indians, and expected him to pilate me as far as he knew but his affairs would not permit him to go with me.[67]

In the summer of 1751 the desire for Virginia trade brought the Cherokee leader Attakullakulla up Virginia's Great Southwest Road from Tennessee all the way to James Patton's home near the Augusta County Court House. A group of Cherokees who had recently settled in the Holston Valley found their trade lines to South Carolina stretched, while the alternative French traders from the Mississippi region offered only costly goods. Thus, after sending word to James Patton that they wanted a conference, in July of 1751 Attakullakulla and a party of thirty-one Cherokees traveled from East Tennessee up Virginia's Great Southwest Road to meet Patton. Patton took a delegation of some of those Cherokees to Williamsburg where they met with Lewis Burwell, the Virginia Council President and acting Governor. After several weeks of negotiations the Council responded favorably to the proposal for Cherokee trade, and Attakullakulla and the others returned to Tennessee via Virginia's Great Southwest Road in September with the prospect of Virginia trade to come.[68]

1754 – 1775: Virginia's Great Southwest Road Becomes a Thoroughfare

During this period the first trickle of nation-building people passing through Southwest Virginia began.

The French and Indian War (or Seven Years' War)[69] which began in 1754 was called by Winston Churchill "the first world war."[70] Most of the fighting during the war took place along the corridor from New York to Canada and in the St. Lawrence basin. For Virginians, most of their action in the war revolved around the struggle for the Ohio country and its controlling point, the Forks of the Ohio (present-day Pittsburgh). Nonetheless, the sheer scope of the war influenced Virginia's Great Southwest Road.

Planning and building forts along the Virginia frontier were features of the war. Louis Koontz lists and describes eighty-one such forts stretching all the way from western Pennsylvania to eastern Tennessee.[71] Five of these forts are along Virginia's Great Southwest Road (MacNeal's Fort at Roanoke, Fort Lewis at Salem, Fort Vause at Shawsville, Fort Frederick at Mahanaim, and Fort Chiswell at Wytheville). They are shown on F. B. Kegley's map titled "The Virginia Frontier 1759."[72] In 1756 the 24-year-old George Washington traveled the frontier at the order of Governor Dinwiddie selecting sites for forts and readying frontier defenses. Kegley's map shows Washington traveled the northeast portion of Virginia's Great Southwest Road.[73] One fort he visited was Fort Vause; the historic marker now at that site is shown in Figure 10.

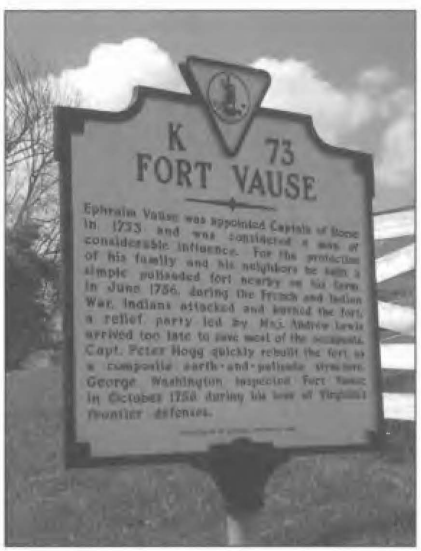


Figure 10. The Fort Vause Historic Marker in Shawsville, Montgomery County, Virginia. The concluding sentence of the narrative on this marker reads: "George Washington inspected Fort Vause in October 1756 during his tour of Virginia's frontier defenses." Author's picture, April 2009.

The first military action mounted from Virginia's Great Southwest Road, and the colony's only independent action during the entire French and Indian War, was the disastrous and abortive Sandy Creek expedition led by

Andrew Lewis with William Preston, William Fleming, other officers, and a force of 340 men, including fifty Cherokees. The expedition departed from Fort Frederick in February 1756 intending to attack the Shawnee villages in Ohio. It returned six weeks later shattered and starving and having reached no farther than the vicinity of present-day Matewan, West Virginia.[74]

Later in 1756, Andrew Lewis traveled down Virginia's Great Southwest Road from Augusta to Tennessee with sixty men and a hundred "beeves" to build the Virginia Fort at the Cherokee head town of Chota (Chote), on the Little Tennessee River, some 30 miles south of present-day Knoxville. This group was the first armed force of significant size to travel the entire length of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Lewis and his men went under orders from Governor Dinwiddie, whose principal objectives were to provide a protective base for Cherokee women and children, and so release the Cherokee men for service to support the British campaign in the Ohio country, and to counter French influence on the Cherokees.[75]

The major opening of Virginia's Great Southwest Road from the New River Valley all the way southwest to the future Tennessee came with the Cherokee War of 1760 – 1761, which brought an army into Southwest Virginia. Along its way, the Virginia army constructed forts. The war was caused when Cherokee relations with the Virginians and South Carolinians deteriorated in the late 1750s. In Fall 1759 the Cherokees rose up, provoked by the encroachment of white settlers on their land, by increasingly unfair treatment from the deerskin traders, and by falling deerskin prices. Initially, the Cherokees pushed back the line of frontier settlement by a hundred miles or more. However, the situation was soon reversed when Britain responded with two successive summer attacks into Cherokee territory. These attacks came from two directions as shown in Figure 11. The attack from the southeast was made by British regulars (mainly Highland regiments) who had been shipped to Charleston, South Carolina, from New England. Overcoming vigorous Cherokee resistance these troops engaged in what today would be termed "ethnic cleansing." The attack from the northeast was made by a Virginia army led successively by William Byrd III and Adam Stephen. The Virginia army never reached the Cherokee homelands, getting only as far as the Long Island of the Holston River, at present-day Kingsport, and never engaging in any actual Indian fighting.[76] Units of Stephen's force, led by Andrew Lewis and William Fleming, literally cut their way down Virginia's Great Southwest Road, thereby truly opening it. At the newly-constructed Fort Robinson at Long Island,[77] on 20 November 1761 Adam Stephen signed a peace treaty with the Cherokees.

Figure 11. The Pincers of the Cherokee War, 1760 – 1761. The Virginia army opened Virginia's Great Southwest Road and extended it into what is now northeast Tennessee. Author's diagram.

Also present at the treaty signing at Fort Robinson was a force of 500 North Carolinians under the command of Colonel Hugh Waddell. They had joined the Virginians at Chilhowie and marched with them to the Long Island of the Holston where "The rich and beautiful lands which fell under the eye of the North Carolina and Virginia pioneers under Waddell, Byrd, and Stephen, lured them irresistibly on to wider casts for fortune and bolder explorations into the unknown, beckoning West."[78] Thus, many of the men who served in the army, having seen the fine land prospects in the region, later became among that region's earliest settlers. With its concluding treaty, the Virginians' campaign of 1761 formally brought Southwest Virginia for the first time into the orbit of world politics. The significance of the Cherokee War in the opening of Virginia's Great Southwest Road is large and generally not well-appreciated.

Fort Robinson was named by Adam Stephen in honor of John Robinson, who simultaneously occupied the offices of Treasurer of Virginia and Speaker of the House of Burgesses. Robinson, one of the three partners who owned the lead mines in Wythe County, committed suicide in 1766, and after his death it became known that he had severely abused his authority.[79] Carl Bridenbaugh wrote: "A very good case can be made for the view that Speaker John Robinson's illegal loans of £100,000 of retired currency to insolvent planters were a desperate attempt to save the Virginia

aristocracy from economic ruin."[80] The Robinson affair turned the eyes of the financially-stricken Virginians westward, to the prospect of riches from land ownership and land sales. Many hoped they could recoup their fortunes by profits in western land speculation and thereby accelerated western exploration, land acquisition, and subsequent migration. William Miller wrote:

> Many were not saved by Robinson's largesse. But even among those who crashed, perhaps especially among them, the vast West beckoned more beguilingly than ever, and Virginians' visions of landed wealth grew feverish enough, as Washington's and Jefferson's did, to encompass the entire continent and indeed the entire hemisphere.[81]

The French and Indian War formally concluded with the Treaty of Paris, signed by Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal in February 1763. The treaty ended the European struggle for eastern North America and excluded the French from all but a few minuscule islands near Newfoundland. The Spanish, who had assisted the French in the war, ceded their Florida territories to Britain. Thus, in 1763 all territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the Great Lakes became Britain's. In October of that same year George III issued a proclamation[82] redrawing the interior boundaries of North America and defining new political jurisdictions for the French- and Spanish-ceded lands. The newly-drawn provinces of east and west Florida were created in formerly Spanish territory, Quebec was created in formerly French territory, and trans-Appalachia was designated as an area of Indian reserve where land grants were forbidden (Figure 12). The British acquired *half a billion* acres of new territory in North America in consequence of the treaty,[83] and faced the complex problem — that they never solved — of administering, organizing, and controlling this territory.

The treaty created the so-called "Proclamation Line" as the boundary between the thirteen colonies and the newly-created "Indian Reserve." In western Virginia, the Proclamation Line follows the eastern continental divide. Thus, the Shenandoah and James River basins could be legally settled, while the basins of the New and Holston Rivers could not. The King had forbidden settlement west of the Roanoke River basin. These changes affected the use of Virginia's Great Southwest Road because the Proclamation Line crossed it in present-day Montgomery County. Travelers on Interstate 81 cross the Proclamation Line at the top of Christiansburg Mountain, near mile marker 118.

Figure 12. Political jurisdictions in eastern North America as they were dictated by the Proclamation of George III in October 1763. The Proclamation Line separated the colonies from the Indian Reserve. Virginia's Great Southwest Road crossed the Proclamation Line in present-day Montgomery County, Virginia. Author's diagram.

Historians refer to 1763 – 1776 as the period of the Imperial Crisis. François Furstenberg has recently said this period " began, like the French crisis before it, on the imperial periphery: at the crest of the Appalachians, where imperial authorities found themselves squeezed between the conflicting demands of the rebellious Native and settler populations."[84] The period is known popularly for issues and events in the prelude to the American Revolution such as the Stamp Act, "No Taxation Without Representation," and the Boston Tea Party. But the much less well-known events along the Virginia frontier also carried their sway in Williamsburg.[85]

In the wake of the 1763 Proclamation no western land claims could be legally made. Despite the prohibition on land acquisition, actual and attempted land procurement were rampant; it is a paradoxical period. Land companies proliferated, and speculators in England and the Virginia oligarchs, through their agents, lobbied in London for land grants and made deals to carve out big areas of land in the colonies.[86] Meanwhile, ordinary people just kept on trekking west and asserting "tomahawk" rights to land they marked by cutting notches on trees.[87] Ordinary people simply ignored the Proclamation, though it is difficult to more than guess at the numbers of persons who did so.[88] "Land, land, land" were the watch words for many Virginians of both low and high rank during these years. As mentioned above in connection with the John Robinson defalcation, high-ranking Virginians sought land to sell at a profit and pay off their debts to British merchants. George Washington regarded the Proclamation Line as merely a temporary inconvenience to his western land speculations.[89]

Already, early in this period the shadow of the coming Revolution lay on the land. In the outcome, most of the hoped-for large western land grants to private companies were obviated by the success of the Revolution.[90] By any account, whatever was in the minds of the Bostonians, it was the acquisition of western land that provided a major impulse for the Revolution in Virginia. Two other key features of this period were the ongoing conflict among settlers and American Indians, which was fierce and brutal, and the improvisation of local political arrangements such as the compact entered into by the Watauga settlers (Figure 13). One of the more paradoxical aspects of this paradoxical period is that Virginia continued the process of county formation in the Indian Reserve. Thus Fincastle County, which included the land of the entire present-day state of Kentucky, was formed in 1772.

Figure 13. The Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga River near present-day Elizabethton, Tennessee. Virginians traveled here via their Great Southwest Road. Near here the Watauga compact was made in 1772 when Richard Henderson and his associates purchased Transylvania in 1775, and here the Overmountain Men assembled in 1780 on their way to the Battle of King's Mountain. Author's picture, 2008.

As noted above, Carl Bridenbaugh wrote that the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road (and by extension Virginia's Great Southwest Road) in the years before the Revolution was the most heavily traveled road in all America, with more vehicles jolting along it than all other main roads combined.[91] Here's how the historian of the U.S. State Department has described why the route became so heavily used:

> With the official end of the [French and Indian] war, Anglo-American colonists began to pour over the Appalachian Mountains in search of land. Many of these settlers had no official claim to the land as local Indians had made no land cessions, and in many cases, the land was claimed by private land companies. The Virginia elite had invested heavily in these companies in an attempt to diversify their holdings

> outside of the volatile tobacco market and thus had an interest in pressing the British Government to address ensuing tensions.
>
> The settlement of the lands west of the Appalachians brought inevitable tension and conflict between settlers and indigenous peoples. British military officials attempted to halt settlement but eager settlers and land speculators ignored their directives. With the military unwilling to forcibly remove settlers from the lands, Anglo-American colonists continued to migrate west and lay claim [to] these lands.[92]

Also in the historical mix during this period of paradox were land grants made to individuals in recompense for military service. During the eighteenth century the Virginia Colony owned abundant western land while simultaneously having limited funds. Thus the colony used land bounties to induce and encourage military service and land grants to reward and compensate for already-given military service. In the outcome, few awardees of such lands ever took their land up in person. Rather, an active speculators' market developed in the purchase, consolidation, and resale of land. Speculators' land sales accelerated western migration and brought travelers down Virginia's Great Southwest Road.

The final logical extension of Virginia's Great Southwest Road, all the way to the Blue Grass country of Kentucky, was initiated in 1775 by Daniel Boone. On 14 March 1775 North Carolina judge Richard Henderson and his associates in the Transylvania Company made their "Transylvania purchase" from the Cherokee Indians at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga River (Figure 13). This purchase, later challenged by the Virginians, brought Henderson the northern part of the future state of Tennessee and most of the future state of Kentucky. By the time the purchase document was signed, Daniel Boone was already at a blockhouse near Moccasin Gap in Virginia (Figure 14). With him were about three dozen men ready to begin the hard work of making a trail through the forest by chopping down saplings and vines, tossing aside fallen timber, bridging sinkholes with logs, and cutting through cane brakes. Six weeks later Boone and his axmen were 200 miles to the northwest having cut Boone's famous Wilderness Road and planted a settlement at Booneborough.[93] Overland travelers along Virginia's Great Southwest Road traveled from Moccasin Gap to Cumberland Gap and beyond. Boone's venture, together with John Donelson's 30-flatboat, 60-family river convoy from Kingsport to Nashville in 1780,[94] began the tangible process of nation-building via Virginia's Great Southwest Road. A useful summary of the early settlement and history of northeast Tennessee has been published in a biography of Andrew Jackson.[95]

Figure 14. The row of historic markers at Moccasin Gap. This spot is about half a mile north of present-day Weber City, Virginia, and about five miles north of Kingsport, Tennessee. From here it is about sixty-two miles due west to the Cumberland Gap. The number of markers testifies to the historic importance of this place. Author's picture, November 2008.

1775 – 1804: Revolution and the Founding of the States of the Upper South

During this period the westward flow of people along Virginia's Great Southwest Road became a torrent.

During the Revolution, Virginia's Great Southwest Road continued to serve as a route to the south and west, and many settlers used it. However, with the exception of the skirmish between the settlers and the Cherokee at Island Flats (near Kingsport) in 1776,[96] no consequential military action occurred along its path.[97] The single significant military use of Virginia's Great Southwest Road during the War was by the so-called Overmountain Men in October 1781. These were the patriots from Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee who organized themselves into a fighting force, marched to King's Mountain at the border of North and South Carolina, and defeated a Tory force under the command of Patrick Ferguson. Thomas Jefferson called the battle of King's Mountain the "turn of the tide" of the War of Revolution.[98] Today, the annual recreation of the march of the Virginia Overmountain men begins at the Aspenvale Cemetery near Marion, Virginia, and is followed by a muster at Abingdon, Virginia, both located on Virginia's Great Southwest Road.[99] The entire Overmountain force assembled at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga (Figure 13) and consisted mainly of men of Scotch-Irish extraction.[100]

After the Revolution the period of nation-building began in earnest. So now, with Virginia's Great Southwest Road fully operational, so to speak, we will turn from considering the detailed history of how it was established to a broad brush discussion of how it served for nation-building.

Two critical issues for the young Republic in the 1780s were: How would western land be controlled? And how would it be developed? Describing this time period, historian Peter Onuf wrote:

> After the Revolution, American policymakers looked west with mingled expectation and anxiety. They entertained high hopes for the growth of national wealth and power through expansion of settlement and addition of states. At the same time, in darker moments, they feared that the opening of the West would release energies that might subvert social order and destroy the union. Images of anarchy and disorder in postwar America were drawn from, and projected onto, the frontier. Semisavage "banditti," squatters, and land speculators were seen spreading over the western lands. European imperial powers — British to the north, Spanish to the south and west — supposedly stood ready to exploit frontier disorder and Indian discontent. The success of the American experiment in republican government thus seemed to depend on establishing law and order on the frontier.[101]

This issue of how to deal with western land first arose during the process of the original 13 states adopting the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, which they did in 1781. During that process, some states which had no western land claims refused to join the Union until those states with such claims agreed to cede them. "Maryland was especially insistent upon this and it was her sturdy refusal to accept the Articles of Confederation without this precedent that finally led to this action."[102] The manner in which the ceded land would be turned into new states was addressed in the summer of 1787 by the "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, North-West of the River Ohio." This so-called Northwest Ordinance was an important piece of legislation that determined that the United States' central government would be sovereign and that the development of western lands would take place by the formation of new states to be admitted to the Union when ready. The Northwest Ordinance geographically demarked the regions (basically north or south of the Ohio River) in which slavery in newly-admitted states would be either permitted or forbidden. The Northwest Ordinance was adopted in July 1787. The Constitution, which formalized the Ordinance, was adopted in September 1787 and fully ratified in May 1790, when Rhode Island acted. With the legal framework for nation-building established, the stage was thus set for it to begin.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 with the British, which concluded The War of Revolution, the United States received generous

treatment and the British ceded vast areas of land to the newly-independent nation. From these lands, many new states would eventually be carved and the nation built. In 1783, Virginia claimed all the land from her western frontier to the Mississippi River, had an uncontested claim to northern land between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan and between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron, and had contested land claims with Massachusetts and Connecticut around lower Lake Michigan. By 1784 Virginia had ceded all these claims, as eventually would all 13 original states cede theirs as shown in Figure 15.

Figure 15. Western Territory Relinquished by the Original Thirteen States and Virginia in 1784. Map modified by the author from Oscar Austin, 1903 page 85. For a much more detailed examination of the evolution of the political boundaries of Virginia see the work of Charles Grymes.[103]

With the conclusion of the Revolution, the pre-War trickle of westward migration became a mighty flood — a great wave of optimistic self-transplantation:

> After the Revolution the Republic attracted a new class of foreign visitors. They were not casual tourists but serious students of American institutions who hoped to find in the New World a clue to the future of the Old. Of all the many sights they saw in the United States, none surprised them more than the human flood of migration that flowed westward from seaboard states to the interior of the continent. What most amazed them was not the magnitude of the movement, or the vast distance that it spanned, but the spirit in which it was undertaken.
>
> "The active genius of the Americans is always pushing them forward," Brissot de Warville observed in 1788. "After they have spent some time on any piece of land, they move on to another where they

> hope to do better." On the road in Maryland, he passed a convoy of wagons heading across the mountains. "These caravans had an appearance of gaiety that surprised me," he wrote. "Apparently for Americans a migration to a place several hundred miles away is no more serious than moving from one house to another and is taken in the spirit of a pleasure party!"[104]

The people in this flood traveled with many motives, but to acquire land and obtain a new and better life were motives that they all probably shared. Other motives would have included a desire for freedom of political choice, lessened influence of government on their lives, and to gain free exercise of religion. Even while the War of Revolution was still taking place, people headed west, as illustrated by the above-mentioned Donelson expedition to Nashville, and the "Travelling Church" to Kentucky.[105] The tenacity and toughness of the members of these groups is very evident in the documentary record.

Between 1784 and 1802, in a drawn-out process, the original thirteen states all ceded their western lands to the common Union. Virginia, acting promptly, ceded its western lands in 1784, establishing the borders of the state that would last until the Civil War and the separation of West Virginia. The process of admitting new states to the Union (Figure 16) began in 1791 with the entry of Vermont, a non-slave-holding state, in anticipation of the admission of slave-holding Kentucky, which was admitted the following year. The admission of slave-holding Tennessee followed in 1792 and was counterbalanced in 1803 by non-slave-holding Ohio. Examination of the map in Figure 16 will show why the location of the Great Road of Southwest Virginia made it a thoroughfare of nation-building. It pointed the way to Kentucky and Tennessee and later to the entire Deep South.

The surveying of Kentucky lands by William Preston's Fincastle surveyors had begun as early as 1774. Some of these surveys were for military grant lands as far west as the Falls of the Ohio (present-day Louisville, Kentucky).[106] Because Preston lived at the Smithfield Plantation, in what was then Fincastle County, his surveyors traveled Virginia's Great Southwest Road on their excursions to the future Kentucky and Tennessee.

With the states of the Upper South admitted to the Union, and with the purchase of the Louisiana territory accomplished in 1803, next would come the flood of people along Virginia's Great Southwest Road to the Deep South.

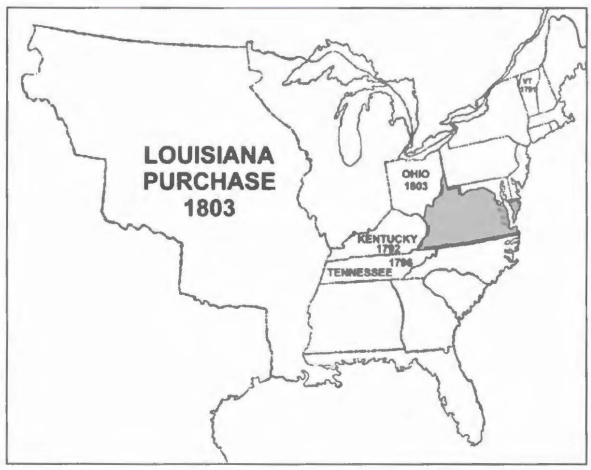


Figure 16. States Admitted to the Union 1791 – 1803 and the land of the Louisiana Purchase. Three of the four of the newly admitted states were contiguous to Virginia: Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), and Ohio (1803). The exception was Vermont (1791) in New England. Kentucky and Tennessee were slave-holding states, Vermont and Ohio were not. Map modified by the author from Austin page 115.

1805 – 1854: Founding of the States of the Deep South

During this period a great flow of enslaved Americans joined free Americans traveling down Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Late in this period the Cumberland Gap turnpike was planned as a second roadway through Southwest Virginia and mostly completed by 1841.[107]

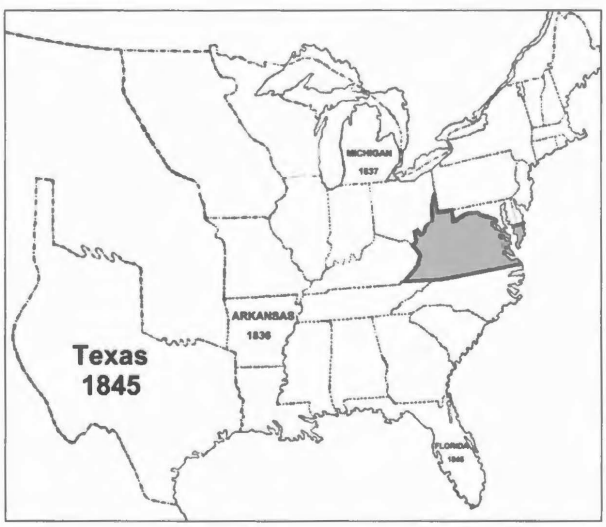
States added to the Union during this period were: Louisiana, 1812; Indiana, 1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; Maine, 1820; Missouri, 1821; Arkansas, 1836; Michigan, 1837; Florida and Texas, 1845; Iowa, 1846; Wisconsin, 1848; and California, 1850. Figures 17 and 18 (based on Oscar Austin's maps) graphically show the process of state formation. During this period Virginia's Great Southwest Road remained a conduit for white settlers. However, at this time it also became a conduit for slaves being exported from Virginia to the Deep South, which placed Virginia's Great Southwest Road in the context of a great national debate as Clack, et al. describe:

> As the free society of the North and the slave society of the South spread westward, it seemed politically expedient to maintain a rough equality among the new states carved out of western territories. In 1818, when Illinois was admitted to the Union, 10 states permitted slavery and 11 states prohibited it; but balance was restored after Alabama was admitted as a slave state. Population was growing faster in the North, which permitted Northern states to have a clear majority in the House of Representatives. However, equality between the North and the South was maintained in the Senate. ... In 1819 Missouri, which had 10,000 slaves, applied to enter the Union. Northerners

rallied to oppose Missouri's entry except as a free state, and a storm of protest swept the country. For a time Congress was deadlocked, but Henry Clay arranged the so-called Missouri Compromise: Missouri was admitted as a slave state at the same time Maine came in as a free state. In addition, Congress banned slavery from the territory acquired by the Louisiana Purchase north of Missouri's southern boundary."[108]

Figure 17. States Admitted to the Union 1812 – 1821. Maps embody the most literal and graphic demonstration of nation-building. The map was modified by the author from Austin 1903, page 169.

Figure 18. States Admitted to the Union 1836 – 1845. There were four states admitted: Arkansas (1836), Michigan (1837), Florida (1845), and Texas (1845). Map modified by the author from Austin 1903, page 169.



Until after 1805 the story of Virginia's Great Southwest Road belonged to people overwhelmingly of European descent and with white skins. But there is another part of the story that belongs to people of African descent with black skins. It is the story of the Cotton South and of slaves traveling

along Virginia's Great Southwest Road. The process of nation-building in America was inextricably bound up with slavery. To again quote Clack, et al.:

> Slavery, which had up to now received little public attention, began to assume much greater importance as a national issue. In the early years of the republic, when the Northern states were providing for immediate or gradual emancipation of the slaves, many leaders had supposed that slavery would die out. In 1786 George Washington wrote that he devoutly wished some plan might be adopted "by which slavery may be abolished by slow, sure and imperceptible degrees." Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, all Virginians, and other leading Southern statesmen, made similar statements. ... The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had banned slavery in the Northwest Territory. As late as 1808, when the international slave trade was abolished, there were many Southerners who thought that slavery would soon end. The expectation proved false, for during the next generation, the South became solidly united behind the institution of slavery as new economic factors made slavery far more profitable than it had been before 1790.[109]

As late as 1773, George Washington was importing bales of cotton to his Mount Vernon plantation from the Old World. For centuries, cotton had been grown only in regions such as the Nile and Indus valleys; at the time of the Revolution, New World cotton production was minuscule. That situation changed dramatically after the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793. This invention, combined with the vast acreage of cotton-suited land in the South, quickly led to skyrocketing production using slave labor. From 1790 to 1860 U.S. cotton production rose over one thousand-fold. Meanwhile, the US slave population rose from 640,000 to 3,950,000, or six-fold.[110]

Virginia, which has only a small area of land suitable for cotton growing, became a major source of the slaves sold into the cotton belt of the Deep South (Figure 19), where the well-watered river valleys of the American southern coastal plain are ideally-suited for cotton growing. During this first half of the nineteenth century an estimated half million slaves were sold away from Virginia to the owners of cotton plantations. Virginia originating slaves were marched overland in "coffles" down Virginia's Great Southwest Road. On a trip to Virginia in 1853, the Pennsylvanian Lewis Miller sketched in watercolors (Figure 20) a slave coffle heading down the Valley turnpike south of Staunton and commented "I was Astonished at this boldness, the carrier Stopped a moment, then Ordered the march."[111]

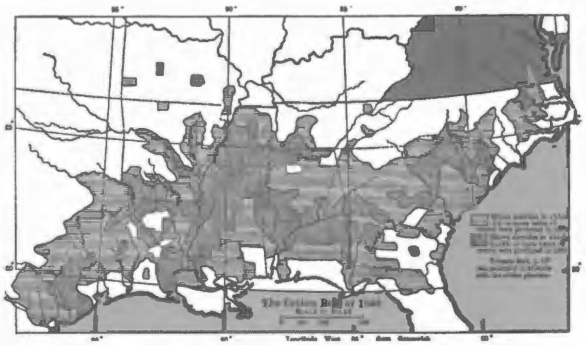


Figure 19. A map of the cotton belt.[112] The horizontally-hatched regions show counties in which 600 or more bales of cotton were produced in 1860. The cross-hatched regions show counties in which more than 10,000 bales of cotton were grown in 1860.

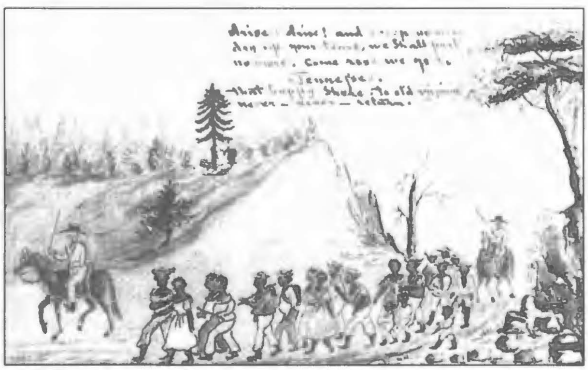


Figure 20. A slave coffle. This image was reproduced in the *Smithfield Review* in 2001 in an article by Phillip D. Troutman. The *Review* editors noted the article presented a vivid picture of the transportation of human cargo through Southwest Virginia and made good use of the relatively scarce first and secondhand accounts of these "melancholy journeys." The same image is also used in Fischer and Kelly's *Bound Away.*

Here is how the depression-era Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Virginia estimated the number of slaves who went west:

> After 1808, when Negroes could no longer be legally imported from Africa, Virginia became a breeding place for slaves needed in the cotton country. ... In the decade from 1830 to 1840, when slave trading was at its height, Virginia's Negro population dropped from 517,105 to 498,829, although Frederic Bancroft assumes that the natural increase of slaves during the decade must have been about 24 percent. Bancroft places the yearly exportation at 11,793, a figure that checks closely with Thomas Marshall's estimate in 1830 of an exportation from Virginia of 10,800 Negroes.[113]

Much, probably most, of this traffic passed along Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Wilma Dunaway wrote:

> Global demand for cotton spurred in the United States the largest internal forced migration of slaves that has ever occurred in world history. For that reason, slave trading was pervasive throughout the South. As part of the exporting upper South, Appalachia lay at the hubs of the national slave trade routes. Contrary to popular mythology and much scholarly romanticism, southern Appalachia was neither isolated from nor culturally antagonistic toward the interstate slave trade. From poor white to local sheriffs to wealthy elites, numerous Appalachia households participated directly or indirectly in the interstate trafficking. Only a small minority of Appalachians may have exported black Appalachians directly, but local merchants and nonslaveholding farms benefited from the economic spin-offs from that trade. Thus, every court house, even in those counties with tiny black populations, sported its own slave auction block, and the movement of slave coffles and speculators is easy to document in regional newspapers.[114]

Fischer and Kelly give a chapter-long account of African American migration from Virginia[115] and conclude that "The migration of black Virginians had a profound impact on the future of their nation." Slave narratives record some individual stories of forced migration. For example, the slave James Williams, who was born on a tobacco plantation in Powhatan County, Virginia, in 1805, was sent to Alabama where he endured a number of years in a fearful situation on a cotton plantation before escaping north and eventually across the Atlantic to Liverpool.[116]

In an attempt to estimate the number of white Virginians who went west during the first half of the nineteenth century, Fischer and Kelly analyzed the earliest available statistical data which bears on the matter and comes from the 1850 census data table titled "Places of Birth of the White and Free Colored Population of the United States, 1850." This table shows the numbers of "white and free colored" persons living in other states than Virginia where they had been born. The census does not record the places of birth of slaves, so their westward movement cannot be tracked in the same manner as that of white and free colored persons.[117]

Detailed analysis of the 1850 census data tells a good deal about the westward flow of Americans. In 1850, five states had populations of over a million: New York (3.1 million); Pennsylvania (2.3 million); Ohio (1.9 million); Virginia (1.4 million of which 0.5 million were slaves); and, Tennessee (1.0 million of which 0.24 million were slaves). The counts of out migrants (free persons born in those states but living in other states) were New York (547,000), Pennsylvania (422,000); Ohio (295,000); Virginia

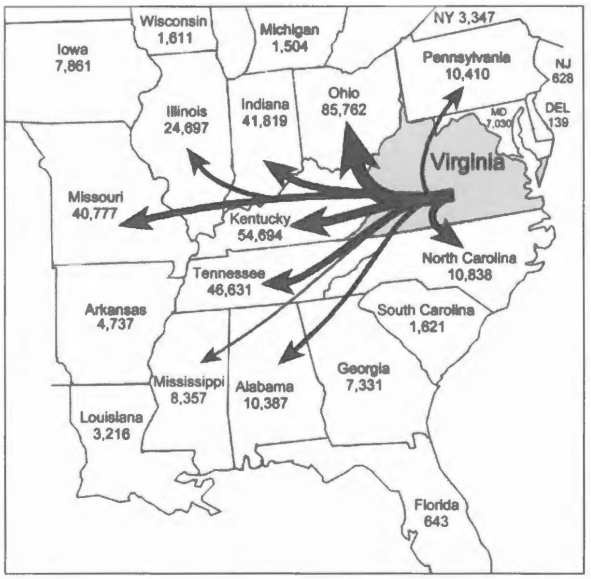


Figure 21. Out Migration from Virginia. The numbers shown in each state are the count in that state of the number of "white and free colored" persons who were born in Virginia, with data taken from the 1850 census.[118] The map is based on the one found on page 139 in *Bound Away.* The author has shaded Virginia and added counts for all of the thirty then-existing states. The thickness of each of the black arrows gives a rough impression of the numbers of persons moving.

(388,059); and, Tennessee (241,600). Given Virginia's much smaller white and free colored population compared with New York and Pennsylvania, Virginia's number of out migrants is exceptionally large. Two-thirds of the out migrants from Virginia were concentrated in the five states of Ohio (86,000); Kentucky (55,000); Tennessee (47,000); Indiana (42,000); Missouri (41,000); and Illinois (25,000). Many of these migrants likely passed through Southwest Virginia — probably most of those who went to Tennessee and Kentucky, and perhaps a few who went to Ohio. Almost half (45 percent) of Pennsylvania's out migrants went to Ohio. In 1790, some Pennsylvanians heading for Ohio might conceivably have traveled the Great Road; by 1850 direct routes were available, though Pittsburgh and Cincinnati were not linked by rail until the 1860s. Out migrants from New York went principally to the northernmost tier of states, with Wisconsin and Michigan receiving over a third of the New Yorkers. Out migrants from Ohio went mainly to Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin. Out migrants from Tennessee went mainly to Arkansas, Mississippi, Illinois, and Texas. Out migrants from Kentucky went mainly to Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois. Out migrants from Massachusetts, the most populous of the New England states, went to New York and the nearby states of New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont, as well as a modest number to Ohio. It is clear from the census data that even as late as 1850 the Great Southwest Virginia Road remained important — particularly for the transport of enslaved Americans.

The Ideas the Virginians Carried Down Virginia's Great Southwest Road

Fischer and Kelly sum up the westward, nation-building migration of the Virginians as follows:

> Altogether, the movement beyond Virginia was one of the largest migrations in American history. No other state could match it, in terms of magnitude, duration, range, variety, and complexity. ...Virginians were quick to plant colonies on the best soil that lay beyond the Mississippi. They peopled the fine planting land of Missouri's Little Dixie. They took leading roles in Texas, California, and the opening of the Rocky Mountains, where cities bear the names of such Virginians as James Denver and Jesse Reno.[119]

If the life and works of a single individual can symbolize and recapitulate Virginia's westward expansion, then Stephen F. Austin (1793 – 1836), known as "the Father of Texas," is probably that individual. He was born in Wythe County (Figure 22) near the lead mines, and at the age of four was taken to Missouri where his father found a new lead-mining opportunity. Trained as a lawyer, he was elected a member of the legislature of the Missouri Territory. Austin moved on to the new Arkansas Territory after a business reverse and became a judge there. Austin later moved on to Louisiana, and in 1821 successfully settled the future state of Texas with 300 U.S. families.

Figure 22 The Stephen F. Austin Memorial Park in Austinville, Virginia. Today, the Texas flag flies here in a rarely-visited region of Wythe County. The place was once important for the lead that the mines near here produced. Author's picture, 2009.

Perhaps even more prominent than Austin was Sam Houston (1793 – 1863). Houston was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, of Scotch-Irish lineage. He was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1827, emigrated to Arkansas in 1829, and was later President of the Republic of Texas (twice), U.S. Senator for Texas after it joined the Union, and Governor of Texas. The city of Houston is named after him.[120]

Fischer and Kelly in *Bound Away* call the aggregate of ideas that the Virginians carried down their Great Southwest Road the Virginians' "Cultural Legacy."[121] These authors include in that legacy relatively mundane aspects of culture such as architectural styles and patterns of land use, including details of the Virginia systems of field design and fence-building. They also include major aspects of culture such as slavery, attitudes towards class stratification, and the exportation of Virginia political institutions and laws.

Fischer and Kelly also tell of some of the men (history says less about the women) who carried Virginia culture to the newly-forming states. Among such men were: John Breckinridge (1760 – 1806) a Staunton-born, prominent and wealthy Albemarle County lawyer who removed to Kentucky, became Speaker of the Kentucky House and founded a family dynasty with his grandson John C. Breckinridge becoming a United States Vice President; William Henry Harrison (1773 – 1841) was born in Tidewater Virginia, became a member of the rich and powerful "Virginia Clique" in central Ohio and after a successful political career became U.S. president in 1841; in Tennessee, John Sevier (1745 – 1811) born in Newmarket, Virginia, who moved to East Tennessee in his mid-twenties, became a notorious Indian fighter, gave important service at the battle of King's Mountain, was four times elected Governor of Tennessee, and once of the lost state of Franklin. The list of such successful Virginia transplants to the west is very long and their influence on the future course of the growing nation was correspondingly great.

Men from western Virginia also emigrated. In 1775, sixteen men from western Virginia signed the Fincastle Resolutions.[122] Of these sixteen, Arthur Campbell moved to Kentucky where he died in 1811; William Christian moved to Kentucky in 1785 and was killed there by Indians the following year; William Preston (as mentioned above) directed the first surveys of Kentucky and had a grandson who earned the sobriquet "Kentucky's Last Cavalier"[123]; William Russell's son moved to Kentucky where Russell County is named for him; Evan Shelby's son, Isaac, became Governor of Kentucky; Daniel Smith took up a military land grant in Sumner County, Tennessee, in 1790 and was once appointed (to replace Andrew Jackson) and once elected as United States Senator for Tennessee; and Stephen Trigg

moved to Kentucky in 1777 to be killed at the Battle of Blue Licks in 1782. Five of the sixteen Resolutions signers went west and others had prominent western descendants. The exodus of the Virginians created a rich cultural and political heritage to be adopted by the new states of the Deep South.

To understand more about Virginians' cultural legacy to the nation, it is valuable to read Wilbur J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*,[124] published in 1941, the year its author died. Despite the book being over seventy years old, and despite its being severely criticized over the intervening years, coauthor of *Bound Away* David Hackett Fischer says:

> Cash's book, for all its flaws, remains a very great book indeed. For anybody who is interested in the hillbilly South, it remains the indispensable guide — a veritable Baedecker to the boondocks. And anybody who is interested in Southerners has to know about hillbilly Southerners.[125]

In line with our perspective in the present article, viewing history from astride the great thoroughfare of southwestern Virginia, Fischer also says that Cash's

> perspective has been unkindly called the "Hillbilly view" of Southern history. For Cash, "the man at the center" of Southern culture was the man who scratched out his living on an Appalachian hillside. The inhabitants of the other Souths are seen at a distance, like people from a mountain top.[126]

With this present article, also written with a hillbilly view,[127] the reader is encouraged to visit (or revisit) *The Mind of the South*. Particularly recommended are chapter 1, "Time and Frontiers," in which Cash defines the notion of the Virginia Cavalier and who he was, and chapter 3, "Of an Ideal and a Conflict." The ideal is the Virginia planter aristocracy as nobility and of the southern woman as ideal creation. The conflict is the one with the Yankees. Cash argues that Virginia became the model for the newly growing nation and tells a fine tale of how the culture of Virginia conquered the South. It is a complex book that remains controversial 70 years after its publication.

On 2 October 1856 the arrival of a steam locomotive at Bristol, Virginia and Tennessee, was greeted by cannons, two bands and 8,000 spectators.[128] The Great Southwest Road of Virginia had finally been supplanted.

In conclusion, the author notes that history tells us that Southwest Virginia has often been a place for people to go through rather than to go to. Today, the region is at the center of a great "X" made by Interstate Highways I-77 and I-81. The Clinchfield Railroad, completed only a century ago, still links Florida to Chicago and the Midwest. Orthogonally to that route, just this past year, the Norfolk Southern Railroad completed its "Heartland Corridor," linking the port of Norfolk to Chicago with two-tiered freight train service through tunnels with heightened ceilings or lowered floors.

Southwest Virginia has long been, and to a fair degree remains, the Nation's Thoroughfare.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to the Virginia Highlands Festival and Harry Haynes at the Museum of the Middle Appalachians for inviting the author to give the presentation from which this paper derives. Thanks to the staff at Newman Library at Virginia Tech and particularly to the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Office. Thanks to Ryan Mays for many helpful discussions. Thanks to Peter Wallenstein, whose comments on a preliminary draft led to its considerable improvement. Thanks to the three anonymous referees who read the first draft of the article and to two of those referees who graciously also read the second draft. Mary Kegley kindly read and commented on an earlier draft of this article. Thanks for Warren Hofstra for reading a late draft and offering valuable advice. As ever, the author thanks his wife Deena Flinchum. All the opinions expressed here are the author's and the author's alone, as are all errors of omission and commission.

Endnotes

* Jim Glanville is a retired chemist and independent scholar.

1. This article is revised and expanded from a presentation made in the Virginia Highlands Festival lecture series, Saltville, Virginia, Sunday 7 August 2011.
2. The appellation "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" seems to date from the title of an 1845 work of fiction written in Lexington by Dr. William Caruthers. So Edward Porter Alexander says in his introduction to the 1972 reprint of John Fontaine's *Journal* cited in endnote 40.
3. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (New York: Atheneum, 1970). The full quote from page 130 reads: "Like most of our historic highways, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road followed the meanderings of old Indian trails; in fact it was only made possible by the willingness of the Iroquois at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744 to permit the use of their Great Warrior's Path through the Shenandoah Valley, and in North Carolina it took the course of the Cherokee Trading Path for many miles beyond Salisbury. Prior to 1760, 'the bad road began'

south of Augusta Court House in the Valley of Virginia, but thereafter it was passable over its entire length of over 735 miles for the sturdy wagons devised by the Pennsylvania-German craftsmen of the Conestoga Valley. Year after year, along this narrow-rutted intercolonial thoroughfare coursed a procession of horsemen, footmen, and pioneer families 'with horse and wagon and cattle.' In the last sixteen years of the colonial era, southbound traffic along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road was numbered in tens of thousands; it was the most heavily traveled road in allAmerica and must have had more vehicles jolting along its rough and tortuous way than all other main roads put together."

4. The implicit subtitle of the article is thus "From the Golden Horseshoe to the Golden Spike."
5. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz, eds., *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010). See the map of the Valley Road on page 2.
6. Some of the many names for various portions of the "Great Road" have been the "Valley Pike," the "Wilderness Road," the "Trading Path," the "Great Warrior's Path," the "Island Road," the "Indian Road," and the "Wagon Road." Historian Mary Kegley has strong feelings about the appropriate nomenclature as she describes in her book *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road, 1745 – 1796* (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 2008). Kegley (p. 61) considers that the true "Wilderness Road" to Kentucky ran west from the Anderson's Blockhouse site (in Virginia about five miles northeast of Kingsport, Tennessee) through Scott and Lee Counties to the Cumberland Gap. The blockhouse site is about ten miles west of the southwestern end of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. For a different point of view to that of Kegley see Fess Green, "The Wilderness Road Controversy," 2006, published at the website of the Daniel Boone Wilderness Trail Association at *http://www.danielboonetrail.com/historicalsites.php?id=81,* accessed December 2011.
7. Parke Rouse Jr., *The Great Wagon Road: How Scotch-Irish and Germanics Settled the Upland* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).
8. Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road*, 3rd ed. (Middlesboro, Ky.: publisher not stated, 1966); Fess Green, *Wilderness Road Odyssey, A Cyclist's Journey Through Present and Past* (Blacksburg: Pocahontas Press, 2003).
9. John Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 249.
10. A particularly noteworthy distortion introduced by the author's approach is that it ignores westward emigration from the New England states.
11. Peter Wallenstein, "The Grinch That Stole Southern History: Anthem for an Appalachian Perspective," *Smithfield Review* 4 (2000): 67-82.
12. David McCullough, "Visitor's Program," shown at the Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia, Staunton: Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia, 2002.
13. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1941), reprinted (New York: Vintage Books, 1991) with an introduction by Bertram Wyatt-Brown.
14. Joseph L. Morrison, "A Biographical Detective Story," *Red Clay Reader* 4 (1967): np stated. On line at *http://www.wjcash.org/WJCash1/WJCash/WJCash/RedclayMorrison_etc.html#Prisoner*, accessed 30 November 2011.
15. David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000). Frederick Jackson Turner famously wrote, in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), p. 12, "Stand at Cumberland Gap, and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file — the buffalo following the trail to the salt spring, the Indian, the fur trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer — and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between." Turner's 1920 book is on line at *http://books.google.com/books?id=mdx1AAAAMAAJ,* accessed August 2011. Copy in author's files.

16. Oscar P. Austin, *Steps in the Expansion of Our Territory* (New York: D. Appleton, 1903). Full view on line at *http://books.google.com/books?id=l31fDZDuwSoC*. Accessed August 2011. Copy in author's files.
17. No stated author, Library of Congress web page "Special Presentation: Encountering the First American West," on line at *http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/award99/icuhtml/fawsp/fawsp.html*. Accessed August 2011.
18. No stated author, Library of Congress web page "The Ohio River Valley, 1750 – 1820," on line at *http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/award99/icuhtml/fawhome.html*, accessed August 2011.
19. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775 – 1850*, third edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).
20. François Furstenberg, "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History," *American Historical Review* 113 (Fall 2008): 647–677. See also B. Scott Crawford, *Economic Interdependence Along a Colonial Frontier: Capitalism and the New River Valley, 1745 – 1789* (MA Thesis, Old Dominion University, 1996).
21. Warren R. Hofstra, "Review: From Backcountry to Trans-Appalachian Frontiers," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 66 (Fall 2009): 640–652.
22. The author chooses 1513 to begin this period as it is generally regarded as the year that Juan Ponce de Leon was the first European to set foot on land in the US southeast, somewhere on the Florida coast.
23. William E. Myer, *Indian Trails of the Southeast* (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology and the US Government Printing Office, 1925).
24. C. G. Holland, *An Archeological Survey of Southwest Virginia: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology Number 12* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970).
25. Michael B. Barber, "Saltville and Environs: The Woodland Period," 39–50, in Eugene B. Barfield and Michael B. Barber, eds., *Upland Archeology in the East: Symposium Number Five* (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1996).
26. Jim Glanville, "Improper Archeology, 'Fabulous Saltville,' and the Ancient History of Southwest Virginia." *Smithfield Review* 9 (2005): 55–100; "The Space Farms Museum Collection of Southwest Virginia Artifacts," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 62 (Spring 2007): 7–30; "Engraved Marine Shell Gorgets: A Review," *Prehistoric American* 44 (Spring 2010): 3–13.
27. Jim Glanville, "Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence," *Smithfield Review* 8 (2004): 70–108, and "16th Century Spanish Invasions of Southwest Virginia," *Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal* 17 (2009): 34–42.
28. Tom Heffinger and David Frye, telephone interviews with the author, November 2011.
29. Jim Glanville and John M. Preston IV, "Aspenvale Cemetery and Its Place in the History of Southwest Virginia," *Smithfield Review* 13 (2009): 89, 92. Ryan Mays is very skeptical that David Ingram was ever in Southwest Virginia.
30. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521 – 1704* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).
31. Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492 – 1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 206.
32. Woktela (David Hackett), *www.yuchi.org*, personal communication, email message, April 4, 2011.
33. Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, *An American History* (Boston, Mass.: Ginn and Company, 1913), 77.
34. Harriette Simpson Arnow, *Seedtime on the Cumberland [River]* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 56–75. This is the chapter titled "Rivière des Chauouanons" or "River of the Shawnees."
35. Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670 – 1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 31. Also on page 31 Gallay notes perceptively: "It is only by reading history backward, and faultily, that the Virginia area appears to be part of the South in the prehistoric and colonial periods. It is ordinarily assumed

that Virginia had always been part of the South, and the most important part of that region, for it was the first English colony to develop a plantation society based on slave labor, and the colonies that formed south of it ostensibly imitated Virginia by doing the same. But slavery and plantations were ubiquitous in the European colonial world. Moreover, there was little migration by Virginians to the South, by which they could carry their ideas and institutions, until a much later period. Certainly South Carolina had far more in common with Barbados than it did with Virginia: Carolina received European settlers, African slaves, trade goods, and its model for plantation agriculture from the West Indies."

36. Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians 1650 – 1674* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), and Alan V. Briceland, *Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia Frontier, 1650 – 1710* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987).
37. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670 – 1732*, with a preface by Peter H. Wood (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1981 [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929]). See also Gallay, *Slave Trade.*
38. Ryan Mays points out that Governor William Berkeley, Abraham Wood, and others, had previously been interested in exploring and exploiting the western regions of the colony, but that nothing much came to fruition before Spotswood.
39. Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (2 Volumes); Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960 (Published for the Virginia Historical Society). Chapters 1–8 in Volume 2, 409–485, are all about Spotswood. See also chapter 13 pp. 536–564, "Westward Expansion in the Rappahannock and Potomac Basins;" chapter 15, pp. 565–582, "Expansion Beyond the Alleghenies;" and Chapter 16, 583–598, "The Coming of the Presbyterians."
40. Edward P. Alexander, ed., *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710 – 1719* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972). The journey over the Blue Ridge is described on 101–109.
41. W. Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607 – 1763* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 121–138.
42. Charles Ramsdell Lingley, "The Transition in Virginia From Colony to Commonwealth," *Studies in Economics, History and Public Law* 36 (1910): 327–542, 340.
43. Richard K. MacMaster, "The Cattle Trade in Western Virginia, 1760 – 1830," 127–149, in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 130.
44. Louis B. Wright, ed., *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover: Narratives of a Colonial Virginian* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1966), 274–275.
45. John Haywood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee, from its Earliest Settlement Up to the Year 1796; Including the Boundaries of the State* (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1891 [1823]), 40.
46. Frederick B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days* (Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938). Other standard works of western Virginia history include: Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871*, second edition (Staunton: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902); Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746 – 1786, Washington County, 1777 – 1870* (Johnson City, Tenn.: Overmountain Press, 1989 [1903]); Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769 – 1800* (Abingdon, Va.: Self Published, 1929); Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier 1740 – 1789* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991).
47. Fauquier, Francis, "Letter from Williamsburg of February 13, 1764 to the Board of Trade, with Enclosure," *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758 — 1768*, three Volumes, George Henkle Reese, ed. (Charlottesville: published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1980), 1076–1084. This document,

prepared for the Board in the wake of the 1763 Proclamation, tells of Fauquier's difficulty in locating land with respect to the Proclamation Line.

48. Charles E. Kemper, "The Early Westward Movement in Virginia, 1722 – 1734," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13 (July 1905): 1–16, 5–6.
49. Kevin R. Hardwick, "Culpeper, Thomas, second baron Culpeper of Thoresway," *The Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, Volume 3, ed. Sara B. Bearss (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006), 596–598, at *http://encyclopediavirginia.org/Culpeper_Thomas_second_baron_Culpeper_of_Thoresway_1635-1689*, accessed January 19, 2012; Charles A. Grymes, "The Fairfax Grant," *Virginia Places* website, *http://www.virginiaplaces.org/fairfaxgrant.html*, accessed August 2011; Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9–11; Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 93.
50. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Volume 2, 536–537.
51. F. B. Kegley *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*; Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); Hofstra, *Planting*.
52. The roughly rectangular Beverley Manor property measured about 13 by 14 miles and is centered on today's town of Staunton. Two decades earlier, William's father, Robert Beverley, had been a member of Spotswood's Golden Horseshoe party, so William was well aware of the potential value of valley land. Augusta County was formed in 1738 and formally organized in 1745 with its court house at Staunton (where it remains today). Some pioneers had already settled on the Manor before Beverley received his grant.
53. Warren Hofstra (personal communcation, January 2012).
54. Bolivar Christian, *The Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia*, Alumni Address at Washington College, Lexington, Va. (printed by MacFarlane and Fergusson, 1860); Joseph A. Waddell, "The Scotch-Irish of the Valley of Virginia," *The Scotch Irish in America: Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress*, 7 (1895): 79–89; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County 1745 – 1800*, three volumes (Rosslyn, Va.: Mary S. Lockwood/Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912); Howard M. Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom: A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732 – 1952* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1954); James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch Irish, A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Billy Kennedy, *The Scots-Irish in the Shenandoah Valley* (Londonderry: Causeway Press, 1996) and *The Making of America: How the Scots-Irish Shaped a Nation* (Belfast: Causeway Press of Ambassador Productions, 2001); James Webb, *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America* (New York: Random House, 2005); Charles Lewis Taylor, "Early Presbyterians in Montgomery County," *Smithfield Review* 14 (2010): 5–21.
55. Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "William Beverley, James Patton, and the Settling of the Shenandoah Valley," *Essex County Museum and Historical Society Bulletin* 55 (2010): 1–5, and "The Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," *Smithfield Review* 15 (2011): 35–64.
56. Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Verona, Va.: McClure Press, 1973), Chapter 7, "The Great Grant," is 67–80.
57. There are at least fifteen different spellings the author has found for "Kilmacronan." Here the author follows *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 119.
58. Johnson, *Appalachian Colonists*, 81–88.
59. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). See especially "Borderlands to the Backcountry: The Flight from North Britain, 1717 – 1775," 605–782.
60. An anonymous referee (whom the author thanks) pointed out: "*Albion's Seed* had a lot of information on the Scotch-Irish immigrants, though he's [Fischer] unbalanced in nearly ignoring

the Shenandoah Valley people (a passing reference to the Beverley Manor misplaces it in the Rappahannock!) and over-emphasizing the South Carolina settlers."

61. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York: Appleton-Century Company for the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia, 1937); Daniel M. Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1992); Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); see especially 197 ff.
62. Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673 – 1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Chapter 8, 134–175, is titled "The Alchemy of Property."
63. Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, Volume 3, *The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745 – 1805* (2 parts; Wytheville: Kegley Books, 1995).
64. David E. Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory* (Huntington: The Author, 1906); John W. Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (np: The Author, 1907); Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest: The Romantic Story of the Early Pioneers into Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Kentucky 1740 – 1790* (New York: The Century Co., 1920); Samuel A. Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia* (Strasburg: Shenandoah Publishing House, fourth edition, 1925); Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969); Parke, *Great Wagon Road*; Patricia Givens Johnson, *The New River Early Settlement* (Blacksburg: Walpa Publishing, second reprinting, 2003 [1983]).
65. Zola Troutman Noble, "Adam Harman, German Pioneer on the New River," *Smithfield Review* 13 (2009): 5–28.
66. Johnson, *Appalachian Colonists*, 89–94.
67. J. Stoddard Johnston, ed., *First Explorations of Kentucky: The Journal of Thomas Walker and Christopher Gist, with Notes, Appendices, Biographical Sketches* (Louisville: The Filson Club, Publication Number 13, 1898), 41–42.
68. Johnson, *Appalachian Colonists*, 111–120.
69. Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754 – 1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001). See also Walter R. Borneman, *The French and Indian War* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006).
70. Winston S. Churchill, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples: The Age of Revolution* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1957). Chapter 11 is about the Seven Years' War and is titled "The First World War." Churchill popularized this designation and may have been the first person to use it.
71. Louis K. Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754 – 1763* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925), 111–148.
72. *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 244a.
73. *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 238.
74. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1976); Clare White, *William Fleming, Patriot* (Roanoke: History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia, 2001); Patricia Givens Johnson, *General Andrew Lewis of Roanoke and Greenbrier* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, second revised edition, 1994), 44–55.
75. Johnson, *General Andrew Lewis*, 56–71.
76. Harry M. Ward, *Major General Adam Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia 1989). Stephen's march and treaty are described on 62–76. See also Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 453–471; David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740–62* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Tyler Boulware, "The Effect of the Seven Years' War on the Cherokee

Nation," *Early American Studies Journal* 5 (2007): 395–426. Many primary documents relating to the Virginians' march to the Long Island are to be found in Edith Mays, ed., *Amherst Papers, 1756 – 1763, the Southern Sector: Dispatches from South Carolina, Virginia and His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs* (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1999); Marion Tinling, ed., *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684 – 1776*, Volume 2 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Virginia Historical Society, 1977); George Henkle Reese, ed., *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758 – 1768*, three Volumes (Charlottesville: published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1980).

77. The site of Fort Robinson is now inaccessible on the property of Tennessee Eastman Company which rechanneled the Holston River near the fort site in the 1950s. See the map and discussion in Lawrence J. Fleenor and Dale Carter, *The Forts of the Holston Militia* (Big Stone Gap: Lawrence J. Fleenor, 2004), 1–9.
78. Henderson, *Conquest of the Old Southwest*, 94–95.
79. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Volume 2, 749–750.
80. Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities*, 14.
81. William Miller, *A New History of the United States*, revised edition (New York: Dell Publishing Laurel Edition, 1963). Miller provides a useful discussion of the John Robinson affair on page 86, whence the cited quote comes.
82. Bill Henderson, website at *http://www.bloorstreet.com/200block/rp1763.htm.* The author, a Canadian lawyer specializing in Native Rights issues, here provides useful background for understanding the Proclamation of 1763 and related issues, accessed August 2011.
83. Eric Hinderaker, and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 125.
84. Furstenberg, *Trans-Appalachian Frontier*, 682–683.
85. Jim Glanville, "The Fincastle Resolutions, *Smithfield Review* 14 (2010): 69–119; "Fort Gower: Forgotten Shrine of Virginia History," *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, 46 (2010): 74–90.
86. Friedenberg, *Pursuit of Land.*
87. James Morton Callahan, *The History of West Virginia, Old and New*, three volumes (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1923). In Vol. 1, 66–79, Callahan writes: "The people were determined to occupy the land without purchase of Indian titles, and during the peace on the frontier from 1764 to 1774 proceeded first to secure tomahawk rights and soon thereafter to establish settlement rights — pushing the frontier to the Ohio [River] and into Kentucky. A tomahawk right, respected by the frontiersmen, was often merged into a settlement right. Although Virginia took no step until 1779 to sell lands in West Virginia, and no titles can be traced beyond that year, she respected the claims of the earlier settlers and in fact taxed these settlers on their lands before patents were issued."
88. In the chaotic scramble to take up land it is impossible to do more than make guesses at the numbers of people who went west in the decade before the Revolution. Hinderaker and Mancall, *Edge of Empire*, 171, say that in the Ohio Valley "squatters and land developers were everywhere" and that "by 1771 North Carolinians and Virginians were both moving into the valleys of the Clinch and Holston Rivers," 174. Callahan in *History of West Virginia*, Vol. 1, 66–79, writes: "These permanent settlements [on the Watauga and Holston Rivers], tentatively beginning as early as 1764, became especially augmented both in extent and number from 1772 to 1774, numbering a total population of about 30,000 by 1775." After the Battle of Alamance in 1771 many North Carolinians left for the fertile parts of Tennessee behind the Proclamation Line.
89. Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Ohio River: A Course of Empire* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906), 85–86. "The rapidity of the movement of population and the proportions it assumed amazed those in control. ... The proclamation is not more remarkable for its selfishness than for its stupidity; as well might the King of England have issued a mandate ordering the laurel buds not to burst in the Alleghenies in the spring of 1764 as to so misjudge the genius of the American people as to attempt to prohibit their expansion simply to secure the good-will of the Indians ...

George Washington ... wrote William Crawford: 'I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but I say this between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years.'"

90. M. Eugene Del Papa, "The Royal Proclamation of 1763: Its Effect upon the Virginia Land Companies," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1975): 406–411; Woody Holton, "The Ohio Indians and the Coming of the American Revolution in Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 60 (August 1994): 453–478.
91. Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities,* 130.
92. No stated author [US State Department Office of the Historian], "Proclamation Line of 1763, Quebec Act of 1774 and Westward Expansion," nd, on line at *http://history.state.gov/milestones/1750-1775/ProclamationLine1763,* np, accessed 10 December 2011.
93. John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 98–120.
94. John Donelson, "Journal of a Voyage [From Kingsport to Nashville] Intended by God's Permission, in the Good Boat Adventure," in Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest: A Chronicle of the Dark and Bloody Ground* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 187–193.
95. John Buchanan, *Jackson's Way: Andrew Jackson and the People of the Western Waters* (New York: Wiley, 2001). Chapter 1 is on line at *http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/samples/wiley031/00040818.* pdf, accessed December 2011.
96. Howard Long, *Kingsport: A Romance of Industry* (Johnson City, Tenn.: The Overmountain Press, 1993 [1928]), 18–23.
97. William R. Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002); Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763 – 1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974 [1967]).
98. Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain and the Events Which Led to It* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, Co., 1983 [1881]); Jim Glanville and Hubert Gilliam, "An Unexpected Enemy and the Turn of the Tide: Andrew Creswell's King's Mountain Letter," *Smithfield Review* 10 (2006): 5–20.
99. The US National Park Service sponsors the Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail in Virginia, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina, see *http://www.nps.gov/ovvi/index.htm.* The Overmountain Victory Trail Association is a private organization dedicated to preserving the trail, see *http://www.ovta.org/.* Both accessed December 2011.
100. Jonathan Smith, "The Scotch Presbyterian in the American Revolution," *The Granite State Monthly* 50 (1919): 37–44. This article notes "One Captain Johann Heinrich of the Hessian troops wrote thus from Philadelphia in 1778 to a friend, 'Call this war by whatever name you may only call it not an American rebellion, it is nothing more or less than a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian rebellion.' "
101. Peter S. Onuf, "Liberty, Development, and Union: Visions of the West in the 1780s," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 43 (Spring 1986): 179–213. Despite its being written for professional historians, this articles engagingly describes the complex issues facing the new American Republic as it began the process of transcontinental expansion.
102. Austin, *Steps in the Expansion*, 83–84.
103. Charles A. Grymes, "Virginia Land Cessions," at the Virginia Places website at *http://www.virginiaplaces.org/boundaries/cessions.html,* accessed August 2011. Excellent maps are provided here.
104. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away*, 135. The Fischer and Kelly quotations come from Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, 1788* (Dublin: P. Byrne, et al. 1791). On page 261 of the Dublin edition, de Warville presciently added: "The active genius of the Americans is always pulling them forward. [S]ooner or later the Spaniards will be forced to quit the Mississippi, and ... the Americans will ... establish themselves in Louisiana."

105. George W. Ranck, *The Travelling Church: An Account of the Baptist Exodus From Virginia to Kentucky in 1781 Under the Leadership of Rev. Lewis Craig and Captain William Ellis* (Louisville: Press of Baptist Book Concern, 1891). This account confirms that as late as 1781 travelers going down Virginia's Great Southwest Road had to change from wagons to packhorses at Fort Chiswell (Wytheville).
106. Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia's Western War, 1775 – 1786* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002), xii–xviii and 2–6.
107. Mary B. Kegley, "The Cumberland Gap Turnpike," *Retrospective, The Journal of the Wythe County Genealogical and Historical Association* 7 (2011): 1–24.
108. George Clack, Mildred Sola Neely, and Alonzo L. Hamby, eds., *Outline of U.S. History* (New York, Nova Publishers, 2007), 85. These authors also say on page 85 that chief among the factors that led to the extension of slavery into the South "was the rise of a great cotton-growing industry in the South, stimulated by the introduction of new types of cotton and by Eli Whitney's invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, which separated the seeds from cotton. At the same time, the Industrial Revolution, which made textile manufacturing a large-scale operation, vastly increased the demand for raw cotton. And the opening of new lands in the West after 1812 greatly extended the area available for cotton cultivation. Cotton culture moved rapidly from the Tidewater states on the East coast through much of the lower South to the delta region of the Mississippi and eventually to Texas."
109. Clack et al. Outline, 84–85.
110. Jean M. West, "King Cotton: The Fiber of Slavery," no date stated, on line at *http://www.slaveryinamerica.org/history/hs_es_cotton.htm.* An extensive essay about the history of cotton and the place of slavery in the cotton industry; includes many links. Accessed August 2011.
111. Phillip D. Troutman, "A 'Sorrowful Cavalcade': Enslaved Migration through Appalachian Virginia," *Smithfield Review* 5 (2001): 23–46. The word coffle is believed to be an English version of the Arabic word for a caravan of slaves and to derive from slave traders who purchased slaves from Arabs on the West African coast.
112. William Edward Dodd, ed., *The Riverside History of the United States,* Volume 3 (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1915). On line at *http://books.google.com/books?id=Rc0Kf_kSLHYC.* The map comes from page 196.
113. Federal Writer's Project, *Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 79.
114. Wilma A. Dunaway, "Put in Master's Pocket: Cotton Expansion and Interstate Slave Trading in the Mountain South," in *Appalachians and Race*, John C. Inscoe, ed. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 116–130.
115. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away*, 229–252.
116. James Williams, *Narrative of James Williams, an American Slave, Who Was for Several Years a Driver on a Cotton Plantation in Alabama* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society; Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838). Available on line at *http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/williams/menu.html,* accessed September 2011.
117. Mary Kegley has suggested that the birth places of some slaves can be found in the Freedmen's Bureau Records of 1866.
118. J. D. B. DeBow, "Table CXX: Places of Birth of the White and Free Colored Population of the United States, 1850," *Statistical View of the United States: A Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington: Superintendent of the United States Census, 1854), 116–119.
119. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away*, 201.
120. Samuel Pyeatt Menefee, "Sam Houston (1793–1863)," *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture*, on line at *http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=3543,* accessed December 2011.
121. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away*, 253–292.
122. Glanville, Fincastle Resolutions, 92–94.

123. Peter J. Sehlinger, *Kentucky's Last Cavalier: General William Preston, 1816 – 1887* (Kentucky Historical Society: Distributed by the University Press of Kentucky, 2004).
124. Cash, *Mind of the South.*
125. David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1970), 220.
126. Fischer *Historians' Fallacies*, 220.
127. The author recalls first reading Cash's book around 1970, the year after the author moved to Virginia. Cash's description of Virginians as cultural founders of the nation stuck in the author's mind over the intervening forty-plus years.
128. Kenneth W. Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis in the Civil War Era* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994).

Index to Volume 16

Susan B. Felker

The Smithfield Review
Volume 16, 2012

The *Smithfield Review* publishes book reviews. The editors plan for each issue to carry one to three reviews of books dealing with all periods of trans-Appalachian history and culture. We enlist active scholars and professionals to write the reviews. Review copies, requests to review books, and other inquiries may be addressed to:

Tom Costa, Book Review Editor
The *Smithfield Review*
Department of History and Philosophy
The University of Virginia's College at Wise
Wise, VA 24293

The *Smithfield Review* is published annually by the Smithfield Preston Foundation.

Subscriptions are $10.50 per year, including tax; please add $3.50 for shipping. Make checks payable to the Smithfield Museum Store.

Proposals or manuscripts to be considered for publication are welcome. Please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Texts may be of varying length, but should ordinarily not exceed 8,000 words. Annotations should be collected as endnotes.

Please address all correspondence to:
The *Smithfield Review*
555 Edgewood Lane
Blackburg, VA 24060

In this issue —

A brief account of Louis Philippe's earlier life and his reasons for traveling in America increases understanding of his … uniqueness among European commentators upon the great experiment underway in the United States.

— page 1

Your Father and Brothers will do all they can to get our corn in. it will be a bad chance to get help from Samuel Weddle for another of his sons died the first of this week, and two more are sick. I want you to come home about harvest if you can.

Dear husband thou are kind and true
And every day I think of you
So my dear husband think of me
While many miles apart we be….

— page 30

There was no American navy to challenge the British Navy that dominated the oceans of the world when Massachusetts minutemen fired on British regulars at Concord and Lexington in April 1775. Recognizing its need for a navy, the Continental Congress established a Marine Committee in October 1775 and, in an act of war, took its first steps to form a navy.

— page 45

Susanna Smith Preston's wintry birth in 1739 to Elizabeth and Francis Smith of Hanover, Virginia made her a third generation American. As an educated young woman, she met William Preston, fell in love and married him, left the Hanover area to move with him to the frontier.

— page 69

By 1770, the rutted wagon road traversing the region was briefly the most heavily traveled route in all America. In the decades following independence, hundreds of thousands of Virginians moved westward to newly created states carrying with them their culture and their political institutions.

— page 77