The Smithfield Review

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

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A Note from the Editors 3

William Preston, Revolutionary (1779–1780) —
Richard Osborn 5

From a Bishop and a Patriot to a Bishop and a Saint: Rival Understandings of the Naming of Emory and Henry College —
Robert J. Vejnar II 35

Rock Spring Plantation: Incubator of Two American Industries — *Jim Crawford* 63

Brief Notes

Indian Slavery and Freedom Suits: The Cases of Rachel Viney and Rachel Findlay — *Mary B. Kegley* 87

Architectural Fashion and the Changing Faces of Yellow Sulphur Springs — *Dustin Albright* 93

Comments About Andrew Creswell's King's Mountain Letter — *Jim Glanville* 99

Index to Volume XII — *Mary Holliman* 103

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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 2,000-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.

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A Note from the Editors

The colonists were divided in their loyalties during the American Revolution. As the British generals brought the war to the south, they were able to gain considerable assistance from the southern Tories. Col. William Preston played a crucial role in the patriots' cause in opposition to these Tories. Richard Osborn researched the fascinating life of William Preston in a 1990 Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Maryland. Chapter 7 of that dissertation presents the challenges that Colonel Preston faced as a western frontier militia leader in the midst of Indian unrest, loyalist neighbors, British threats, and military action. Dr. Osborn, currently the president of Pacific Union College in Angwin, California, presents our first article, "William Preston — Revolutionary (1779–1780)."

Following the termination of the war, a variety of industrial, agricultural, and educational ventures were unleashed by citizens eager to take advantage of their newly won freedoms — often with governmental encouragement. Our next two articles provide illustrations.

Many of our early educational institutions were initiated by religious denominations. Robert Vejnar II, archivist and historian at Emory and Henry College, outlines the Methodist roots of that institution and explores the ongoing controversy about its name. The article is entitled "From a Bishop and a Patriot to a Bishop and a Saint: Rival Understanding of the Naming of Emory and Henry College." In addition to its primary theme, Mr. Vejnar's carefully researched essay reveals the importance of primary sources and the dangers of questionable documentation.

In 1813, the Reynolds family first appeared in Patrick County, Virginia. Members of the family began growing tobacco and later started marketing various tobacco products. Their activities eventually evolved into the prosperous RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company. One branch of the family moved into a different industry and founded the Reynolds Metals Company. The author, Jim Crawford, a cultural geographer and filmmaker, examines the old family home place in "Rock

Spring Plantation: Incubator of Two American Industries." Jim's award-winning documentary, "Down in the Old Belt: Voices from the Tobacco South," was broadcast on PBS stations throughout the United States in early 2008.

Our new "Brief Notes" section contains three articles this year. First is "Indian Slavery and Freedom Suits: The Cases of Rachel Viney and Rachel Findlay" by Mary Kegley, a well-known author from Wytheville, Virginia. Next is "Architectural Fashion and the Changing Faces of Yellow Sulphur Springs" by Dustin Albright, a graduate student in the College of Architecture and Urban Studies at Virginia Tech. And, finally, Jim Glanville provides an update for one of his previous articles (in Volume 10). His Brief Note is entitled "Comments about Andrew Creswell's King's Mountain Letter."

The editors express their gratitude to the people and institutions who provide the necessary funds to make this publication possible. We also gratefully acknowledge Mary Holliman of Pocahontas Press, Peter Wallenstein of the Virginia Tech Department of History, and our many anonymous reviewers for their considerable assistance in the preparation of this issue. Over the past few years, the *Smithfield Review* Management Board has labored behind the scenes to execute various administrative components of our operation. Members of this board are listed on page 2, and we thank them for their invaluable contribution.

Hugh G. Campbell, Editor

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William Preston — Revolutionary (1779–1780)

Richard Osborn

Editor's Note. The following article is drawn from the first part of Chapter 7 of a 1990 Ph.D. dissertation entitled "William Preston 1729–1783: The Making of a Frontier Elite." The author of the dissertation, Richard Osborn, was a graduate student at the University of Maryland, where his advisor was Emory Evans; Osborn is now the President of Pacific Union College in Angwin, California. The second part of Chapter 7 will be presented in the 2009 issue of *The Smithfield Review*. The entire dissertation will appear online in *The Journal of Backcountry Studies*.

As the Revolution entered its final years, William Preston's status as one of the major revolutionary leaders of southwest Virginia placed him in a vulnerable position. Earlier he had been forced to answer questions about his patriotism, but now as an undisputed revolutionary leader, he faced dangers posed by his Loyalist and disaffected neighbors — a problem that was compounded by continued threats from Indians. In the midst of these two challenges, Preston also had a desire to help the broader cause of the Revolution by leading his county's militiamen against British forces in the Carolinas. During these crucial years, state and regional leaders looked to Preston as a key leader in their efforts to win the war, and his task was made extremely difficult by the fact that Montgomery County had the largest population of Loyalists in Virginia. At times the situation could only be described as verging on a "civil war."[1]

In facing these issues, Preston's role as colonel of the Montgomery County militia provided the major context for all of his actions. In this position, the state made him responsible for coordinating not only the response of Montgomery County to the Indians, Loyalists, and English but, in some cases, for the entire southwestern region for which he had carried militia responsibilites before the most recent division of counties. And so when Loyalists and disaffected neighbors refused

to serve in the militia and had to face court martial, he coordinated the county's efforts to bring them to justice. When Loyalists threatened bodily harm or military action, he had to call out the militia not only of Montgomery County but of adjoining counties, with the help of fellow colonels George Skillern in Botetourt County and Arthur and William Campbell in Washington County, if the threat got too intense. In his role as the senior justice of the peace in Montgomery County, he also had to deal on a legal basis with those refusing to take loyalty oaths to the American cause. When Indians attacked, he bore responsibility for coordinating the militia's response for the region. Virginia also had its own regular state soldiers, and, of course, the Continental Army relied upon men from Virginia for its regular army. At times Preston would be called upon to help in efforts to bolster these military units either through the draft or through volunteers. In carrying out these orders for help, he had to balance the need to have enough men to protect his own borders and the obligation to help the broader effort. While his militiamen primarily defended their own region, Preston, as their commanding officer, also led them into the Carolinas to bolster the efforts of the Continental Army. As will become evident, Preston's life for the remaining years of the Revolution was defined around his role as colonel of the Montgomery County militia.[2]

Dangers from Indian Attacks

In April 1779 the Indians began to attack ever closer to Smithfield; two residents were killed at Clover Bottom about forty-five miles away, and six members of one family were killed near Muncy's Fort on Walker's Creek, only eighteen miles away. As a consequence, Preston reported that neighbors began to gather in groups around protected homes, placing them in a real dilemma: "Should the People remove it will ruin them, & to stay is dangerous." Preston had no militiamen or provisions to help any of them so he was forced to appoint officers from among those coming together in an attempt to put a minimal defense together. Given the threat, Preston immediately canceled the scheduled general muster for the county so that the men could stay home and protect their families. Even his own family's situation was "far from being agreeable. Indeed it is such that I believe the greatest Enemy I have, even on Holston, will not envy."[3]

Loyalist Threats and Plots

Preston's allusion to enemies on the Holston did not mean Indians but Loyalists, because in the midst of these Indian attacks, Preston received disturbing accounts of a concerted Loyalist plot against him and other Patriots. One account reported that a group of twenty Loyalists would join with the English and Indians in an effort to kill Patriots before proceeding to destroy the Lead Mines near Fort Chiswell. More ominously for Preston, one of the plotters, Duncan O'Gullion, vowed to scalp Preston and James McGavock. The reports made sense. Because the state and Continental Army were relying on the Lead Mines for much of their ammunition supply, the mines represented a likely target. And because Montgomery County's arms supply was located at Smithfield, it also represented a natural target for attack. And what better way to damage the Patriot cause than to kill Preston, the major revolutionary leader of southwest Virginia? The threat came even closer home when word arrived that only three miles from Smithfield, in the general vicinity of Michael Price's home, oaths of loyalty were being taken by the King's supporters.[4]

The whole question of loyalism or disaffection continued to pose a real problem of identifying which individuals belonged in each category. The variety of motivations can best be illustrated through depositions taken from individuals captured as Loyalists in this period. Informant Michael Henninger told a story of Loyalist plotting in which they would assist the English and Indians in "destroying the Country." But an ethnic element entered the picture. He reported that John Griffith, a key Loyalist leader who lived on the South Fork of the Holston River, had already gotten at least twenty citizens in that area to swear allegiance to the King; many of those mentioned bore German names such as Weiss, Kittering, Vant, and Bronstedder. Many Germans felt more comfortable with the status quo and had no reason to support the Patriot leaders, with whom they had experienced poor relationships over the years. Some of the depositions showed the wild nature of rumors being spread throughout the area to raise unfounded fears. Henninger reported that Matthias Crumb told of 4,000 men who had subscribed to a paper that placed them against the Patriots and warned that "the dispute . . . would shortly be finished."[5] Given the population in the region, no such number was remotely possible. After giving his testimony, Henninger asked that it not be

divulged until after all of the accused were in custody because he feared for his own life.[6]

John Henderson's confession revealed still another motive used by English recruiters to get people on their side. The recruiters reminded him that the French, Virginia's recent enemy, had joined the American cause, leaving him to ponder what the French might do, even if the Americans defeated the English.[7] Would they try to get back their old lands and seek revenge against the colonists who had defeated them in the recent war? As other Loyalists said at the time, "they may as well fight under the King of Great Britain as to be Subjects to France."[8] Henderson revealed an even stronger motivation. He was asked to draw up lists of those on each side because when the Americans suffered the defeat that most expected, a distinction would be made between Whigs and Tories — clearly a case of the victors getting the spoils of lands and property.[9] But the English also held out a "carrot" as a strong motivating tool. Those who joined the Loyalists were promised £0.20.6 per day and 450 acres of land without any obligation to pay quit rents for twenty-one years. Such incentives give a hint that those involved in loyalism may have been individuals without much land who resented the wealthy Preston and others of his elite group, who had controlled land sales for years in the southwest.[10] Another group did not feel comfortable taking oaths, some for reasons of conscience, others not willing to undertake the strong promises made in the required oaths. To keep them quiet, these "non-jurors" were allowed to put up bonds of £1,000 pledging they would not support England.[11] So ethnic diversity, resentment against Preston and those like him who played such a dominant role in the economy of the area, desire for more land, loyalty to the King, religious conviction, and just plain confusion about what was going on all played a part in motivating the disaffected.

It is difficult to determine what motivated those plotting that spring to capture the Lead Mines or to kill Preston. To counteract such plots, local militia officers were authorized to move immediately on major threats if warranted and then inform Preston, the county lieutenant, of their actions. Illustrating the seriousness with which this plot was taken, Major Walter Crockett of the Montgomery County militia sent fifty militiamen to help the sheriff arrest the suspected Loyalist plotters. As required, he immediately sought Preston's ad-

vice.[12] When nine suspects were brought in by James McGavock, some were released on bond so that the investigation could continue, while others facing the most serious charges, including O'Gullion, were placed in irons to keep them from escaping. After hearing the charges against recruiter John Griffith, they also arrested him but soon released him on bail while the investigation proceeded. McGavock reported that those hearing the testimony of these captured Loyalists became "alarmed, and Expected themselves to be in great danger." Even some of the county militia helped heighten these apprehensions by playing jokes on their fellow citizens. Preston had to arrest two men returning from duty for

> hanging a Blanket on a Stump & setting a hat on it: & Laying by the road side with their Arms ready to Fire; and at another Place firing their Guns & Hallowing like Indians in the night amongst the Inhabitants to alarm them.[13]

As Loyalists increased their strength throughout Montgomery County, area leaders began to feel isolated. "We seem," said James McGavock in a letter to Preston, "but a handful in the Middle, and Surrounded by a Multitude. Just Consider your own Quarter, and we are much the Same." To help counteract these growing problems, he requested that Preston call for assistance from other counties. And Preston, who as senior county justice was needed to try accused Loyalists at Fort Chiswell, felt so threatened that he hesitated to leave his family to attend the trials. Some worried they would not make a quorum without his attendance, but, more important, others felt that with so many young justices on the court not well versed in law a "Good Steedy old Gentleman" was needed to help guide them to a "fair cool and Impertial tryal."[14] When the young justices heard the nineteen cases against the Loyalists on May 5 without Preston's presence, they generally treated them with leniency, which became the prevailing practice in the county. Most of those charged put up a £1,000 bond guaranteeing their support of the American cause while others were fined and sentenced to jail.[15] Such leniency would, on the surface, appear to make Edward Johnson's prediction to Preston more difficult to achieve: "The Tories I imagine were only a little perplexing as I shou'd suppose your Courts have long since put it out of their power to be dangerous."[16]

Preston Attempts Mediation

Ever the man of direct action, Preston early on decided to confront his neighbors directly with some of the rumors he had been hearing. In the late spring and early summer of 1779 he invited several heads of family, "whom I have long respected," to a meeting at the home of a Mr. Shull for a "neighbourly" visit to which he did not bring any arms. At the meeting, they assured him that none of them intended to "disturb the tranquility of the State or to injure me either in my Family or Reputation" and agreed to inform him of any future problems that might be "in the Way to our good Neighborhood and Social Intercourse." After getting further reports which led him to believe he had been duped, he asked for another meeting to clear up and disprove the rumors from the previous time. He pledged to "Pawn my Honour, my Life and everything that is" not to disturb them either in coming, or while attending the meeting, or on their return home and that he would treat them "Collectively with that same Respect & good manners I ever did any one of you Singly." He wondered why anyone would doubt his good intentions in this regard. He reminded them, after all, that he was raising his family among them and that he had "labored incessantly for several years, in all our troubles, without Reward for the Protection of all against a savage Enemy." In fact, his good treatment of those who refused to support the American cause had subjected his own character to charges that he was part of them. He assured them that his goal in having the meeting did not come from any "mean, low Motive as fear or the like." But rather he wanted to "remove Doubts and to lay a lasting foundation for Social Intercourse and Confidence amongst Neighbours, & to prevent all rash or hasty Measures by either Party which are generally attended with bad Consequences."[17]

In this letter Preston revealed his belief that all one needed to do in dealing with suspected Loyalists or the disaffected was to sit down and reason with them as neighbors. In later months, even when the Loyalists took more aggressive actions, he still used a moderate approach in punishing them, hoping to maintain some semblance of community and neighborliness through the conflict.[18] No evidence exists that any of his neighbors accepted his offer to have another meeting.

After the May 1779 court session, the Loyalist problem persisted. Reports continued to come to Preston from his regional officers about attacks on Patriot families. A group came to William Phips' house and fired bullets through both his front door and upstairs where they heard people talking, and then tried to set the house on fire. At the home of James McGavock they killed several sheep and then stayed around with the probable intention of killing him and burning his house.[19] In July more detailed reports about possible plots by the Loyalists came from William Campbell, who had led a group of Washington County militiamen to guard the Lead Mines at the request of Montgomery County. He had recently been joined by Captain John Cox, who had been taken by twenty-five Loyalists. Cox had been pressured after several days of captivity to take an oath of loyalty to the King to save his life. While he was in the camp, he was told of their plans. Thousands of Loyalists on the western waters were ready to attack the Patriots at any moment. After he was released to return home, Loyalists showed up at his home twice, once merely to threaten him into continued silence and another time to take money and clothing from him. He also witnessed the wide diversity of opinion when more than one hundred Loyalists gathered to discuss strategy. Some argued for compromise, so a letter was developed for Preston which Cox felt was "only done with a design to amuse those against whom their designs are concerted, and to gain time to collect a large number of Men of their Party." They agreed to return home in order to organize larger groups for the purpose of seizing the principal militia officers in their various neighborhoods at a "prefixed time." If these officers would not take a loyalty oath to the King, they would be taken to the English army in Georgia.[20] Giving credence to this plot, Loyalists assembled up the New River, where they took two men as prisoners who had been sent to spy on them. These spies, released after twenty-six hours of captivity, reported that the Loyalists had 105 men with them and another 400 nearby prepared to take the Lead Mines. Preston now decided to test an officer suspected of Loyalist leanings. He asked Colonel William Ingles, "as a Touchstone of his Sincerity in the American Cause," to draft men into the militia in order to reinforce the forty-eight men already at the Lead Mines with Colonel William Campbell of Washington County.[21]

As Preston reacted to this new plot, one senses a change in his tone. Now he referred to Loyalists as "disorderly Deluded Wretches." Surprised by the quick response of Washington County to assist a neighbor, Preston thanked Campbell. Surely this aid "must convince those stupid Wretches that they have more Counties than one to contend with, and consequently deter them from any future attempts of that kind."[22] Apparently these efforts worked for awhile because another six months would pass before the Loyalists would pose a further threat to Preston.[23]

Challenges from the Indians

If the Loyalist problems were not enough, the Indians represented a similar challenge. Earlier in the spring, Virginia's General Assembly passed a law to guard the frontiers against Indian attack by creating two state batallions to protect the state from eastern and western enemies.[24] In accord with this law, Governor Thomas Jefferson instructed Preston to "hold themselves [the militia] in readiness on the shortest warning to proceed to such post on the Southwestern frontier" if an attack was to occur.[25] In stationing the men on the western frontier, General Andrew Lewis, brigadier general of Virginia's forces in the Continental Army, decided it would be best to place them nearer the Shawnee tribes rather than close to where Virginians lived, in order to prevent the Indians from entering Virginia's territory. They assigned Preston's Montgomery militia to the mouth of the Big Sandy River with another group to be located at the mouth of the Guayandot River.[26] Their fears materialized in October when Indians killed six people in the Clinch River area and took as captives the two daughters and slave of Bryce Russell.[27] Even these attacks did not help raise Montgomery County soldiers for the approved batallion. Colonel Joseph Crockett reported to Preston in December that only six men showed up to march to their assigned area. With the "number being To Small, and the Weather bad," he asked to delay the march until January 1780 when he would be able to write to the "defiant" companies.[28] It was with great difficulty during the last months of 1779 that Preston dealt with any such problems due to a severe illness he suffered.[29] By December, although he still had a weak appetite, probably from a lack of exercise according to Edward Johnson, he reported to friends that he had mostly recovered.[30]

More Loyalist Plots

Loyalist plots grew even worse in early 1780. John Griffith, now free on bail, plotted to "disarm the Friends to the Country & kill some" and then "destroy the Lead mines" followed by joining with the "Indians & with them to burn Destroy & cut their Way to the English Army and assist them in reducing the Country." But he ran into one problem. While successful in administering oaths of loyalty to the King to many individuals, others doubted his authority to carry out such actions and requested that he bring an English officer to reassure them. He promised to return by the end of March with a Colonel Robinson who would give them what had been promised by other recruiters — 2/6 sterling a day and 450 acres of land clear of quit rents for twenty-one years. When Robinson did not show up, some of the residents grew so angry at Griffith that he fled.[31] When Preston heard about these plots, he reported to Jefferson that fifteen men were roaming that area commissioned to swear the people's loyalty to the King. The nearly seventy-five residents in one location who had already responded favorably to the Loyalists were now in the process of communicating with like-minded people in Washington County, North Carolina, Georgia, and throughout America. Their plan called for "Individuals in Authority" to be murdered and that once the English arrived with troops in South Carolina, they would join with them "to disturb the Peace of this unhappy Frontier." As militia commander, Preston immediately ordered his captains to disarm the suspected individuals and to seize the ringleaders of the movement. Since the confiscated arms were to be taken to the Lead Mines, Preston requested that a guard be placed there, as this would be one of the first attack points in any Loyalist uprising. But Preston's biggest question was over what to do with the prisoners. Montgomery County did not have a prison where they could be kept. Since there was only circumstantial evidence against the ringleaders, he doubted Augusta County would allow them to be imprisoned in their county without solid written evidence.[32] Even in those perilous times they tried to observe rules of law in regard to suspected criminals. Jefferson warned Preston to avoid any "irregularity" in order to prevent the suspects from averting punishment. Since the requirements for treason involved greater evidence as a capital crime, he suggested they be tried for a lesser crime that would involve

only a fine and imprisonment, unless they could get the strong evidence needed. He agreed that the Lead Mines needed strong protection and authorized Preston to use newly recruited soldiers to guard that area.[33]

While concentrating on the Loyalists and disaffected, Preston also kept the Indian threat in focus. To Jefferson he worried about how he could confront both groups at the same time if the Indians chose to disturb them in the spring. But Jefferson assured him that "nothing which I have heard gives me reason to fear any disturbance in your quarter with the Indians." Unbeknown to either of them, even as they wrote, Indians scalped seven children and the wife of James Roark seven miles from the head of the Clinch River.[34] Within weeks more disturbing news came of the Cherokees supplying Loyalists with twenty horse loads of ammunition in preparation for a joint attack on April 25 along the frontier from Georgia to Virginia. Martin Armstrong wrote from North Carolina, appealing to Preston for immediate assistance to keep the frontier residents from fleeing before a defense could be made.[35] However, this was the wrong time of year to get busy farmers away from planting their spring crops.[36] Besieged on every hand by Loyalists and Indians, Preston felt completely frustrated when Letitia, his sister, wrote requesting immediate help. Usually very solicitous of any family members, this time he complained about how "ungrateful" she was for some unidentified issue, but promised:

> Tho' destitute of a good horse, Money, Cloathing or what is dearer than all good Health & tho' I quit Business of great Consequence at our Court . . . & leaves my Numerous but helpless Family . . . to the Barbarity of Savages & ye Resentment of more than Savages, Tories with which I am Surrounded. Under all these & many more Inconveniences I hope to be at your house on Saturday.[37]

Three Fronts

In addition to problems with the Loyalists, Virginia now faced the prospect of three fronts. Indians from the northwest continued to pose the first threat, leading to a meeting at which Preston joined his fellow commanding officers from Botetourt, Greenbrier, Rockbridge, and Washington counties in creating a plan that called for a unified command of their 3,500 militiamen to make a concerted attack against

the Indians.[38] Reports began to trickle in confirming the prospect of a joint attack by the English and Iroquois in the Ohio region.[39] A second front had been developing in the South over a period of months, beginning in May 1779 when Commodore George Collier led a successful British naval invasion into the Chesapeake against Hampton, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Fort Nelson just outside of Portsmouth. The British left almost as quickly as they came, but General Henry Clinton, on orders from England, returned to the South in 1780, where they hoped to take advantage of the large number of Loyalists who resided in the Carolinas and Georgia. With the opening of this second front, southwest Virginia became more directly involved in the broader war effort. British forces moved at will throughout the South, raising the specter of a possible invasion of eastern Virgina. The surrender of Charleston on May 12, 1780, probably the greatest single defeat for the Americans in the entire Revolution, followed by another British victory at Waxhaws, South Carolina, on May 29, increased such a prospect.[40] And with John Floyd in Kentucky reporting weekly scalpings by Indians to such an extent that he had gotten "too cowardly to travel about the woods without Company," a third front seemed inevitable.[41] With so many arenas to contend with, Jefferson informed Preston that Montgomery and Washington counties would have to bear responsibility for operations against the southern Indians since the rest of the state would need to focus elsewhere. He ordered him to raise one hundred men from Montgomery in order to cooperate with the Carolina militiamen in an offensive attack against the Cherokees. He was also to post guards at the Lead Mines to replace the militia from other counties who were now needed elsewhere.[42]

In the midst of these military preparations against the Indians in late June, the Loyalists attacked Patriot families. Twenty Loyalists appeared in an area known as the Glades at the head of the south fork of Holston River, close to the Lead Mines, where they robbed five men. And another group of one hundred Loyalists killed nine individuals in the New River area. Preston's field officer, Walter Crockett, decided to reinforce the most likely target of their efforts, the Lead Mines, and planned to organize an attack against them.[43] Further reports indicated that these were not just isolated attacks but part of an organized effort to take not only property but key men. James McGavock reported to Preston that John Griffith, still loose on bail, promised

"that whoever would take some of the principal men of this County, (your name and mine being particularly mentioned) should be rewarded with a large number of Gunias." He also reportedly told the Loyalists in the Walker's Creek area that he would soon return from Ramsour's Mill, North Carolina, with a large body of Loyalists who would help their effort. A further indication of an organized plot was the fact that many Loyalists who had recently left their homes did not take any property with them, seeming to indicate they planned to be back soon. Obviously Preston needed to solicit help from neighboring counties to put down this insurrection.[44]

What none of them knew yet was that 250 Patriots had defeated 700 Loyalists on June 20 under the command of Colonel John Moore at the same Ramsour's Mill in North Carolina where Griffith was headed.[45] Still unaware of this recent defeat, Preston ordered out fifty men with officers to head toward the Lead Mines and while on the way to disarm the disaffected who lived in the Walker's Creek area and other areas beyond the New River where Griffith had recently been recruiting.[46] In addition, he called for assistance from Botetourt and Washington counties, a move supported by Jefferson. With problems growing in Carolina, Jefferson promised no further help, but encouraged Preston to undertake offensive measures against the Loyalists by suppressing them in their own settlements rather than waiting for them to come since "time and Space to move in will perhaps increase their numbers."[47] He also placed Colonel William Campbell in command of the joint militias of the three counties, and he instructed them to "take in hand those Parricides" and to "take such effectual Measures of Punishment as may secure the future safety of that Quarter."[48]

Hopes for Reconciliation

In spite of the murders and robberies committed by the Loyalists, Preston still hoped for reconciliation with them. Patriot officers such as Charles Lynch did not have a reputation for kindness, but Preston generally encouraged benevolence toward the very enemies who had vowed to kill him, as a way of contrasting the Loyalists and Patriots.[49] He instructed Captain Isaac Taylor:

> That the friends to american Liberty may be distinguished from its Enemies; and even to the latter, I would hope that no cruelty or unnecessary outrage be committed upon them or their Property Especially on the Women & Children or the old & helpless.

Furthermore, he did not want any Loyalist property being sold until the courts allowed the accused individuals a chance to defend themselves. He moralized: "As true Bravery & humanity are inseparable; Your Company Exercising the latter on every Occasion will convince Mankind that they are possessed of the former."[50] In at least two instances, Preston guaranteed protection to known Loyalists in an effort to get them to change sides. One of those men, Thomas Heavin, had even accepted a commission in the British service and enlisted others to serve the King. Yet in spite of these treasonable acts, Preston offered to withdraw from investigating and punishing him and other similar individuals because Virginia, "being full of Mercy and ever willing to forgive her rebel & Disaffected Sons would rather Reclaim & Pardon a Number of them than Punish one." He invited Heavin and others to "return to his or their Allegience to the Commonwealth" without the loss of property or punishment.[51] In another case, Preston offered Philip Lambert "lenity" and protection from injury if he would give himself up.[52]

In his own neighborhood, Preston decided to make one more effort to get eight of his Loyalist enemies together for a visit. He reminded them that resentment ran high against their behavior but that he had restrained those feelings "not from any love to your Political Sentiments but from a Regard to you as Neighbors." He could no longer tolerate their "Dark, Sullen disgusful Suspicious and Offinsive" behavior. For years he had attempted to warn them of their "folly & Danger" to no avail. But now a storm was gathering against them "from every Quarter, which will surely burst upon you without prudent & Speedy Measures be fallen upon to prevent it." He requested them to meet at his home in two days

> to consult in a Neighbourly way, the Proper Steps for you to take for your own Peace, Safety & security, & at the same time to secure the Peace of the Community so far as relates to You & others in the same situation in this Company.

If they did not appear, he would "take it for Granted that you have farther Views which are distructive to the Peace of the Country."[53] On the appointed day, July 22, John Heavin, one of those getting the letter, defended himself in writing rather than appearing in person. He denied any wrongdoing and claimed all of his accused neighbors only wanted peace. But he did not want to swear any oaths to the American cause — "I Never meddled with war from the first moment and Cant think of Intangleing my self with it now." If he was being truthful, he was clearly aligning himself with the disaffected rather than with the Loyalists. He pled for compassion for his wife and children and vowed that neither he nor his neighbors planned to raise arms against Preston.[54]

It is not known whether Preston ever got to use the speech notes he made for the meeting, but they reveal many legitimate grievances against the disaffected. Among his concerns were reports about gun purchases and preparations for war, plans to divide up his lands by blazing and marking trees, offers of money "to an Assassin to Murder me in this Neighbourhood," threats against his life if the sheriff collected taxes from certain individuals, threats against his son's life, and a "Purse of Guineas offered for me on Walkers Creek & Elsewhere." He planned to ask, "For what these Threatnings? what have I done?" He wanted to remind them: "Although the Troubles were Extensive, no One came to consult his own or his friends Safety, but listened to false reports." They kept a "Suspicious Distance" from him and then made "Preparations for extending the Trouble." He planned to conclude his speech by asking his neighbors:

> What can you promise yr Selves by standing out? The Tories are used by the British as Draught Horses or beasts of Burden. Can a few dispersed people without a Leader fly in the face of Continent? it is true some Secret Stabs may be given, & some Murder committed, but will it not end in the Destruction of the Perpetrators & their Adherents?[55]

Relationships between Loyalists and Patriots continued to deteriorate, and there were more reports of threats against Preston's life. John McDonald reported one such threat when he declared that he would pay no taxes and if they were taken away from him by force, Preston should be warned to "take care of himself & if any harm followed he might blame himself." He further predicted there "would

Soon he Supposed be a king in every County," a reference to leaders such as Preston.[56] Conditions finally got so intolerable that Preston and his fellow leaders decided in July to infiltrate the Loyalist movement by sending two spies to discover their plans. The spies posed as British officers and quickly discovered "a most horrid conspiracy" by the Loyalists to capture the Lead Mines on July 25, kill the leading men of that area, and then to "over run the Country with the Assistance of the british Troops." They would head over the mountain to Charlottesville to release British prisoners being held there from the Saratoga battle, and the two groups would join together to "subdue the whole state."[57]

Preston immediately set in motion two approaches to the problem. Not only did he call on Montgomery County's militia, but he asked for assistance from Washington and Botetourt counties, the result being that more than four hundred men were on duty by early August to suppress the plot. The other part of the plan resulted in the rounding up of more than sixty Loyalists throughout Montgomery County for trial. Some were released from the charges soon after their arrest, based on confessions they made and bonds they put up to Governor Jefferson amounting anywhere from £5,000 through £20,000, pledging they would no longer aid the English in any manner.[58] Robert King wrote directly to Preston, who headed the Montgomery County Court, admitting his guilt in working for a wrong cause but appealing for them to "Look over it as Easey as You posablely Can."[59]

Trials of Loyalists

In early August 1780 actual trials took place in an unprecedented joint meeting involving fifteen justices of both Montgomery and Botetourt counties with Preston acting as the chief justice. As the trial proceeded, new prisoners were brought in "every hour and new Discoveries making." Eventually fifty-five men were tried for treason at this one court session, which extended into early September.[60] The court acquitted five men, three of those being required to put up a bond, as high as £100,000 in one case, guaranteeing their support of the Patriot cause. Seven were found guilty and sent to the Augusta County jail for a further trial. Illustrating once again Preston's emphasis on leniency, three individuals, including fifty-eight year old Joseph McDonald, were found guilty of being Loyalists but due to age their

sons were allowed to enlist in the Continental Army in their place. In three situations, they took into consideration the condition of the accused men. To illustrate, since Gasper Garlick appeared to be a "Simple Fellow," they acquitted him even though they felt the charge of treason was substantiated and ordered that he receive thirty-nine lashes. Similarly Abraham Morgan, "an Ignorant Poor Man with a small Familly," received thirty-nine lashes. Three youths who actually joined the British service were acquitted on the basis they were too young to know what they were doing and had been improperly persuaded to enlist in the enemy's cause. Two men found guilty agreed to enlist in the Continental Army, and another ten took the same route without their cases being heard. Nine men agreed to enlist after their cases were not proven. In a real boon to the Continental Army, Preston later reported that he had been able to enlist eighty additional soldiers whose property served as a guarantee of their faithful performance.[61] Still others escaped; the Patriot soldiers sold and divided up their property as plunder. When informing Jefferson of an officer's approval for such sales, Preston admittedly had questions and sought counsel.[62]

While the trials proceeded, Loyalists continued their resistance by killing at least one man and stealing horses. To counteract these actions, loyal militia already in the field continued their march through the New River area looking for more Loyalists and, more important, sending a message that the Patriots were pursuing them aggressively.[63] Pendleton wrote his friend Preston several weeks later, wishing him success in rooting out "those paricides, who have kept their Countrey from peace for some time past, and if they could be extinguished I believe we should soon Enjoy that blessing."[64] While the number of Loyalists remained very high in Montgomery County, perhaps as much as half the population, never would the Loyalists mount another organized effort in southwest Virginia, in part because both sides became more involved in supporting their respective causes in the Carolinas.[65]

The War in the Carolinas

The initial news of August was terrible for the American side. General Horatio Gates with a force of 4,000, including 2,800 Virginia and North Carolina militiamen, suffered a crushing defeat at Camden,

South Carolina, on August 16 by a British army under the command of Lord Cornwallis. But the frontier leaders were not discouraged. After being informed by Preston of the loss, William Campbell wrote encouragingly, "We must exert ourselves, to retrieve, if possible that Misfortune."[66] Preston seemed determined to be upbeat as he summarized his feelings to Colonel Martin Armstrong from the Carolinas, who had requested immediate help:

> The general defeat of the Southern Army, and the unhappy and dangerous Situation of your States are Considerations truly alarming to every friend to the Liberties of America. But I trust in God that the neighbouring States will give you every assistance in their Power & that these Disasters, tho' great, will not be decisive, but only tend to rouze the Americans from their late Langour. Be this as it will it is our indispensible Duty to continue the glorious Struggle while there is the least probability of Success.

But Preston did more than talk. First he sent two wagonloads of lead from the Lead Mines to help Gates. And he also ordered two companies of men from Montgomery County to go south under the command of William Campbell.[67]

He kept thinking about how he could be of more tangible help. To Jefferson he sent a proposal calling for Augusta, Botetourt, Montgomery, Rockbridge, and Washington counties to raise five hundred soldiers to be paid by the state and commanded in an overall sense by Virginia's commander-in-chief. Each man would provide his own arms, and the counties would provide an infantry unit with horses. He proposed that they rendezvous by October 15. Preston was so optimistic the plan would be accepted that he asked George Skillern to start raising soldiers. Showing even greater optimism, he also predicted they could easily raise one thousand volunteers, which would "at least, be equal to the like number in any part of America."[68] On September 21 the Virginia Council responded favorably to Preston's proposal by approving two regiments.[69]

The plan initially failed. Preston blamed the governor for not "fully" adopting the proposal, a factor recognized by Jefferson, who wrote of their failure "on account of some circumstances contained in them" which failed to attract volunteers.[70] Apparently the volunteers did not want to be under Gates' command. And they did not like the

provision that only two companies would have rifles while the rest of the regiments would fight with the much less accurate muskets, a plan later modified by Jefferson "as we found that absolutely necessary to induce them to go."[71] Despite Preston's optimism it became increasingly difficult to raise soldiers. Walter Crockett wrote Preston on October 2 that he had "try'd all in my power to raise the Militia of this County, but never saw them so backward before." He had raised only 150, including two light horse companies which he sent south under Major Joseph Cloyd to join the other soldiers already helping Gates.[72] As Robert Fristoe reminded Preston, the more crucial problem was "the Losses I must sustain and to Leave my Family Exposd to every Distress is what I hope you will consider."[73]

But all was not despair. While Preston struggled to get men into the field, William Campbell — who was in North Carolina with 400 Virginians aided by Isaac Shelby, John Sevier, Benjamin Cleveland, and Charles McDowell — assembled more than 1,000 militiamen from frontier counties at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River on September 25 to stop the continuing advance of the English and Loyalists. Only a few days earlier, the British had sent Major Patrick Ferguson into the Tryon County area of North Carolina for the purpose of organizing the Loyalist allies in the Gilbert Town area into an effective fighting unit. Cornwallis eventually hoped to consolidate these Loyalists with others in the eastern part of the state. The 900 frontiersmen under William Campbell's command began to track Ferguson with his nearly 1,800 Loyalist soldiers and eventually fought a battle at King's Mountain, South Carolina, on October 7.[74] According to William Davidson, lieutenant colonel of the North Carolina militia, the battle lasted forty-seven minutes with a clear victory for the "mountain men," as they were called. In writing Preston, he summarized his deep feelings: "the Blow is great, and I give you my Joy upon the Occasion.[75] In the battle, the Loyalists lost 157 killed, 163 badly wounded, 698 taken prisoner, and 1,500 weapons captured, compared to a loss of only 28 frontier Patriots killed and 90 wounded.[76] Everyone was excited to hear the news, especially Preston, whose frontier militiamen had contributed to the victory. He congratulated Gates:

> The important news . . . ought to give the most heart felt Joy to every Friend to the Liberties of America. The Bravery & Conduct of the Frontier Militia deserves the greatest Applause; and

> there is reason to hope that the happiest consequences to the American arms in the Southern department will ensue so complete a Victory.[77]

The victory also represented good news for George Skillern, who had been busy recruiting men throughout Montgomery County.[78] He now assumed Preston did not need the 100 volunteers he had raised in early October.[79] But Preston informed him otherwise after Jefferson and other county lieutenants wrote Preston requesting that they continue efforts to send soldiers to the southern front in order to give a needed "decisive blow."[80]

The King's Mountain victory also presented Preston with another problem when General Gates asked Preston to become commissary for the prisoners and prepare for them to be kept at the county courthouse in Fincastle, where he was to build a strong pallisade eighteen feet high.[81] Preston, "on considering Age and Inability for such service together with exposed situation of my numerous Family & the several Avocations in which I am necessarily engaged," declined the position, although he admitted the "emoluments arising therefrom" would be pleasing. But, more important, he did not like the idea of putting the prisoners at the courthouse. First, he was "sorry to inform you [Gates] that we have more Tories in this County than any other I know of in Virginia" with great time, trouble, and expense expended by the militia in trying to suppress them. In addition, with that area being so close to the frontier, it would be possible for Indians and Loyalists from the Carolinas to make it difficult to secure them. And finally, the farmers did not have enough provisions to supply the prisoners with food because so many had been out on militia duty protecting themselves from Indians the previous summer and fall that crops had not been grown. He recommended Botetourt be considered instead where another barrier of mountains would protect them. In the meantime, he promised to raise provisions to care for the prisoners as soon as they entered Virginia.[82] By this time Montgomery County had a strong reputation for having problems; Jefferson accepted Preston's arguments, calling that area "the most disaffected part of our State." He also worried about their being located so near the Lead Mines, placing them in greater danger. He recommended that the prisoners be marched further north where they might form an American batallion in exchange for being released.[83]

From the fall of 1780 there were no further coordinated Loyalist plots, but the problem of disaffected people did not go away. Thomas Madison was, for example, premature when he congratulated Preston "on the Reformation of the Tories."[84] The job of pacifying Loyalists continued. The Montgomery County court began that same November to restore property to several individuals who had been accused of loyalism. In at least one case, they accepted a promise of good behavior in a proven incident of "offences as an Enemy to his Country."[85] Their efforts were nevertheless only a "drop in the bucket," and Preston was to assert the following spring that nearly half of the militia were disaffected. Most of them could not be drawn into service "either by threats or otherwise." And those Loyalists who had earlier been forced into militia service deserted quickly.[86]

With the approach of winter, the frontier leaders faced two problems. Gates needed soldiers in the South to keep Cornwallis and his army in the Carolinas from moving northward. Further rumors began to circulate that the Cherokees planned an imminent attack against the frontier. Plans redoubled to raise volunteer militiamen. Some of the adjoining counties were successful in their efforts to get their militia motivated, but Preston, in spite of strong appeals for help from his counterparts, experienced no such success, because most of his men were "out hunting" until Christmas.[87] It now became clear that the Cherokees would attack, but Virginia put off any offensive plans due to winter conditions and a lack of ammunition. Rather, they put themselves into a defensive posture and, as the situation worsened, Preston began to draft every fifth man from the militia and ordered them to Washington County to help Colonel William Campbell's defensive efforts.[88] In December Jefferson approved Preston's plans to build a fort at the Lead Mines rather than relying for protection on Fort Chiswell located eight miles away.[89] In addition to being called to provide men for the American army in the Carolinas now commanded by General Nathanael Greene, Preston and his colleagues in southwest Virginia worried about the attacks they expected from the Cherokees as soon as the weather improved.[90]

— to be continued in the next issue, Volume XIII

Endnotes

Abbreviations used in the endnotes:
DM = Draper Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin
LoV = Library of Virginia, Manuscript Division
PP-DM = Preston Papers, Draper Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; transcription by S. C. Stuntz is available at The Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky
PP-LC = Preston Family Papers, 1727–1896, "f" series at Virginia Historical Society as microfilmed and catalogued by the Library of Congress
VMHB = *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*
WP = William Preston

1. Historians have recently focused on the problem of Loyalism in southwest Virginia including Emory G. Evans, "Trouble in the Backcountry, Disaffection in Southwest Virginia during the American Revolution," in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Barckcountry during the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985); Albert H. Tillson Jr., "The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism: An Examination of Popular Political Culture in Virginia's New River Valley," *Journal of Southern History* 54 (August 1988): pp. 387–404; Brenda Lynn Williams, "Thorns in the Side of Patriotism: Tory Activity in Southwest Virginia, 1776–1782" (M.A. Thesis, Virginia Tech, 1984). In addition, see Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Pulaski, Va.: B.D. Smith & Bros., 1976), pp. 217–57. For similar problems in the Shenandoah Valley, see Freeman Hansford Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the Revolution, 1763–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), pp. 112–13. General overviews of loyalism can be found in Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans. The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1969); Isaac Samuel Harrell, *Loyalism in Virginia: Chapters in the Economic History of the Revolution* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1965; reprint of 1926 ed.); and Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats. A Study in British Revolutionary Policy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).
2. John McBride's dissertation on manpower policies outlines the multiple roles played in the Revolution by an individual such as Preston who was forced to balance the needs for regional defense against the broader effort to defeat the English elsewhere. John David McBride "The Virginia War Effort, 1775–1783: Manpower Policies and Practices" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1977).
3. WP to Colonel William Fleming, 4 April 1779, DM, 3ZZ 18; Frederick B. Kegley, *Virginia's Frontier* (Roanoke, Va.: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), pp. 649–50.
4. WP Acquittal of George Patterson, 24 April 1779, PP-DM, 5QQ 2.
5. Deposition of Michael Henninger to Colonel William Campbell, 18 April 1779, "Preston Papers," *The John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, IV (June 1915), pp. 304–5; hereafter referred to as "Branch Papers."

6. William Campbell to WP, 19 April 1779, PP-LC, 1018.
7. John Henderson Confession, 1780, "Preston Papers," *VMHB* 26 (October, 1918), pp. 375–6, hereafter referred to as "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*.
8. James McGavock to WP, 15 April 1779, PP-LC, 1017; "Branch Papers," pp. 303–4.
9. Sometimes the threat of losing land was made very directly. James McGavock reported to Preston on 25 April 1779 about a conversation between George Parks and John Cox. After being asked by Cox whether he was for the King, Parks responded that he had taken the state oath and "had no reason to be against his Country." Cox then warned that he was "sorry for him, and if that was his sentiment he never would enjoy a foot of land in America, and what little he had gathered would be taken from him." "Branch Papers," pp. 306–7.
10. Walter Crockett to WP, 7 April 1779, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 371–2. William Campbell in writing to Preston had also heard of the plan to kill Preston: "You are, it seems, yourself a principal Object of those Wretches hellish Contrivance." 19 April 1779, PP-LC, p. 1018. Preston also served as the target of another death threat later in the year when Samuel Ingram was arrested for saying he would "Shoot and maim" Preston (21 and 23 October 1779, Montgomery County Records, Misc. Records, Correspondence and personal papers, LOV, Folder O). In regard to land ownership, Emory Evans ("Trouble in the Backcountry," pp. 208–9) argues on the basis of land-tax and personal-property records that 85 percent of the disaffected brought into court were landholders. In comparing their landholdings with the county justices, Evans found little difference between the two groups. He concluded: "It is reasonable to assume that those charged with treason or lesser crimes differed little in economic terms from the rest of Montgomery County's population. Class conflict — if wealth can be seen as an adequate index to class — does not appear to have fueled this opposition to the Revolution." Albert H. Tillson Jr. in "The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism" (pp. 395–6) took the same figures used by Evans but argued that there were major landholding differences between the justices and the Loyalists. However, he conceded that the Loyalists did not differ much from other settlers in their landholdings "except for the large number of them who did not appear on the land tax rolls."
11. Twenty-nine individuals signed such a bond in Montgomery County. Of this number, ten could not sign their names but placed a mark on the paper. "Bond of non-signers to oath of allegiance," 26 April 1779, Montgomery County, Original Records, LOV. Evans in "Trouble in Backcountry," pp. 207–8, found very few individuals using conscience as a reason not to take an oath. In at least one case, Preston received a report that non-jurors in his area planned to join with those from Walker's Creek and Red Creek to fight against the Patriots. James McGavock to WP, 15 April 1779; PP-LC, p. 1017; "Branch Papers," pp. 303–4.
12. Walter Crockett to WP, 7 April 1779, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 371–2.
13. 22 April 1779, Montgomery County, Original Records, Bonds, 1751–1797, LOV.

14. James McGavock to WP, 15 April 1779; PP-LC, 1017; "Branch Papers," pp. 303–4; Walter Crockett to WP, 24 April 1779, "Branch Papers," p. 306.
15. 5 May 1779, Montgomery County Order Book 2, 1774–1782, LOV.
16. Edward Johnson to WP, 29 May 1779; PP-LC, p. 1020.
17. WP to Neighbors [April through June 1779], PP-LC, p. 1023; "Branch Papers," pp. 344–5. This document is not dated but the context would place it near the time when the plot against Preston's life developed in April 1779.
18. Evidence of this approach can also be seen in Montgomery County court sessions attended by Preston. On 3 August 1779 several individuals who admitted to being part of the recent insurrection were allowed to take an oath of loyalty to the state after putting up bond for £200 (3 August 1779, Montgomery County Order Book 2, 1774–1782, LOV, 20:202–3). Evidently many individuals were also falsely charged, leading to several acquittals at other court sessions (5 August 1779, Montgomery County Order Book 2, 1774–1782, LOV, 20:260); 8 September 1779 (Montgomery County Order Book 2, 1774–1782, LOV, 20:266).
19. Field officers such as James Montgomery had few men to call upon to counteract these attacks. In this situation, he wrote for six men out of each of the companies led by Captains Pierce and Frances to be added to Montgomery's small detachment for the purpose of ranging two or three days until receiving additional instructions from Preston. James Montgomery to WP, 11 June 1779, PP-LC, 1022; "Branch Papers," pp. 307–8.
20. Deposition of Captain John Cox taken by Lieutenant Colonel William Campbell, 16 July 1779, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 372–4. Cox asked Campbell to keep his testimony secret since he feared for his safety. Already under suspicion and threat of life and property, he had been unable to send earlier word of this plot. William Campbell to WP, 16 July 1779; PP-LC, p. 1026; "Branch Papers," p. 308.
21. WP to _____, 18 July 1779; DM, 3ZZ 19.
22. William Campbell to WP, 19 July 1779; PP-LC, p. 1027; "Branch Papers," pp. 308–9.
23. The Loyalist problem did not completely go away during this period. On 28 December 1779 Colonel Crockett wrote Preston about the growing problem of too few justices to handle the workload because "there are too many People Disaffected with the present government." He asked him to urge the Council to make some new commissions soon. PP-DM, 5QQ 15.
24. May 1779, "An Act for raising a body of troops for the defence of the commonwealth," William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1969 reprint of 1819–1823 editon), vol. 10, pp. 32–4.
25. Thomas Jefferson to WP, 7 August 1779, in *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950–), vol. 3, pp. 62–3; hereafter referred to as *Jefferson Papers*.
26. General Andrew Lewis and Colonel William Fleming to Thomas Jefferson, 31 August 1779, Kegley, *Virginia's Frontier*, pp. 652–3.
27. William Christian to WP, 22 October 1779, PP-DM, 5QQ 11.

28. Colonel Joseph Crockett to WP, 28 December 1779, PP-DM, 5QQ 15.
29. Jefferson wrote Preston on 15 October 1779: "Having heard the disagreeable news of your illness, and that there was a doubt whether you would recover in time." Auditor's Accounts, William Preston Papers, LOV. John Brown Jr. on 20 October 1779 expressed similar concerns to Preston that "your great indisposition, has given me much uneasiness, & am truely impatient to hear of your recovery; which I hope will be speedy, & the knowledge of which would relive me." PP-DM, 5QQ 10. By 17 November 1779 Preston reported to a Mr. Boyd that he was on his way to recovery. Montgomery County Records, Misc. Court Records, 1772–1834, LOV.
30. Edward Johnson to WP, 2 December 1779; PP-LC, p. 1045. John Brown Jr. was happy to get word from Preston about his "partial recovery." 9 December 1779, PP-DM, 5QQ 14.
31. Reports on Nonjurors [March 1780?], PP-DM, 5QQ 27.
32. WP to Thomas Jefferson, March 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 28. Rumors of a possible Loyalist uprising were confirmed in a confession from John Henderson, who told of Loyalists being instructed to wait until a "Runner would come from the English" at which time they were to join up with the English in the South. "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 375–6.
33. Thomas Jefferson to WP, 21 March 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 24; *Jefferson Papers*, 3:325–6.
34. John Taylor reported this news to Preston on 23 March 1780. Most people in his area were gathered together in small parties at key homes. They were also experiencing a severe shortage of corn. PP-DM, 5QQ 26.
35. Martin Armstrong to [WP], 10 April 1780, "Branch Papers," pp. 310–1; "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 376–7.
36. Colonel Walter Crockett to WP, 15 April 1780, "Branch Papers," p. 310; "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 377–8.
37. WP to Letitia Breckinridge, 27 April 1780, Breckinridge Papers, LC, 1:72.
38. Proceedings of the Officers in Botetourt &c, 8 May 1780, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 42–6. They were probably part of the effort by George Rogers Clark to take Detroit. When a series of debts came due from previous expeditions, Virginia decided to cancel his plans. Meanwhile Clark on his own withdrew and built a fort where the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers meet. John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775–1783* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), p. 198.
39. Arthur Campbell to WP, 7 June 1780, "Branch Papers," pp. 311-2; "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 46–7.
40. Arthur Campbell feared that the loss of Charleston would encourage the Loyalists. Arthur Campbell to WP, 7 June 1780, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, p. 47.
41. John Floyd to WP, 31 May 1780, DM, 17CC pp. 127–9. Arthur Campbell wrote Preston about the serious scarcity of beef and ammunition in Kentucky with a joint company of English and Indians expected any day. 13 June 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 33. To help get flints for Kentucky, Preston even offered to send his own son to Fort Chiswell. WP to Walter Crockett, 15 June 1780, DM, 3ZZ 21.

42. Thomas Jefferson to WP, 15 June 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 34; and *Jefferson Papers*, 3:447-8. On 15 June 1780 Preston wrote to Walter Crockett, asking him to raise one hundred men but doubted he would be successful. DM, 3ZZ 21. With so many demands on Virginia, Jefferson confirmed to Preston on 28 June 1780 that no further men could be expected for the frontier. PP-DM, 5QQ 36; *Jefferson Papers*, 3:469.
43. Walter Crockett to WP, 24 June 1780, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, p. 49. John Breckinridge confirmed rumors of a potential attack in a letter to Preston on 25 June 1780. His report also mentioned that British officers were leading the Loyalists. "Branch Papers," pp. 314-5; "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 157–8. Thomas Jefferson ordered William Campbell on 3 July 1780 to change his plans from going on an expedition against the Chickamaugas to helping defend the Lead Mines, which were seen as a higher priority. *Jefferson Papers*, 3:479.
44. James McGavock to WP, 30 June 1780, "Branch Papers," pp. 315–6; "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 159-60.
45. Captain James Byrn, writing to Preston about the Patriot victory, expressed the hope that this would "put an end to Toryism in this Country." WP to Captain James Byrn, 5 July 1780, "Branch Papers," pp. 316–7; "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 160–1.
46. WP to Captain James Byrn, 5 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 37. Preston also asked Captain Isaac Taylor to raise thirty men with horses who would help in this endeavor. Any captured Loyalists were to be kept at the Lead Mines until trials could be held. WP to Captain Isaac Taylor, 12 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 40.
47. Thomas Jefferson to WP, 3 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 38; *Jefferson Papers*, 3:481.
48. Thomas Jefferson to Colonel William Campbell, 3 July 1780; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, vol. 2, *Thomas Jefferson* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1928), p. 138.
49. The word, "lynch," comes from the same Charles Lynch, who carried out justice without the benefit of courts through the process of lynching. Preston within a few weeks had to order him to stop trying Loyalists because of his cruelty. In responding to Preston's charges, Lynch wrote that he examined them strictly and released those who were innocent. But others he kept as soldiers or witnesses with the explanation: "Perhaps Justice to this Country May Require they Shou'd be Made Exampels of." Charles Lynch to WP, 17 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 57.
50. WP to Captain Isaac Taylor, 12 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 40.
51. WP Promise to Thomas Heavin, 14 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 55.
52. WP Court Order Granting Protection to Philip Lambert, 20 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 61.
53. The eight individuals to get the letter were Michael Price, John and Howard Heavin, James Beany, Jacob Shull, John Wall, a Mr. Harless, and Poopick Hoover. WP to Neighbors, 20 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 41.
54. John Heavin to [WP], 22 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 42. Perhaps this particular group best illustrates Albert Tillson Jr.'s argument in "The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism" that local concerns prevailed over an ideological commitment to either side.

55. Speech Notes by WP for Neighbors, 20 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 41.
56. Joseph Gregg Arrest Warrant for Joseph McDonald, 24 July 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 43. Such talk gives credence to the argument that disgruntlement against such members of the elite as Preston fueled a lack of support for the Patriot cause among many disaffected individuals in the region.
57. One of the spies, John Wyatt, surrendered with Virginia's troops at Charleston, where he became an English prisoner for six months. Eventually he bought his way back to his home in Botetourt County, where he was convinced by Preston and others to become a spy for them among Loyalists in the New River area. He was given an altered captain's commission signed by Dunmore to serve as his identification as a British officer. He discovered the details of their plot, but the timing was so soon that he could not get back in time to warn Preston, so he convinced the Loyalists that British troops would be joining them shortly if they would only wait a few days. He rushed home with the information, giving them time to plan their defense. John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 351-3. Preston later asked General Muhlenberg to excuse John Wyatt from further military duty out of fear that some of the Continental soldiers who were serving as a penalty for not swearing allegiance to the American cause might kill him. WP to General Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg [September 1780], PP-DM, 5QQ 81; Kegley, *Virginia's Frontier*, p. 655. In an ironic twist to this story, Wyatt served two months of militia duty in the summer of 1781, paid by two of the Loyalists he had turned in. Part of their penalty was an obligation to pay men to perform their duty. Dann, *The Revolution Remembered*, p. 353.
58. On 26 July 1780 several bonds were made by such individuals as Jacob Seiler, James Bane Jr. and Sr., and Robert and James McGee. PP-DM, 5QQ 44–6. On 29 July 1780 Thomas Burk and William McMullen gave a similar bond. PP-DM, 5QQ 47. On 8 August 1780 Samuel and James Robinson, Walter Stewart, James Norvell, and Thomas Giles also put up such bonds. PP-DM, 5QQ 49, 52.
59. Robert King to WP [1780], PP-DM, 5QQ 71. In his actual trial, the court waived judgment on the case since he had enlisted as a Continental Army soldier and pledged his own estate. Furthermore, his father-in-law also pledged his estate that King would find another good soldier. PP-DM, 5QQ 77.
60. On 26 August 1780 Preston wrote Colonel Martin Armstrong that he still had at least ten more days to go before being finished. PP-DM, 5QQ 62.
61. The disposition of another eleven men is unknown. Botetourt and Montgomery County Trials vs. Loyalists, August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 73–9; WP to Thomas Jefferson, 8 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 50; *Jefferson Papers*, 3:533–4; [WP] to Colonel Martin Armstrong, 26 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 62.
62. WP to Thomas Jefferson, 8 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 50; *Jefferson Papers*, 3:533–4. Dudley Digges responded on behalf of the Virginia Council to Preston's inquiry about plunder: "It is a point upon which it behoves us to be perfectly silent: since it is, and must remain altogether a judicial Matter." In other words, they would look the other way. With respect to Preston's other actions with the

Loyalists, they approved of all he had done to suppress the conspiracy. Dudley Digges to WP, 17 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 56.

63. Colonel Walter Crockett to [WP], 6 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 48.
64. Edmund Pendleton to WP, 11 October 1780, VHS, Mss2 P3743 a2; in *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton*, 2 vols., ed. David J. Mays (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), p. 316; hereafter referred to as *Pendleton Papers*.
65. Evans writes, "It is safe to estimate that more than 40 percent of both the militia and the population of Montgomery County did not support the patriot cause." "Trouble in the Backcountry," p. 207.
66. William Campbell to WP, 22 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 61.
67. [WP] to Colonel Martin Armstrong, 26 August 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 62.
68. WP to George Skillern, 13 September 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 80; PP-LC, p. 1099.
69. Order in Council respecting Volunteers for the Southern Army, 21 September 1780, *Jefferson Papers*, 3:653.
70. WP to General Horatio Gates, 27 October 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 84; and Jefferson to County Lieutenants of Botetourt and Montgomery, 1 November 1780, *Jefferson Papers*, 4:85. Apparently Jefferson did not know about the failure of Preston's plan until the first of November because on 22 October 1780 he wrote to General Gates expressing the hope that the volunteers from Montgomery and Botetourt, "as proposed by Colo. Preston," would be a "useful reinforcement to you." *Jefferson Papers*, 4:57.
71. Thomas Jefferson to Horatio Gates, 10 November 1780, *Jefferson Papers*, 4:108. Because rifles were slow to reload and could not be used in hand-to-hand combat since they had no attached bayonets, smoothbore muskets were preferred by the officers. Generally the Tidewater militia used the muskets, but the backcountry militia did not like using them because they found their rifles more accurate. McBride, "Virginia Manpower Policies," pp. 15–16.
72. Walter Crockett to WP, 2 October 1780, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 165–6; "Branch Papers," p. 319.
73. Robert Fristoe to WP, 2 October 1780, "Preston Papers"-VMHB, p. 166. Although undated, a petition came to Preston from the Clinch River area responding to orders to appear for a court martial because they had not participated in the Carolina invasion. They vividly outlined their "detached and exposed situation" in light of frequent Indian attacks on their homes. They explained: "Thus detached as we are and placed in so dangerous a situation, the Ties of Nature and Humanity forbad the leaving of our families, and the most dearest connexions we have upon Earth, thus exposed to the Mercy of the Cruel Savages, whose well known kind of Warfare are an indiscriminate destruction of all Ages and Sexes." They pled not to be drafted so they could protect their families and to serve as a "Barrier of Defence to the inner settlements." Petition from Inhabitants of Clinch to WP, [1780], PP-LC, p. 1097.
74. Detailed accounts of the battle at King's Mountain can be found in Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967 reprint of 1881 edition); Johnson, *Preston*, pp. 261–6; John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British*

Campaigns in the Carolinas. 1780–1782 (University: University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 108–21; and Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 575–83.

75. William Davidson to [WP?], 10 October 1780, "Branch Papers," p. 320.
76. Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, p. 582.
77. WP to General Horatio Gates, 27 October 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 84.
78. George Skillern to WP, 13 October 1780, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 310–1.
79. George Skillern to WP, 30 October 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 85.
80. Jefferson to County Lieutenants of Botetourt and Montgomery, PP-DM, 5QQ 87; *Jefferson Papers*, 4:85.
81. Horatio Gates to Officers, 12 October 1780, PP-VHS, Mss1 P9267c; Horatio Gates to Thomas Jefferson, 1 November 1780, *Jefferson Papers*, 4:86.
82. Preston also sent estimates to Gates of how much it would cost to set up the prison area. WP to General Horatio Gates, 27 October 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 84. Gates wrote Jefferson, "I had no conception that the Setting Up Two hundred Yards of Picketing, could cost 100,000." Horatio Gates to Thomas Jefferson, 3 November 1780, *Jefferson Papers*, 4:91.
83. Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Huntington, 7 November 1780, *Jefferson Papers*, 4:98–100; Thomas Jefferson to Horatio Gates, 10 November 1780, *Jefferson Papers*, 4:108–9.
84. Thomas Madison to [WP], 9 November 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 86.
85. Eight individuals on 8 November 1780 received property back "as nothing appears against them with Regard of their being Enemies to the State." Philip Dubton had his case dismissed and an order given that property taken by the militia of the counties be restored "whilst he behaves as a good Citizen otherwise he is to be tried for his past offences as an Enemy to his Country." Montgomery County Order Book 2, 1774–1782, LOV, 20:302. Not all individuals were similarly treated. Peter Raizor was required to put up £5,000 while being investigated for his loyalties (Montgomery County Order Book 2, 1774–1782, LOV, 20:300). In 1781 similar actions took place when David Fulton had his goods returned since no evidence had been produced that he ever left the Patriot cause. 7 February 1781, Montgomery County Order Book 2, 1774–1782, LOV, 20:306.
86. WP to Thomas Jefferson, 13 April 1781, *Jefferson Papers*, 5:436–7.
87. Colonel George Skillern to WP, 23 November 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 88; Arthur Campbell to WP, 5 December 1780, PP-LC, p. 1091. Apparently this represented a state-wide problem. The Virginia legislature even considered taking slaves on a proportional basis from those who had a large number and then providing one slave and a small bounty of money to men who would volunteer to join the army. Thomas Madison to WP, 30 November 1780, PP-LC, p. 1090. WP to Colonels Arthur and William Campbell, 6 December 1780, Preston Family Papers, Gray Collection, FC. George Skillern from Botetourt County marched south on 12 December 1780 with sixty volunteers, "the finest Company I ever see." George Skillern to WP, 13 December 1780, "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 316–17.

88. The Deposition of William Springstone [December 1780], "Preston Papers"-*VMHB*, pp. 313–14; Colonel William Campbell to [WP], 17 December 1780, PP-DM, 5QQ 89; WP to Colonel William Campbell, 20 December 1780, PP-VHS, Mss1 P9267c23.
89. Thomas Jefferson to WP, 7 December 1780, PP-LC, p. 1093.
90. WP to William Campbell, 20 December 1780, PP-VHS, Mss1 P9267c23.

From a Bishop and a Patriot to a Bishop and a Saint:

Rival Understandings of the Naming of Emory and Henry College

Robert J. Vejnar II

The most recent Emory and Henry College catalog makes the following statement regarding the naming of the institution, which the people of Southwest Virginia and the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church — forerunner of today's United Methodist Church — helped to establish in 1836:

> Its name is derived from two persons. John Emory was an eminent Methodist bishop of the era when the college was founded; he was the same person for whom Emory University in Atlanta was named. Patrick Henry was a renowned Virginian, a patriot of the American Revolution. The names were chosen to represent the guiding principles of the college: Christian leadership and distinctive statesmanship.[1]

The school's official history, written by the late Dr. George J. Stevenson, a Vanderbilt University-trained historian, reached a similar conclusion.[2]

But in her 1998 study of the development of American Methodism published by Oxford University Press, historian Cynthia Lynn Lyerly writes that the "Henry" in Emory and Henry College does not honor the great patriot of the Revolution but instead reveres the memory of his little-known sister, Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell, also known as Madam Russell, who did much to foster the growth and development of Methodism in Southwest Virginia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.[3] The statement comes as no surprise to those in the college community, where rumors that the founders really had Madam Russell in mind when they named the school have been voiced

on the campus since 1887. However, no credentialed historian or major university press had given the hearsay any claim to legitimacy until Lyerly's 1998 monograph. Now that the assertion has received a national audience with the publication of Lyerly's work, it must be settled with this historical inquiry: does the "Henry" in Emory and Henry College pay homage to Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell or to her brother, Patrick Henry? And, second, if the college was not named in honor of Madam Russell, who created the story that it was and how did it gain such a wide audience?

With the increase in population and the paucity of opportunities for higher education in the region, coupled with the reluctance of some of the followers of John Wesley to send their sons to secular, Baptist, Episcopalian, or Presbyterian institutions, the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, along with financial and material support from the people of Washington County and the surrounding area, helped establish Emory and Henry College in 1836 to fill the region's higher education void.[4] When the Conference met in Abingdon, Virginia, for its annual session in October 1835, it authorized the Reverend Creed Fulton and his committee to investigate potential sites for a proposed college.[5] When the Conference reconvened the following year to give its official approval to the location Fulton had selected and to begin planning the start of classes, the secretary recorded that the attending Conference members chose to name the new college Emory and Henry. He did not record first names for either Emory or Henry, nor did he record what — if any — discussion took place regarding the naming of the college. Delegates simply approved the name, went on to elect individuals to serve on the committee charged with writing a constitution for the new college, thanked William Byars and Alexander Findlay (both of whom would soon be members of the board of trustees for the school) for their work in getting the first building constructed, and then moved on to other matters.[6] Its first constitution states only that "The said College shall be known by the name of EMORY AND HENRY."[7]

Why did the secretary in 1836 and the writers of the constitution in 1837 not record first names? The answer seems obvious — everyone knew who they were talking about. If the Conference really meant to name the college for someone relatively unknown to the vast majority of people in the community, region, and state, the sec-

retary surely would have provided first names, especially if one of the honorees was a woman. After all, how many American colleges aside from William and Mary honored a woman?

John Emory, a rising star in the early American Methodist Church, seemed an excellent name choice for the time. Born in Queen Anne County, Maryland, on 11 April 1789 to a father who hoped he would become an attorney but to a Methodist mother who prayed that he would enter the gospel ministry, John Emory was one of the few college-educated ministers in the early 19th century American Methodist Church. His parents saw to it that he received a classical education and then enrolled him in Washington College in Maryland where, at the age of sixteen, he took his baccalaureate degree in 1805. Initially, Emory sought to adhere to his father's wish that he become a lawyer, so he served as an apprentice to a well-known Maryland attorney for about a year. He later underwent a religious conversion, joined the Methodist Church, and then struggled with the decision of how to spend the rest of his life. Admitted to the Maryland bar in 1808, he practiced law for only a year before seeking ordination to fulfill what he believed was God's calling into the Methodist ministry.[8]

He rose quickly through the denomination's ranks. The Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences soon assigned him to station churches within their jurisdictions. In 1816 Methodists elected him as a delegate to their General Conference (which met every four years). Church officials respected his piety and education so much that they chose him to represent the American Methodist Church at the British Conference in 1820. This proved an extremely important assignment because Emory had to enter into delicate and complex talks with the British Church over who would have ultimate control over Methodist churches in Canada. His skillful negotiations brought about an amicable resolution to the dilemma.[9] He so impressed his British brethren with his preaching that they asked him to publish the sermon he had delivered at the Conference. He did, and it appeared in America in the *Methodist Magazine*.[10]

With his mission to Great Britain a success, American Methodists soon trusted him with more responsibilities, making him secretary of the church's General Conference in 1824. They subsequently appointed him editor of the denomination's *Methodist Magazine* (later the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*), which broadened his

**Bishop John Emory,
one of two people for whom Emory & Henry College was named.**

exposure among Methodists. He also edited and published a multi-volume collection of the papers and sermons of John Wesley. Emory helped to establish New York University and Wesleyan University, and served as chairman of the board of trustees of Dickinson College. In 1832 the church elected him a bishop, and for the next three years he ministered with distinction in that capacity, even presiding over the Holston Annual Conference that same year. His sudden and tragic death as a result of a carriage accident on 16 December 1835 at age forty-six shocked the church he had labored for and loved so much.

Emory's life was thus a perfect example and he a natural candidate when the Holston Conference looked for a name for its soon-to-be-created college.[11]

But would "Emory" be enough of an appellation to identify the school? The first Methodist college in Virginia, Randolph-Macon, had encountered legislative scrutiny when its founders created it in 1830. The General Assembly at that time seemed reluctant to grant charters of incorporation to church-affiliated institutions for fear that doing so would violate the principle of separation of church and state. Those Methodists seeking to establish Randolph-Macon College attempted to alleviate this concern by having a majority of its board of trustees consist of non-Methodist laymen. They also tried to assuage any sectarian fears that legislators in Richmond might have by naming the institution for two well known but very non-Methodists: John Randolph of Virginia and Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, both of whom served in the United States House of Representatives.[12] With the well-known Randolph-Macon situation in mind, would Emory and Henry's founders invite the scrutiny of the legislature by naming their new school for not one (John Emory) but two (Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell) Methodists?

In an effort to dispel concerns regarding the role the Methodist Church might have in managing Emory and Henry, the charter included stipulations "that at no time shall more than one half of the Board of Trustees ... consist of any one religious denomination"[13] and that "no person shall be ineligible to any office or trust appertaining to the College, or to be secluded from a full and free participation in the privileges and benefits of the College because of his religious tenets." Moreover, Article 26 stated that students should be taught "the purest morality" and "religion," while Article 25 said that "Especial care shall be taken to form and foster in the minds of the Students ... a pure attachment to our Republican Institutions."[14] The ideas of these articles can be seen as represented in the names of "Emory" and "Henry."

Apparently other church-related institutions in Virginia had an easier time acquiring charters from the legislature, and Holston Methodists could look to them as examples of how to name their new college. Presbyterians who founded Liberty Hall Academy in Lexington eventually saw it transformed into a college named for George Wash-

ington (now Washington and Lee University). Its 1782 charter evidently raised little concern with the General Assembly as it contained no references to the Presbyterian Church (although all of its trustees embraced Calvinist doctrine).[15] Presbyterians in Southside Virginia who established their college in 1775 named it in honor of two 17th century Englishmen who challenged the power of the Stuarts: John Hampden, who fought Charles I in the English Civil War, and Algernon Sydney, who preached revolution against Charles II. By the time Hampden-Sydney College received its charter from the state, Presbyterians were a distinct minority on its board of trustees, so evidently the institution did not cause the legislature any worry.[16] Baptists, who in 1840 created what would become the University of Richmond, ultimately named their school after the state capital in which it operated.[17] In each case these church-affiliated colleges chose names for their institutions that embraced the ideas of representative government (Randolph-Macon College and Richmond College) or revolution (Washington College and Hampden-Sydney College). Emory and Henry's founders therefore risked drawing negative attention from the General Assembly by naming their institution for a recently deceased Methodist bishop. To add a second name also affiliated with religion to the college simply would have been unprecedented, and perhaps foolhardy.

So why did the founders choose Patrick Henry? First and foremost, the people of Virginia and the United States recognized him as a great orator and patriot of the American Revolution. His outspoken opposition to the Stamp Act of 1765, his impassioned speech in St. John's Church where he uttered the famous lines "Give me liberty, or give me death!" and his service as the first governor of Virginia during the Revolution all invested Patrick Henry with the stature of a leader and statesman. He did, in fact, have a sister who had lived near the proposed college who had married and outlived two senior American Revolution militia officers, but he also had direct personal connections to the region that stretched back to the 1760s. In 1766 he acquired from his father-in-law approximately 2,000 acres in parcels in southwestern Virginia stretching from Washington County into northeast Tennessee to present-day Kingsport. Henry ventured into Southwest Virginia shortly after he acquired this property and traveled extensively through the region. He saw the country and came to know

its people firsthand. During the American Revolution, people living in the vicinity of what is now Kingsport renamed a fort in Patrick Henry's honor.[18]

His familiarity with the region influenced a couple of Henry's decisions during his second time as governor, from November 1784 through November 1786. First, in 1785, in response to a murder that had occurred in Washington County, Henry, on behalf of the state, offered a reward for the capture of one of the persons accused of the crime.[19] This certainly resonated well with the voters of the region, for it showed that their chief executive remained mindful of the hardships endured by those living so far away from Richmond on what was then still the American frontier. More important, as governor he vigorously opposed Southwest Virginia's seceding from the commonwealth and joining the State of Franklin. Several members of the elite living in southwestern Virginia, including Arthur Campbell (the cousin of Henry's first brother-in-law, William Campbell), had proposed that the region had more to gain by leaving Virginia and uniting with the State of Franklin. Patrick Henry, ever the astute politician, may have been persuaded by the region's non-elite (who had little to gain politically or economically from the proposed secession) to oppose the secession. Henry also could have opposed it for personal reasons, as he owned land there. At any rate, he signed "An Act Punishing Certain Offences and Vesting the Governor with Certain Powers" which declared those proposing secession from that part of southwestern Virginia and joining the proposed State of Franklin be counted as traitors to Virginia. He then had the ordinance advertised in the *Richmond Virginia Gazette* to ensure it received wide notice.[20]

A glimpse of how highly the people of southwestern Virginia revered Patrick Henry is given in the following account by Julia Tevis, who had devoted her life to teaching and who published her memoirs in 1878. In her anecdote she recounts how she came to meet Patrick Henry's sister, Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell. In that conversation Madam Russell shared with Tevis the story of her appearance at an early 19th century Methodist camp meeting in the area. As she worked her way through the crowd, word quickly spread of Patrick Henry's sister's presence. The people did not become quiet until Mrs. Russell, in order to restore order to the meeting, allowed herself to be placed on a tree stump so that everyone could see her. The citizens,

though, did not shout accolades to her but instead began yelling "'Hurrah for Patrick Henry!' with an occasional shout for Colonel Campbell."[21] Although Patrick Henry died in 1799, he still, according to this story, had left an indelible imprint on the minds of southwest Virginians. And as historian Richard Beeman has noted, Patrick Henry had an "oratorical style" and addressed political issues that resonated well with the people of southwestern Virginia.[22] For those living in 1836, the year of Emory and Henry's founding, Patrick Henry would have been a natural choice as the namesake for a new college.

Emory and Henry's founders went to great lengths to notify the public that, although the Holston Conference had assisted in establishing the institution, it was not an exclusively Methodist school. The college constitution stated that no more than half the board of trustees could be of one religious denomination. This stipulation allowed William Byars to have a seat on the board. Besides being a wealthy and politically powerful man in Washington County, Byars belonged to the Presbyterian Church.[23] Methodists could, though, exercise some control over the college by dominating appointment to the board of visitors. In order to elect a president and faculty, the thirteen members of the board of trustees had to meet in joint session with the thirteen members of the board of visitors.[24] An examination of the board of visitors' rosters shows that in most years a majority of its members were Methodist ministers. An analysis of the composition of both boards during the period under study, however, rarely shows a majority comprised solely of Methodist ministers when the two boards are combined.[25] Thus the interests of the sacred and the secular were somewhat balanced.

And the Emory and Henry name reflected that balance — provided that "Henry" really stood for Patrick Henry. An examination of the college's inaugural address by its first president, Charles Collins (1838–1852), includes language that alludes to the themes of religion and republican government symbolized by the names Emory and Henry. In the twenty-six page document, Collins refers to the sacrifices made by the previous generation to allow the current generation to "enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty," and harkened to the rhetoric of Aristotle by demonstrating the need for education in a republic. He concluded his address with this thought regarding Emory and Henry:

> Considering, then, the urgent demand for such an Institution, the growing interest in the cause of learning, the widely scattered population to furnish its materials, and the flattering success which had attended its incipient stages, there is much cause for congratulation and hope. The prospect before us is full of bright and glorious anticipation, and if our operations are successfully managed and honorably sustained, a blow will here be struck for the cause of education and morality, for religion and good government, which shall be felt throughout the land, and its influences, trembling down the chord of time, be the instrument of blessing to the latest posterity.[26]

There is additional evidence that the founders had Patrick Henry in mind when they named the institution. The first is part of an oral tradition passed down through the family of Tobias Smyth, who is considered one of the college's four founders. As recorded by Smyth's granddaughter Rachel Ann Smyth Scott, who lived from 1849 to 1944,[27] her family remembered the following regarding the naming of the college:

> This is the tradition in the Smyth family in regard to the naming of Emory and Henry College given by a daughter of Tobias Smyth who said she was present on an occasion when Creed Fulton, her father, and mother were in conversation in reference to college interests. That her father spoke, "Brother Fulton have you decided on a name for the college?" He answered, "I have been thinking but have not come to a decision." That her mother spoke, "Name it for Bishop Emory." Her father replied, "I have been thinking too, we have to have money for this thing and it would be well to interest the moneyed men of Abingdon. So, I have thought of Patrick Henry, a great orator and our college will stress oratory." Fulton, after some deliberation, said, "I have it! Emory, a Methodist bishop and Henry, a Virginia statesman."[28]

The problem is that no one knows when Ms. Scott put this to paper, as the typescript copy in the archives is undated. If Ms. Scott recounted this after publication of the Madam Russell-as-namesake assertion, one could argue that her rendition of the founding might be tainted by a flawed memory or questionable motives. What is most important about the story, though, is that it meshes with the context of the period. Remember that the board of trustees had its inaugural meeting just as the Panic of 1837, which may have been the worst

economic recession the United States faced until the Great Depression, was getting underway. The battle between President Andrew Jackson and the head of the Second Bank of the United States, Nicholas Biddle, over the nation's banking policies had forced some state banks to contract the money supply by 1836. And a report from the college's board of trustees to the Holston Conference (submitted in either 1838 or 1839) confirms that the scarcity of cash was already having an effect upon the school's ability to maintain operations.[29] Although the founders of Emory and Henry could not forecast the depression that soon ensued, they naturally concerned themselves with raising the capital necessary to start and sustain the college. It seems that Tobias Smyth, at least according to this story, realized that naming the college for Patrick Henry could attract the interest of wealthy contributors in the area. And the naming apparently had just that effect, as Washington County resident William Byars contributed the largest amount, $600, in the initial fundraising campaign.[30]

Another way to connect the Patrick Henry-as-namesake of the institution would be through an address at the college that linked the name with specific ideas associated with the institution. As cited earlier, this seemed to be the case with two of the articles in the college's first constitution. But it also occurred in 1847 when the Reverend James D. McCabe spoke at the campus during that year's commencement. McCabe ministered at the Protestant Episcopal Church in Abingdon, and the college administration invited him to speak before a joint meeting of the school's literary societies at graduation (during the 1847–48 academic year he served on the college's examining committee). The audience so well received McCabe's address, which focused on themes of religion and liberty in a republic, that they implored him to publish it. McCabe, although greatly flattered by the invitation, initially — and modestly — declined the offer. It took two letters to him from college officials and friends before McCabe finally agreed to their demand. The phrases in his address relevant to this article were the following lines:

> In effecting the general results, Emory & Henry is to bear a very prominent part for the preservation of this Republic. There is something in the very name, that seems to the sanguine hope of the heart as a happy augury, uniting as it does distinguished piety with the most exalted patriotism, and in its devotion to both,

> securing the true object of the enlightened freeman's fondest hope.[31]

Further evidence in support of Patrick Henry as the intended honoree comes from an English Member of Parliament who traveled through southwestern Virginia sometime between 1837 and 1841. As James Silk Buckingham traveled through the South, he happened upon the school that he said was called "Amory [*sic*] and Henry College, the former being the name of a celebrated and popular bishop of Virginia, and the latter the name of their great revolutionary orator, Patrick Henry." While he recorded "Amory" instead of "Emory," he correctly recorded the name of Patrick Henry. Someone in the area (perhaps President Charles Collins himself since Buckingham stated that he had met Collins)[32] had to have told him for whom the college was named because his limited knowledge of the region would have prevented Buckingham from associating John Emory with being a bishop unless he had some assistance in making the connection. Likewise, if the college name were indeed a tribute to Patrick Henry's sister, then someone would have told Buckingham that the founders really had named it in her honor. But the MP specifically referred to Patrick Henry as the namesake and not Madam Russell.

There is also an eyewitness account of the naming of the college. In 1876, eleven years before Thomas L. Preston penned a tribute to his grandmother in the *Southern Methodist Review*, a supposedly anonymous writer, who claimed he attended the 1836 Holston Conference, wrote a piece for the Conference weekly newspaper detailing the history of the conference's relationships to the colleges it had founded. He recounted the following concerning the naming of Emory and Henry:

> We will close this article with an item of history. We were present when Emory and Henry was named. It was called by this name, as all perhaps know, in honor of Bishop John Emory, of the Methodist E[*piscopal*] Church, and Patrick Henry, one of Virginia's most famous orators. That the college bears the appropriate name that it does is due to the sainted Dr. Samuel Patton, of most precious memory. Several names were proposed, perhaps Emory among them — when Dr. Patton arose in open conference and said, in his meek and unostentatious way: "I propose that the name be Emory and Henry." In a few remarks eulogistic of the

> two great men after whom the College was named, and showing the appropriateness of the name, he addressed the Conference. It is not thought that any voted against the Doctor's proposition. JOHN EMORY, the learned young Bishop, and author of "Episcopacy and its Defence! PATRICK HENRY, whose thrilling speeches in the Assembly of Virginia, at the opening of the "Revolution," moved a rising nation's heart; and whose one sentence — "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the I his Cromwell, and George the III — may profit by their example" — was felt through all the colonies! [33]

Perhaps the Reverend Creed Fulton and Tobias Smyth and his wife did come up with the name much earlier, but on the floor of the Holston Annual Conference it was the Reverend Samuel Patton who is credited with proposing the name. And Patton, who served as the presiding elder of the Abingdon District in 1836, the year the college was founded, and the district that included Emory and Henry, also pledged $100 to assist the institution in opening its doors.[34] His colleague in the ministry, the Reverend Thomas Stringfield, wrote a memoir of Patton describing him as "studious and prayerful and faithful, by which he became intelligent, holy, and greatly useful. These qualities placed him among the first ministers of his day."[35]

But who wrote the story for *The Holston Methodist*? In *Increase in Excellence* Dr. Stevenson stated merely that the person is unidentified.[36] In the 19th century, newspaper editors often submitted unsigned stories. In 1876 *The Holston Methodist* had two editors: the Reverend Richard N. Price and the Reverend William Hicks.[37] The Conference did not admit Price as a minister until 1850,[38] so he could not have attended the 1836 Conference and, therefore, could not have written the article. But Hicks did attend the 1836 Conference, and the Conference secretary recorded his presence in the minutes.[39] Hicks, then, witnessed the Methodist divines name the newly created college for John Emory and Patrick Henry. And Hicks went on to serve with distinction from the fall of 1845 through the spring of 1848 on Emory and Henry's board of visitors.[40]

The fiftieth anniversary of the college's founding in 1887 (it counted 1837 as the founding year since that was when the board of trustees and the board of visitors came into being, although today the college recognizes 1836 as the founding year) witnessed a number of

A photograph taken at an Emory & Henry commencement sometime in the 1870s. Commencement crowds were getting so large that the college used a tent that could reportedly hold 2,000 people. The large four-story brick building in the background is the main building, which housed the library, classrooms, and student rooms. This was the first building; its foundation was laid in September 1836. This picture was recently discovered in the archives and has never before been published.

notable alumni and guests arrive on campus to celebrate the event. The school published the speeches and sermons delivered during the June celebration. None of the addresses specifically mentions the name of John Emory, but in a speech that alumnus John Goode gave before a gathering of the alumni, he talked knowledgeably and at length about the importance of representative government and religion in American society.[41] Goode had studied and practiced law, served the Confederate government as an army officer and member of Congress, and served three terms in the United States House of Representatives (1875–1881). President Grover Cleveland made him Solicitor General of the United States in 1885.[42] Event organizers, therefore, deemed Goode a good candidate to speak at the celebration. His speech included one reference to Patrick Henry as he discussed the numerous Revolutionary figures who did so much to establish the United States.

And at the conclusion of his address Mr. Goode alluded to the importance of both religion and good government that he thought were so necessary for the American democratic experience to survive.[43]

It seems logical to conclude that the founders named Emory and Henry College for two individuals whose stature and renown would appeal to a broad prospective constituency. Although the name Emory might have caused some state legislators to voice concern, by placing Patrick Henry in the name they appealed to the solons' admiration of one of the great patriots of the American Revolution. It apparently worked, for the General Assembly approved the college's charter in 1839. The name "Emory and Henry" came to symbolize the college's Methodist spiritual roots as well as the strong devotion to secular representative government.

But as the college prepared to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its creation, Thomas L. Preston, a long forgotten kinsman of Patrick Henry, appeared in 1887 and claimed that the "Henry" in Emory and Henry College really honored his grandmother (and Patrick Henry's sister), Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell.[44] On what sources did Preston base his claim, and what could have motivated him to challenge a fifty-year-old tradition?

In the 1880s an alumnus and former member of Emory and Henry's faculty, the Reverend Richard N. Price,[45] began researching the history of the Holston Annual Conference in preparation for writing a history of it. He knew that Preston was one of the original members of the college's board of trustees and was Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell's grandson. Desiring to include details of Mrs. Russell's contribution to the growth of Methodism in Holston, Price wrote to Preston in Charlottesville, hoping for information about her.[46] Preston's response supplies what little information he recalled of his grandmother. He stated that he remained the only surviving member of his immediate family, having outlived even some of his siblings' children. He mistakenly claimed he was fourteen (he was twelve) when Madam Russell died. It comes as no surprise that a man in his mid-seventies would have trouble remembering facts from his adolescence, and Preston stated as much in his dispatch, noting that youngsters rarely "gather up . . . facts in the lives of their ancestors." Although he provides only a few details about his grandmother in the letter, he insisted that his memory of her was "very distinct" and that she was a

"remarkable person." Preston then acknowledged that most of the information he recalled of her came from "hearing conversations about her between my oldest brother Wm C. Preston ... & my mother." He also divulged that many of his and the family's papers, which would have been of assistance to Price in his history, had been sent to his nephew, John M. Preston, in Seven Mile Ford in Smyth County before the Civil War for safekeeping but were destroyed when Union forces came through the town. But nowhere in this 1886 letter does Preston make the claim that the founders of Emory and Henry College named it for Madam Russell. He also stated that he would contact members of his extended family to see what information or materials they might have regarding Madam Russell and would inform Price of any new details.[47]

As the research continued, Preston began to express fears that "the true history of the foundation of the college may pass from the memories of contemporaries, & be obscured by unfounded traditions, or washed [away] by personal predilections or prejudice."[48] As assistance in the form of anecdotes and personal papers began trickling in to Preston, he grew overwhelmed by the response. In a letter to Price early in 1887, he wrote "As I have progressed in this work I am astonished to find how many incidents are now known only to myself of all the living, & if not recorded before I die will pass into the darkness of oblivion as to this world."[49]

By the summer of 1887, Preston began expressing interest in writing his own tribute to his grandmother. He told Price that after reading a small portion of the memoir he had written about her to "staunch Methodist[s]," they encouraged him to publish his findings in one of the denomination's publications. Preston informed Price that a confidant had told him that if he, Preston, were to go ahead and publish his findings on Madam Russell as a separate venture, it would probably not affect sales of Price's upcoming history of the Holston Conference. Preston admitted that he was in some financial distress and implied that the sale of a separate publication memorializing his grandmother would bring in money he needed. He also repeated to Price what friends who had read part of the Madam Russell material had told him, that "the public should not be deprived of its historic value, & that this voracious public should, thru' its caterers, pay for 'that [which] it feeds upon.'"[50] Price apparently encouraged Preston

to publish the tribute to his grandmother as a separate piece, and Preston did so in two parts in the *Southern Methodist Review* in 1887.[51] The following year he combined the two parts and issued them again under the title *A Sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Russell, Wife of General William Campbell, and Sister of Patrick Henry*. In both cases the Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Nashville distributed Preston's work, which included the claim not only that his grandmother was one of the founders of Methodism in southwestern Virginia but that the oldest college in the region was really named to honor her.

Near the end of *A Sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Russell* Preston asserts:

> In those pioneer days of Methodism in South-west Virginia converts were chiefly made among the poor and lowly. They therefore felt that in winning the wide social influence of this gifted woman they were not only advancing their denominational interests, but, what was far more important to them, promoting the cause of true religion. They cherished her greatly, and have embalmed her memory in the heart and the traditions and the history of their noble Church. They have gone still farther, and sent it down to posterity by a permanent memorial of the most complimentary kind. The earliest educational venture of their denomination in that quarter of the State (Emory and Henry College) bears united the name of this devoted woman and that of one of their most esteemed bishops.[52]

With the last sentence Preston wrote something that had never before been asserted. But on what did he base this new claim? Thomas L. Preston did not attend the 1836 Holston Annual Conference that launched Emory and Henry College and therefore had no first-hand knowledge of the discussion that took place on the floor of the conference; nor did he know what might have been said by the Methodist divines during breaks in the conference. It is true that the Holston Conference named him to the board of trustees of the college in 1837, but that appointment did not mean he knew what took place in the discussions leading to the naming of the school.

Evidence implies that Thomas L. Preston simply invented the story. If the college really was named in honor of *two* prominent Methodists, why had the secret been kept for so long? An exhaustive search for any supporting documents or oral traditions to substantiate his

assertion has proven fruitless. What does emerge from the sources is the inescapable conclusion that all those who spread the Madam Russell-as-namesake story after 1887 based their claims solely on the statement written by Preston in the 1887 and 1888 publications.

Why would Preston have made this assertion? He served on the college's board of trustees from 1837 until it officially removed him on 5 June 1860 for non-attendance. During the time he lived in Washington County, he made little effort either to venerate his grandmother or to fulfill his duties as a member of the board.

The death of Preston's wife changed his relationship with Christianity but did not move him any closer to Madam Russell's Methodism — he never joined the Methodist Church. In a letter to a friend, he confessed that his spiritual state left him with more in common with Episcopalians, and Preston eventually did join the Episcopal Church.[53] In a collection of fifteen letters written over the course of several years, Preston never mentions his famous Methodist grandmother.

So what began as a request from a former member of the Emory and Henry faculty to the grandson of Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell for information on her and her contributions to Methodism led her grandson to produce a short biography of her in which he claimed that the college was named for her. Others repeated the story. Some embraced Madam Russell-as-namesake because it coincided neatly with the 1890 takeover of the school by the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In 1889, two years after the articles first appeared in the *Southern Methodist Review*, the Holston Conference approved a new constitution and governing board for Emory and Henry[54] (the Virginia General Assembly approved this revised constitution in 1890).[55] The college's official historian, the late Dr. George Stevenson, stated that the changes came about because the institution was enduring hard economic times, and the Conference indicated that if the school were more closely under its supervision it might be able to assist financially.[56] David Sullins, who served the college as president from 1880 through 1885, had echoed that sentiment. He wrote in his autobiography that the $18,000 debt his administration had inherited when it took the over the school needed to be erased. He hoped to accomplish this by nurturing a closer relationship with the Methodist Church and looked forward to reaping the financial dividend for the college that he anticipated would fol-

low.[57] The 1889 revised constitution that the board of trustees, the Holston Conference, and the General Assembly approved greatly altered the makeup of the board of trustees, giving much more power to the Conference and overturning the original governance provisions created to obtain the college's 1839 charter from the General Assembly. The key to the new board was Article 30, which increased its membership from thirteen to twenty-seven. Another new proviso required that the "majority of the whole twenty-seven shall be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."[58] The new charter completely altered the original covenant for the college's governing structure.

The 1889 constitution, which went into effect in 1890, signified more than a major shift in the religious leaning of Emory and Henry. Its first charter had emphasized its *relationship* with Methodism but also drew attention to the fact that the institution welcomed students and trustees from various Protestant denominations to its campus. The largest contributor during the first subscription to found the college was the Presbyterian William Byars.[59] After the passage of more than fifty years, the Holston Conference overthrew the established system and the Methodist Church took control of the college and dominated the campus.

This takeover coincided with Preston's claim that the founders named the school for not one but two Methodists. The Methodist divines required no further proof; their revolution was legitimized. If Madam Russell's grandson said it, then it must be true. With Preston's claim the Holston Conference could now argue that the college had always been more closely aligned with Methodism than previously thought. And a reputable and by now well-established Emory and Henry College more closely aligned with the church could do much to enhance the prestige of the Conference. But Thomas L. Preston had provided no proof other than his word that the college was named for his grandmother; and no one in the new Methodist order of things asked for any.

Apparently not everyone believed Preston's assertion. At least two members of the early faculty still lived in the area: the second president, E. E. Wiley, and Edmund Longley, both of whom graduated from Wesleyan University. Wiley arrived sometime in late 1838 and served as president from 1852 until 1879.[60] He died in 1893.[61]

Edmund Longley arrived in 1843 and remained on the faculty for a sizeable portion of the following sixty-three years. He passed away in 1906.[62] While neither man attended the 1836 session of the Holston Conference, they were around the institution long enough to know those who had and to hear their stories. If the college name had honored Madam Russell, they could have confirmed it. While no such document penned by Wiley or Longley has been discovered, two pieces of institutional evidence suggest that someone in authority within the administration at the time did not believe Preston's claim.

None of the college catalogs from 1838 through 1888 refers to the first names of either Emory or Henry, but beginning with the 1889–90 catalog the faces of John Emory and Patrick Henry appeared on its front cover, and those faces continued to appear on catalog covers for the next sixteen years.[63] By putting a likeness of Patrick Henry on the cover, someone in authority at the school made the statement that the founders had named the institution for him and not his sister. Also, for the first time in an institutional publication, the 1889–90 catalog, in the section entitled "Buildings and Grounds," lists some of the portraits displayed in the main building: "The walls are hung with large portraits of the patron saints, Bishop John Emory and Patrick Henry, and with those of all the Presidents of the Institution from its foundation to the present."[64] While it is impossible to tell exactly how long the portraits had been hanging in the main building, it seems likely that both could have been around for some time since it would have been difficult, given the college's financial situation in the late 1880s, to commission a portrait of Patrick Henry and have it ready for public display within two years of the appearance of Preston's articles in the *Southern Methodist Review*.

With those 1887 articles and the combined 1888 biography, coupled with the effective takeover of the management of Emory and Henry by the Holston Conference, came a third great wave of religious revival that swept the United States.[65] This revival gave the Madam Russell-as-namesake legend even richer ground in which to germinate and led to the replication of Preston's assertion in a number of publications over the ensuing decades. The Reverend Price, Preston's confidant, propagated the story in his five-volume history of the Cnference entitled *Holston Methodism: From Its Origin to the Present Time*:

> There was policy in the selection of the name of the institution. Bishop Emory had made a fine impression in the South as President of Conferences, and as an eloquent pulpit man. His name represented the Methodism or rather the Christianity of the concern, while *Henry* stood for the patriotism and republican ideas under which the students were to be trained and sent forth. Besides, the relatives of Patrick Henry in Southwestern Virginia were people of wealth and influence. The name *Henry*, however, was more a tribute to the memory of Madam Russell, sister to Patrick Henry, than to that of Patrick Henry himself. No woman in America ever more deserved such a monument. Talented, intelligent, liberal, saintly, indefatigable, she exerted an influence for God and humanity in this country that will be visible for hundreds of years to come.[66]

Although Price does not cite the source,[67] it is obvious that he pulled the Madam Russell story from Preston's biography of her.

The Madam Russell-as-namesake assertion was repeated well into the 20th century. After emerging in Price's history, the Madam Russell story next appeared in the Emory and Henry student newspaper, *The White Topper*, in 1924. The college dean at the time, Dr. Howell M. Henry, gave a chapel program in which he claimed that the "Henry" part of the name venerated both Patrick Henry and his sister. The student reporter did not record what source Dean Henry cited as proof of the Madam Russell connection, but after making the statement Henry did not elaborate on her at all but went on to discuss Patrick Henry's life and political career.[68] As the year progressed, however, Henry may have conducted further research in primary sources (Vanderbilt University had earlier awarded him a Ph.D. in history) because in a November 1925 chapel address he emphasized that the college was named for John Emory and Patrick Henry, making no reference at all to Henry's sister.[69]

Three years later the Madam Russell story reached a national audience through a piece written by Laura Copenhaver and published in *Scribner's Magazine*. Copenhaver devoted much of her early career to Lutheran missionary work and wrote pageants for the church. She also worked to develop the economy of Southwest Virginia by promoting the region's handicrafts through Rosemont Industries.[70] Her article on Madam Russell coincided with her work in evangelical Christian causes. Her account of Preston's grandmother is laudatory

to the point of including new undocumented and unsubstantiated statements in the work. Copenhaver failed to footnote her piece, but it is evident that she copied most of the material from Preston's biography of forty years earlier. In fact her essay follows the general form and outline of the Preston article. But her description of the naming of the institution extends beyond Preston's claim:

> The first educational venture of the Methodist Church in Virginia — a college for men — was named for Bishop Emory and Elizabeth Henry. Some of the brethren to-day give the honor to Patrick, but the record shows that it was Elizabeth who has been thus immortalized by the ancient group of preachers, who knew better than any one else their debt to her.[71]

In 1931, R. Moorman Parker, in his Emory University bachelor of divinity thesis, repeated the Madam Russell assertion, using the Reverend Price's work as his source.[72] Elva Runyon, in her 1941 University of Virginia history master's thesis, repeated the story almost word for word from Copenhaver's article.[73] And in 1945 the Reverend Isaac P. Martin, in his undocumented history of the Holston Conference, omitted any suggestion that the college might have been named in Patrick Henry's honor, stating only that the founders named the institution for "Bishop John Emory and Madam Russell nee Elizabeth Henry."[74] The Reverend Clyde E. Lundy followed in 1947 with his undocumented account of Holston Methodism, noting that while tradition stated that the college was named for John Emory and Patrick Henry, Henry's sister "has also been identified with the school."[75] In a 1961 novel based upon the life of Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell, Nelly Preston, in an historical note contained in the epilogue, wrote that "Henry" honored Elizabeth and not Patrick.[76] Additionally, the Holston Conference repeated the Madam Russell-as-namesake assertion in a 1972 brochure produced in conjunction with the meeting on Emory and Henry's campus of the (Methodist) Southeastern Jurisdictional Commission on Archives and History.[77]

The assertion also appeared in *Methodism and the Southern Mind: 1770–1810*, an account of the development of Methodism in the colonial and Federal-era South by Dr. Cynthia Lynn Lyerly. In a chapter devoted to the many women who have been overlooked in previous scholarly studies of the rise of Methodism, Dr. Lyerly wrote that "the first college Methodists established in western Virginia, Emory and

Henry, was named for Bishop Emory and Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell."[78] Her documentation for this statement was Runyon's 1941 master's thesis, which cited as its authority the Copenhaver article in *Scribner's Magazine* which had been copied from the Preston memoir.

The preponderant evidence indicates that the college's founders had Patrick Henry in mind and not his sister Elizabeth when they named the institution. Unfortunately Richard N. Price, Laura Copenhaver, R. Moorman Parker, Elva Runyon, Isaac P. Martin, Clyde Lundy, and Nelly Preston based their Madam Russell-as-namesake claims on each previous author's undocumented work. The origin of their claims, then, goes back to only *one* source, Thomas L. Preston, who had made the statement more than fifty years after the school opened, that the "Henry" in the school's name stood for his grandmother.

When one looks at the context of the times, it made sense to name the college for only *one* Methodist, John Emory, and for Patrick Henry, given Henry's attachment to the region, in view of his continuous popularity, and since the use of his name allowed the founders to reassure the General Assembly in granting a charter and to broaden the regional appeal to raise money. The Madam Russell claim has a questionable chronology, since it emerged just as Holston Conference ministers were set to firmly take control of the college by dominating its board of trustees. Certainly, it would have been admirable for the school to be named for a woman, but the political situation at the time precluded naming it for *two* Methodists, given what the trustees must have known regarding the trouble Randolph-Macon College had in securing its charter from the Commonwealth of Virginia. Finally, if the founders in 1836 really wanted to name the institution for Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell, the custom of the time dictated that they use her *married* name, thus calling it Emory and *Russell* College. For example, when Methodists in 1898 honored Russell for her contributions to the faith she loved, they did so by starting construction of a Methodist church in Saltville, Virginia, where she lived for many years. They named it *Russell* Methodist Episcopal Church, South,[79] not *Henry* Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

While the Holston Conference Methodists of the late 19th and 20th centuries were misled into believing that Madame Russell was

the honoree of the college's name, evidence strongly supports Patrick Henry as the honoree.

Endnotes

1. Emory and Henry College, Academic Catalog, 2007–2008 (Emory, Va., 2007), p. 2.
2. George J. Stevenson, *Increase in Excellence: A History of Emory and Henry College* (New York, 1963), p. 47.
3. Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810* (New York, 1998), p. 112. Although some of what Thomas L. Preston states about his grandmother in his forty-four page biography of her entitled "A Sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Russell, Wife of General William Campbell, and Sister of Patrick Henry" may be questionable, he should be credited with gathering information and compiling a tribute to her which makes a good case that she did much to encourage the growth of Methodism in Southwest Virginia. Unfortunately, Preston's memoir is undocumented, so his statements cannot be verified. However, his grandmother's conversion to Methodism is independently verified in Thomas Ware's *The Life and Travels of Rev. Thomas Ware* (New York, 1842), pp. 151–3. Her piety, and the fact that she was known locally as "Madam Russell" is confirmed in Jacob Young's *Autobiography of a Pioneer; or, the Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Jacob Young* (Cincinnati and New York, n.d.), pp. 128–9. The Reverend Francis Asbury, who is credited with working to bring Methodism to the frontier, often stopped at her home in Saltville, Va., to preach and rest. This is confirmed in *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury, Volume II, The Journal: 1794–1816*, ed. Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton (Nashville, Tenn., 1958), pp. 127, 306, 362, 516.
4. Stevenson, *Increase in Excellence*, pp. 24–48.
5. Minutes of the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, October 1835, Minute Book, 1824–1836, Holston Conference Archives, Emory & Henry College, hereafter cited as HCA Minute Book, 1824–1836.
6. Minutes of the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, October 1836, Minute Book, 1836–1850, Holston Conference Archives, Emory & Henry College, hereafter cited as HCA Minute Book, 1836–1850.
7. "Constitution of Emory and Henry College" in *President Collins's Inaugural Address, Together with the Constitution & Bye-Laws of Emory & Henry College* (Abingdon, Va., 1838), p. 27.
8. Robert Emory, *The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D.D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1841), pp. 11-45. Sadly, this remains the only full-length biography of this eminent bishop.
9. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Emory, John."
10. John Emory, "The Substance of a Sermon," part one, *The Methodist Magazine*, July 1822, pp. 241–50, and "The Substance of a Sermon," part two, *The Methodist Magazine*, August 1822, pp. 281–9.

11. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Emory, John." Minutes of the Holston Annual Conference, 1832, HCA Minute Book, 1824–1836.
12. James Edward Scanlon, *Randolph-Macon College: A Southern History, 1825–1967* (Charlottesville, Va., 1983), pp. 29–32.
13. "Constitution of Emory and Henry College," p. 28. The college received its charter from the state in 1839.
14. "Constitution of Emory and Henry College," p. 29.
15. Ollinger Crenshaw, *General Lee's College: The Rise and Growth of Washington and Lee University* (New York, 1969), pp. 13–33.
16. John Luster Brinkley, *On this Hill: A Narrative History of Hampden-Sydney College, 1774–1994* (Hampden-Sydney, Va., 1994), pp. 15–28.
17. Reuben E. Alley, *History of the University of Richmond, 1830–1971* (Charlottesville, Va., 1977), pp. 30–4.
18. Robert Douthat Meade, *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (Philadelphia and New York, 1957), pp. 229–33; Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870* (Richmond, Va., 1903), p. 218.
19. Patrick Henry, "A Proclamation," *Richmond Virginia Gazette*, 27 May 1785, p. 1.
20. Peter J. Kastor, "'Equitable Rights and Privileges': The Divided Loyalties in Washington County, Virginia, during the Franklin Separatist Crisis," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 105 (Spring 1997), pp. 193–226; *Richmond Virginia Gazette*, 8 February 1786, p. 1.
21. Julia A. Tevis, *Sixty Years in a School-Room: An Autobiography of Mrs. Julia A. Tevis, Principal of Science Hill Female Academy. To Which Is Prefixed an Autobiographical Sketch of Rev. John Tevis* (Cincinnati: Printed at the Western Methodist Book Concern, 1878), p. 202.
22. Richard R. Beeman, "The Political Response to Social Conflict in the Southern Backcountry: A Comparative View of Virginia and the Carolinas during the Revolution," in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville, Va., 1985), p. 238.
23. *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, s.v. "Byars, William."
24 "Constitution of Emory and Henry College," p. 28.
25. Emory and Henry College, Catalogs, 1838–1889.
26. Charles Collins, *An Inaugural Address, Delivered at the Opening of Emory and Henry College, Washington County, Va., May 25th, 1838* (Abingdon, Va., 1838), pp. 4, 6–12, 26.
27. Elizabeth Kelly Allison, *Early Southwest Virginia Families: Families of Kelly, Smyth, Buchanan, Clark, and Related Families of Edmondson, Keys, Beattie, Ryburn, McDonald* (Privately printed, 1960), p. 48.
28. Rachel Ann Smyth, "Smyth: The Naming of Emory and Henry College," Subject Files, Tobias Smyth #334, typescript in Emory & Henry College Archives; hereafter cited as EHC Archives.
29. "Report of the Trustees of Emory & Henry College to the Holston Annual Conference," undated, but internal evidence indicates it was written in either 1838 or 1839, Subject Files, EHC Archives.

30. *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, s.v. Byars, William. "History (College): E&H Subscription List, c. 1835," #658, Subject Files, EHC Archives.
31. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, p. 845; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Emory and Henry College, Washington County, Va.* (Abingdon, Va., 1848), p. 4; James D. McCabe, "An Address Delivered before the Calliopean & Hermesian Societies of Emory & Henry College, at Commencement, June 23, 1847" (Abingdon, Va., 1847), pp. 3–4, 14.
32. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, in Association with the British Academy: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, s.v. "Buckingham, James Silk"; J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, vol. 2 (London, 1842), p. 277.
33. "Our Colleges," *The Holston Methodist*, 1 April 1876, p. 1.
34. "History (College): E&H Subscription List, c. 1835," #658, Subject Files, EHC Archives.
35. "Memoir of Rev. Samuel Patton, D.D.," Minutes of the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, October 1854, Minute Book, 1851–1862, Holston Conference Archives, Emory & Henry College.
36. Stevenson, *Increase in Excellence*, p. 47. Stevenson's reference to the author being anonymous is found in footnote 41.
37. *Holston Methodist*, 1 April 1876, p. 1.
38. Minutes of the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, October 1850, HCA Minute Book, 1836–1850.
39. Minutes of the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, October 1836, HCA Minute Book, 1836–1850. The secretary recorded his name as "W. Hix."
40. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Emory and Henry College, 1845–46* (Abingdon, Va., 1846), p. 3; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Emory and Henry College, 1847–48* (Abingdon, Va., 1848), p. 3.
41. John Goode, "Address before the Alumni," in *The Proceedings of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of Emory and Henry College, Virginia: 1837–1887* (Boston, 1888), 37–9.
42. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Goode, John."
43. Goode, "Address before the Alumni", pp. 45, 51–2.
44. Thomas L. Preston, "Sketch of the Life of Elizabeth Henry, Sister of Patrick Henry, and Wife of Gen. William Campbell, Hero of King's Mountain: Second Paper," *Southern Methodist Review* (New Series, vol. 3, no. 1, September 1887), p. 20.
45. Price served as a professor of mathematics at Emory & Henry from 1881 through 1885. He also edited the conference's weekly newspaper, the *Holston Methodist*, from 2 March 1872 through 21 December 1887 (for some of those years he served as an associate editor or co-editor).
46. Thomas L. Preston, *A Sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Henry Russell, Wife of General William Campbell, and Sister of Patrick Henry* (Nashville, Tenn., 1888), p. 3.
47. Preston's obituary in the 20 March 1903 *Charlottesville Daily Progress* states that he was born on 20 November 1812, which is the same birth date given in his biographical entry in *University of Virginia: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics, with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Founders, Benefac-*

tors, Officers and Alumni, vol. 1, ed. Paul Brandon Barringer, James Mercer Garnett, and Rosewell Page (New York, 1904), p. 526. If the 20 November 1812 birth date is correct, then he was only twelve years old when his grandmother died on 18 March 1825. Thomas L. Preston to Richard N. Price, 30 December 1886, Richard N. Price Collection, Holston Conference Archives, Emory & Henry College, hereafter cited as Price Collection. In a letter to Price dated 17 July 1888 he states that the papers were destroyed by Yankees when they came through Abingdon, not Seven Mile Ford. This is an example of Preston's faulty memory.

48. Thomas L. Preston letter to unknown, no date, in Thomas L. Preston subject file, EHC Archives.
49. Thomas L. Preston to Richard N. Price, 2 February 1887, Price Collection.
50. Thomas L. Preston to Richard N. Price, 15 February 1887, Price Collection.
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Front of Rock Spring Plantation, mid-nineteenth century.

Rock Spring Plantation: Incubator of Two American Industries

Jim Crawford

A tree-lined entrance to the Reynolds Homestead in Patrick County, Virginia, opens onto a grassy knoll, where, to the right, rests an antebellum red brick home place with its brick outbuildings and a long-arching view of No Business Mountain. This is a special spot. Isolated, yes, but also vibrant. The Nancy S. Reynolds Continuing Education Center, tucked off to the left, is a contemporary source of energy and inquiry. But without a doubt, the old brick home on the grassy rise is the focal point of visitors.

On these grounds, originally called Rock Spring Plantation, Hardin W. Reynolds, a planter, merchant, and tobacco manufacturer, and his wife, Nancy Cox Reynolds, raised their family. His successful tobacco business laid the foundation of experience and wealth for his industrialist children: R. J. Reynolds, founder of RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company, and tobacconist Abram D. Reynolds, whose son founded Reynolds Metals.

The brothers left Rock Spring Plantation as young men and started their respective businesses elsewhere. Yet many of the influences that shaped these industrialists rest here where they were born and grew to adulthood. This essay looks at the story of their home place, Rock Spring Plantation, in its physical, social, and economic setting.

The site of the home place, Patrick County, Virginia, lies midway in the eastern coastal plain of North America. The county is influenced by borders, both of physical place and social pattern. Politically, the county's southern border divides Virginia and North Carolina. But, as important, Patrick County straddles two of Virginia's physiographic regions. More than half of the eastern portion of the county lies in the rolling Piedmont. Here, the climate is humid and sub-tropical, which typifies most of Virginia's southern Piedmont and coastal plain. Yet, as the western lands of the county climb into the Blue

Ridge, the mountainous topography moderates the climate and alters the livelihoods of those who live there.[1]

Tobacco

Tobacco has been the leading agricultural crop in Virginia from Jamestown until the beginning of the twenty-first century. Virginia's plantation economy relied on this peculiar herb,[2] and, not surprisingly, tobacco was the main crop of Rock Spring Plantation.

For eons, this plant in the nightshade family grew wild, native only to the Americas. Seven thousand years ago, plant geneticists believe, tobacco was first cultivated in the Andes of Peru and Ecuador. By the time Columbus arrived, it was cultivated all over the Americas, including the Caribbean. The tobacco grown in Virginia, *Nicotiana rustica*, was used by Native Americans in ceremonies and as a healing herb.[3]

In the 1500s, as European contact with the Americas intensified, explorers introduced tobacco to France, Portugal, Spain, England, Turkey, Poland, and Germany. In the seventeenth century, called "The Great Age of the Pipe," the demand for tobacco in European courts was tremendous. Europeans were crazy for tobacco, snorting it, chewing it, and smoking it with increasing demand. By 1598 in England, a pound of tobacco cost four pounds, ten shillings. In comparison, a mug of ale cost one penny.[4]

With this economic demand, tobacco became the gold that saved the struggling colony of Virginia. Within 12 years of the founding of Jamestown, tobacco had become the Virginia colony's leading export. Its production laid the foundation for a plantation system based on enslaved Africans, which endured for nearly 250 years. The first Africans arrived on Virginia's shores in 1619. That same year, settlers started using tobacco as currency, and they continued to do so for 200 years in Virginia.[5]

From the first, the labor-intensive process of growing tobacco called for a large supply of cheap labor, and even before the introduction of African slavery, the demands of tobacco production led Englishmen to treat men and women in the New World as property. For the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century, most of the labor force was white, often comprised of English poor or Irishmen who had been abducted or coerced into service.

But by the latter quarter of the seventeenth century, the African slave trade had increased, supplying labor for plantation tobacco production. The black population in Virginia rose from about 12,000 in 1708 to 30,000 in 1730. The 1790 census reveals that Virginia and Maryland had 395,663 slaves, approximately 57 percent of all slaves in the United States.[6] In the nineteenth century, this enslaved-labor system would provide the Reynoldses with their work force.

The process of cultivating tobacco consisted of at least 36 separate operations. The steps included preparation of the seedbeds, planting, transplanting, topping, suckering, priming, frequent weeding and worming, cutting, bulking, curing, stripping, and prizing. Tobacco required such detailed attention, in fact, that a laborer seldom cultivated more than three or four acres containing ten thousand plants.[7]

Very little changed in cultivating tobacco from the first shipment of tobacco from Virginia through the Rock Spring Plantation era and up to the early twentieth century. In a 1999 interview, octogenarian Talbert Callands' description of how his slave-born grandfather, his father, and he grew tobacco demonstrates this point:

> The first thing, right after Christmas, you go out there in the woods somewhere and with a grubbing hoe and clean and bush. They dig 'em up, pile 'em in piles, and burn 'em. Or take an old blade of some kind and make them a knife, cut the briars. It was always down in the woods and there was stumps and roots and everything on it, an' get up a plant bed.[8]

A month later, after the plants had grown the desired number of leaves, the plants were topped to concentrate growth on the remaining leaves. The plants required constant care to keep away pests and weeds.

Six weeks after topping, the plants reached full growth, about four and a half to seven feet tall. They were then cut with a special long knife and stacked in the fields to wilt. Then they were hung in specially built tobacco-curing barns to dry, a process that took three to six weeks. If not cured properly, the leaves would rot in the hogshead casks.

The brittle, dried leaves were then covered with brush or hay and allowed to "sweat," making them pliable for prizing the tobacco into hogsheads. (Hogsheads were wooden casks about four feet tall and two and a half feet in diameter at the head.) The pliant leaves

were stripped from the stalks and tied in bundles, called hands, and carefully laid into the hogsheads. A barefoot laborer would compact the hands as the loading proceeded. The filled hogshead were "prized," or compressed by levers or screws to compact the tobacco. Additional hands of tobacco would be added and prized until the hogshead was tightly packed.

The prized hogsheads were stored at the plantation until they were loaded aboard tobacco ships anchored in the rivers. After the establishment of the system of official inspection stations, they were transported to the nearest warehouse. River bateaux, which carried tons of tobacco and other cargo, were preferred to travel over crude roads. Rolling hogsheads to get the tobacco to market was difficult, often resulting in a damaged product.[9]

Settlement

Following the establishment of the first permanent English colony at Jamestown in 1607, settlement moved slowly westward, taking nearly 100 years to advance from the coastal plain into the Piedmont. Virginia had two major migration patterns: westward up the rivers from the Tidewater and north to south along the Valley of Virginia.

For the first 250 years of development, Virginia's rivers were the most important means of transporting goods. Geographic peculiarities dominated early settlement and development of Southside (south of the James River). Most important, this land of abundant waterways and apparent fertility was landlocked and agriculturally limited. Its major river system, the Roanoke/Staunton River, did not flow to the Chesapeake Bay, where deep-water ports abounded, an essential requirement for exporting tobacco. Instead, the Roanoke/Staunton flowed into the shoal waters of Albemarle Sound in North Carolina. The shifting barrier islands were too hazardous for large trade ships to navigate the waters there. Thus, tobacco grown in Southside was rolled in hogsheads or conveyed by wagon to Lynchburg or Petersburg, whose waterways were part of the Chesapeake Bay system.[10]

This limiting geographic situation isolated Southside and slowed settlement. Incentives to settle the area came in response to a purported French threat from across the Alleghenies. In 1745 the colonial government offered land to settlers willing to tackle the Southside's wilderness. The act to attract settlers specified that within ten years

of its passage, anyone settling in Southside "should be exempted from all levies." The rate of settlement increased as Scots-Irish and German settlers streamed into the region from Pennsylvania by way of the Valley of Virginia.[11]

The western portion of Southside became home to many prominent tobacco planters and manufacturing families, with names including Penn, Reynolds, Wilson, Martin, Critz, Pannel, and Hairston.[12]

With the region's increasing tobacco production, Lynchburg (established in 1786) became the largest tobacco market serving the southwestern Piedmont, and its first tobacco warehouse was constructed in 1781. Lynchburg's growth can be attributed to its location on the James River and to available water transport via bateau to markets and deep-water ports further east.

In order to establish a Southside inspection station, the legislature granted, in 1793, a charter for Danville, whose founding fathers were all tobacconists. By 1796, the Danville warehouse was doing a brisk business. Between September 1795 and September 1797, 135 hogsheads of about 135,000 pounds of tobacco had been dispatched, and 70 hogsheads were still in the warehouse.[13]

Abraham Reynolds

Around this time, another tobacco planter established roots in the region. In 1813, nearly 200 years after his first ancestors came to America, Abraham Reynolds appeared in the Patrick County tax records. Abraham married Polly Harbour, daughter of David Harbour, on May 19, 1809. They had two sons, Hardin William Reynolds (April 20, 1810 – May 30, 1882) and David Harbour Reynolds (June 15, 1811 – September 20, 1836).[14]

On February 15, 1814, Abraham purchased 50 acres on the No Business fork of the North Mayo River. He paid $100 for the land "with all woods, ways, water courses, fences, orchards, house, and all the other involvements appertaining, or in anywise there unto belonging." The surveyed tract, identified by corners of white oak, chestnut, hickory, and a "sorrell" wood tree, suggested the land's natural history. Within 25 years, he had increased his land holdings to 1,080 acres.[15]

In 1828, Abraham sent his 18-year-old son, Hardin, on a 10-day trip to Lynchburg to sell a hogshead of tobacco. The 75-mile journey traversed roads that were formerly footpaths and hunting trails meandering with the lay of the land. To reach this marketing center, Hardin had to ford sizeable streams and rivers, including the Smith, Blackwater, Pigg, and Staunton, before reaching Lynchburg. Road conditions were treacherous in bad weather, but even under good conditions, the way was arduous.

In Lynchburg, Hardin experienced an unfortunate reality often encountered by planters, low prices for his tobacco, but it spurred a creative idea. Returning home, he persuaded his father to let him start manufacturing plug tobacco on their plantation, thus maximizing their profits by peddling the tobacco themselves. Abraham agreed, and they built a small log factory building near the home site.[16]

The idea was not a new one. Joseph A. Martin noted in an 1835 publication:

> The tobacco raised in the county [Patrick] is mostly manufactured and sold in the southern and western States. Immense quantities of this article were annually sent to the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and sold at good prices for cash. Nearly every planter who raises tobacco to any extent is a manufacturer, but there are some who make a business of it and purchase the article in the leaf from their neighbors, without prizing at the very liberal price.[17]

The region's first tobacco manufacturer was the Gravely Tobacco Company, established in 1791, just one year after Patrick County was created from Henry County's western half. By the time Hardin had rolled his hogshead to Lynchburg, as many as 100 small tobacco manufacturers were operating in the region.[18]

At age 21, Hardin's brother, David, was successfully peddling this manufactured tobacco. In 1832, he entered into partnership with Colonel James M. Redd of Patrick County and Redd's brother-in-law, John C. Staples, in a mercantile venture at Ward's Gap, Virginia, southwest of Stuart, on the North Carolina border.

David Reynolds was the major player in the business. His contract with his partners gave the two of them half the profits while he kept the other half. David also was to receive $150 per year, and Redd and Staples were to lend him $1,000 at 6 percent interest for his busi-

ness responsibilities. These responsibilities included peddling manufactured tobacco as far away as Georgia and hauling back supplies and groceries for the store. After two years, the business moved from the Ward's Gap location to Patrick Courthouse (now Stuart), and Staples left the business. David and Redd "were engaged in various speculation in money, tobacco and other things."[19] Their business owned one slave and a horse, employed a clerk, and bought tobacco in lots as large as 1,000 pounds.

Along with peddling plug and twist tobacco, they sold bacon, which was in high demand. David returned from his peddling trips with goods for the store that included sugar, coffee, rice, molasses, dry goods, tin, Madeira wine, apple brandy, French wine, rum, cotton yarn, and other such necessities and luxuries of the time.[20]

When David died in 1836, his partner, Redd, contested the estate. David was unmarried, and his estate was to go to his brother, Hardin. Testimony in the court case affirms the success of both Abraham and David Reynolds. Joseph W. Varner testified that he witnessed Abraham Reynolds give David Reynolds $1,000 to $1,200 and that as he handed the money to his son, he reportedly said, "Do the best with this you can, my son." Henry Aistock claimed he heard James Redd say that David Reynolds was a "skinner" and made a more handsome profit on the goods he sold than the merchants of Patrick Courthouse did on their goods.[21] Abraham's investment in his son's career thus proved to be a wise one.

This revealing suit against the executor of David's estate ended in Hardin W. Reynolds's favor. Then, 18 months later, Abraham died, and Hardin found himself the sole heir of both David and Abraham's sizeable estates.[22]

In 1839, shortly after Abraham's death, a new type of tobacco was developed — bright leaf. It was a milder tasting tobacco and aided the transition from chewing and snuff to smoking cigarettes. According to legend, a slave named Steven accidentally produced it while curing tobacco on a plantation in Caswell County, North Carolina, just across the border from Danville. When the golden-colored tobacco was taken to market, it brought four times the price of other tobacco.[23]

Over a short period of time, most Southside farmers adapted their curing techniques to produce this golden leaf by using high tempera-

tures in the curing process. Another change involved harvesting the leaves individually as they ripened. The first to ripen were the lower leaves: the sand lugs. Then, in up to four separate "pullings," the leaves were harvested as they ripened. The process required intense labor. Four leaves would be tied into a bunch and then tied to a stick about four feet long. Once a stick was filled with bundles, it was hung between tier poles in the barn. With enough help, a barn could be filled with tobacco in one day. The curing process usually took four days, considerably less than air-dried tobacco.[24] Hardin, an opportunistic and shrewd planter, transitioned to growing and curing this bright-leaf tobacco.

Rock Spring

Shortly after the introduction of flue-curing, 32-year-old Hardin Reynolds married Nancy Jane Cox of the Quaker Gap community in northwestern Stokes County, North Carolina, on January 31, 1843.

Nancy Reynolds was a literate woman. Her handwriting so exceeded the penmanship of her husband that she occasionally wrote important letters on his behalf and signed his name. She was also a woman of vitality and bore 16 children, including two sets of twins, between 1844 and 1870. She lived to be almost 78 years old.

When Hardin and Nancy began their life together, he was already on his way to impressive wealth with the aid of his inheritances. By 1850, seven years after his marriage, his labor base had increased from nine to 37 slaves, and he owned thousands of acres of land.[25]

Around the time of his marriage, Hardin made arrangements for a brick home to be built, and it became the heart of Rock Spring Plantation. A brick home was a symbol of prestige and wealth in nineteenth century Virginia. Clearly, Hardin wanted to proclaim the stature of his family at the time of his marriage and in the years to come.

Hardin sited Rock Spring Plantation south of the No Business fork of the North Mayo River on the original 50 acres purchased by Abraham. No Business Mountain, a mile or two to the west, stretched across the northern view from the front of the house. A few dozen yards from the front door lay the Norfolk-to-Bristol road, which skirted the south side of No Business Mountain on its way to Stuart, Ward's Gap, and the Southwest Virginia highlands.

The home was built in two stages. The original building measured 47 feet wide by 21 feet deep and faced the road. It was roomy enough to accommodate the large Henry Gaeble piano purchased in Baltimore and shipped to Rock Springs Plantation to celebrate Hardin's marriage to Nancy and the uniting of the prestigious families. The piano is still in the home.

A house of this size, including the detached kitchen, required 14 to 16 months of labor and speaks to the wealth of slave labor owned by Hardin Reynolds.[26]

The name of the brick mason who constructed it is lost to time, but his work speaks to his skill. The front, with the finest, straight-edged bricks, was laid with a Flemish bond, which was popular for this period and very strong. The sides are laid in a common bond with a header course every fifth course for strength.

In 1857–58, when Hardin and Nancy's family had grown to eight children, a two-story brick addition was attached to the back of the house, providing approximately half again as much space as the original home. The brick mason for the addition left an ink receipt[27]:

> Feb 22th 1859
>
> Recd of H. W. Reynolds Two hundred & forty five dollars in parte for my Brick work I have don for him. Hugh Sims

Place and Time

Rock Spring Plantation was one of the westernmost tobacco plantations in Virginia, yet it shared much with Virginia's plantations to the east. Tobacco was its major crop, requiring tremendous labor, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, enslaved Africans increasingly provided that labor. Virginia's enslaved population, the largest of any state, grew from about 293,000 in 1790 to 490,865 in 1860, entirely through natural increase, and despite an enormous out-migration, mostly to states of the Cotton South. In 1860, Virginia matched the average of the other slave states, in that barely one-fourth of all white families owned any slaves, with much the greatest rates of slave owning found in the tobacco-growing Piedmont and Tidewater areas, and much the lowest rates west of the Blue Ridge. In Patrick County, as in the state at large, the tobacco-growing eastern sections held the largest concentrations of slaves. The county's largest slaveholders were

the Penn and Reynolds families. In 1860, Hardin Reynolds owned 59 slaves.[28]

Hardin's oldest son, Abram D. Reynolds, wrote in 1915 about these times: "Our father was an extensive tobacco grower and owned several Virginia plantations. No white man worked in his factories except his sons, all of the labor on his plantations and in his factories being done by slaves."[29]

Receipts of Hardin's slave purchases are unceremoniously written on small scraps of paper yet verify the wealth invested in slaves by planters such as Reynolds. "Received of H. W. Reynolds Seven hundred dollars in full of the purchase of one negro slave named Milley about 23 years of age." Milley, it was noted, had bad burn scars. In 1858 Hardin bought "a negro boy named Jim" for $765. That same year he paid a tax of 50 cents to license his slave Jack, bought for $550 in 1849. A license tax was levied for a number of business operations that a slave might perform, such as a wagoneer, blacksmith, distiller, or any occupation where fees were charged. Just what Jack was licensed to do is unknown, but his skills were in such demand that Hardin rented him to others.[30]

The social climate in Virginia during the nineteenth century increasingly involved itself with the issue of slavery. Slave rebellions sent fear through plantation Virginia. In 1831, the slave preacher Nat Turner led a band of followers on a rampage through the Southampton County countryside, killing some 55 white people, 45 of them women and children.[31]

White slave owners feared a slave insurrection for three reasons. First was their profit motive and the belief that they needed a large supply of labor. Second was the belief that black and white people were fundamentally different and that blacks were inferior to whites — or at least should be kept subordinate to whites. Third, and these are interrelated, was the belief that the two races could not live together peaceably unless the "inferior" race was enslaved.[32]

The issue of slavery clouded religion. In Virginia, slaves were not allowed to worship unless a white minister was present in the church. Mr. Beverly Jones, a slave from Gloucester Court House, remembers his church experiences as a slave:

> Couldn' no nigger preacher preach lessen a white man was present, an' they paid the white man what attended the colored

> services. Niggers had to set an' listen to the white man's sermon, but they didn' want to 'cause they knowed it by heart. Always took his text from Ephesians, the white preacher did, the part what said, "Obey your masters, be good servant."[33]

Denominations varied in their views on slavery, and whites joined churches that reflected their values. A deed dated May 18, 1850, between Hardin W. Reynolds, Nancy J. Reynolds, and Molly Varner and Elijah H. Wimbush, Jackson Penn, Joseph Kennerly Jr., and George C. Dodson, trustee, states that

> for consideration of $1.00 conveys all right, title and interest which Hardin W. Reynolds, Nancy J. Reynolds, and Molly Varner have in a one acre tract beginning at Hopkins' corner on the east side of the courthouse road, That the trustees shall build thereon a house of worship for the use of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.[34]

The history of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC), South illuminates the convolutions involved in combining racist beliefs with Christian theology. John Wesley, who deplored slavery, founded Methodism in the United States in 1784, and it officially opposed slavery. As the denomination spread throughout the South, tensions between southern and northern Methodists grew over the issue of slavery. In 1844 the MEC General Conference in New York voted to remove Bishop James Osgood Andrew of Oxford, Georgia, because he owned slaves. The dispute led the Methodists in the south to split off and form a separate southern denomination, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which accepted slaveholding bishops as well as slaveholding preachers and members.[35]

Community

In the decades leading up to the Civil War, Hardin's plantation, tobacco factory, and store flourished. His mercantile, on the road by the house, carried accounts for months at a time. A review of some of the store accounts offer a glimpse into this rural community and the variety of goods Reynolds sold. In June and July of 1855, for example, Miss P. Varner credited the following to her account: two and a half bushels of corn, 18 pounds of bacon, three pecks of wheat, one-half

bushel of corn, another one-half bushel of corn, and one-half bushel of wheat.

Hardin's store stocked pints of brandy, pounds of bacon, the milk of one cow (at $2 per month), bleached cloth, yards of cotton cloth, jean cloth, pounds of salt, plugs of tobacco, bushels of rye, oats, day rent of a wagon, and apple brandy. The distiller of the brandy was Robert M. Dunkley, a tenant on Hardin's land. A bond note to Hardin for $19.30, signed by Nancy Dunkin (her mark), R. M. Dunkley, and Arche Banon (his mark), involved this distiller. Nancy Dunkin recorded how she intended to pay her part of the rent:

> The above Nancy Dunkin Bind her Crop of Frute to R. M. Dunkley to Stand for her to H. W. Reynolds for the above Debt the said N. Dunkin Bind herself to Hall the same to the said Dunkleys still, and so he is to have half of the Brandy over and above pay the above Debt.

Thus, Robert Dunkley's clients provided their own apples, and he kept half of the brandy made from their apples. Hardin's motive was similar but more profitable. Agreements show that the distiller took his half portion of brandy, and Reynolds received half of the remaining brandy as rent from his tenants. He would then sell brandy in his store for 50 cents a pint or $1 a gallon.[36]

Hardin not only used slave labor, he also often entered into contractual relationships with people to work his lands. These arrangements inadvertently prepared him for the post-emancipation labor relations of tenancy and sharecropping. Three notes illustrate typical pre-war arrangements: On June 21, 1856, Hardin paid James Bundrant $50 for "my laber for said Reynolds on his farme in the yare of 1854." In July 1857 William Isral "sold to H. W. Reynolds my Corn and oat Crop that I have at his place for what I owe him on Settlement with him." On November 22, 1860, Leftwich Gilley signed a promissory note of $40 "for the rent of the place I now live on for the yare of 1861."[37]

Rock Spring Plantation also functioned within a community of neighboring craftsmen, businessmen, and tradesmen. A good sawyer was essential for Reynolds in this age of wood. Buildings, wagons, wheels, fences, fuel, tools, toys, and much more were fashioned from trees. The bark of the chestnut, which was highly valued for its rot

resistance, was used for tanning leather, and nuts from the tree were harvested for human use as well as fodder for livestock.

A. A. Shelton, one of the sawyers with whom Reynolds dealt, milled many hundreds of feet of "spiling, box plank, wagon bed plank, sheeting, flouring, weather board, oak boards, pine boards and maple boards." He also made tobacco boxes for Reynolds, and Hardin ran up a multi-year bill for these services.[38]

Hardin also dealt with Joseph Kennerly Jr., a tanner. Hardin's account records with Kennerly cover nine years. Kennerly's bills to Hardin from 1859 to 1861 included charges for two pounds of harness leather, a horse collar, 15 hides, two leather collars for mules, tanning four sheep skins with wool on, tanning one calf skin, one mule skin, tanning seven hides, and two kips (small animals). Hardin received partial credit on his bill by "thrashing your crop of white for the yare of 1860," selling Kinnerley eight pounds of nails and hiring out one of his mules to the tanner.[39]

Leather-workers were also among the craftsmen whose services Hardin engaged. James Nowlin, who had a drinking or tippling shop, repaired his carriage harness. Thomas Shelton provided Hardin with a harness for his carriage, girth straps, stirrup leather, and a "woman's saddle with cloth finish."[40]

Hardin also hired several blacksmith/farriers to do work for him. John E. Simmons collected $220 from him in 1861. His services included shoeing horses, making nails, and fabricating a two-horse plow. H. J. Bishop and his son, Clay, were blacksmiths and wheelwrights in the area, and Hardin had lengthy accounts with them for forging plow points, wagon tongues, and axle trees, and for repairing wagon beds. Another blacksmith for Reynolds was Major Meadows, who repaired wagon wheels and made such farming tools as scythes and churns.

Wagons were the mainstay in this area since it was distanced from navigable rivers. Everything had to be transported by wagon, and part of Hardin's business involved hauling goods or paying to have things hauled. For example, he paid W. C. Staples $1 for "Hauling Bedstead from River."[41]

Like most wealthy planters, Hardin owned a carriage, and other people sometimes requested its use. Joseph M. Tatum, for example, sent him the following message: "Dear sir, I wrote you a note on yesterday in regard to your carriage please let me hire from you I only

want it to carry my family to the depot and some other places will pay you for it and return it in good order."[42]

To keep track of his extensive landholdings, Hardin required the services of surveyors. One of them, M. T. Lawson, drew elegant sketches of tracts that he had surveyed, of streams, roads, and buildings. Hardin also frequently used surveyor J. H. Pedigo. On one bill for "survey work completed," Pedigo charged him $10 for two days of surveying.[43]

A note dated September 28, 1858, introduces us to another important member of this community, one who worked often for Hardin: "Dear Sir, If you will send by the bearer some 16 pounds of lard to us, I will thank you, and pay you for it — we want it for wool rolls — and no matter if it is not so very nice. Yours truly, Ben. J. Campbell."[44] Benjamin Jewett Campbell and his family moved to Patrick Courthouse, where Benjamin established a law practice, between 1840 and 1843. He was appointed commissioner of the Patrick County Circuit Court in 1846 and served until his death in 1877.[45]

In 1854, Campbell constructed a millpond with a geared mill, which was operated by his son, Timothy. The diversified mill was used to card wool and cotton, saw timber, and ground grain, all services used by Hardin. The mill supplied wooden tobacco boxes for his plug tobacco factory, ground corn, oats, and rye, and carded wool and cotton for his store. In 1875, Hardin bought 29 acres of land adjoining Campbell's mill, possibly to simplify their transactions.[46]

While relationships within the community were important for day-to-day matters, for broader marketing of his tobacco products, he needed contacts outside the region. He dealt with several commission merchants located in Danville, Richmond, Baltimore, and New York City, who sold his manufactured tobacco on commission.

Tobacco manufacture was a competitive business. In 1869 Abram was on a tobacco-peddling trip in Tennessee when he wrote to his father: "Thomas Trent is between here and Dalton, Georgia. I guess he has sold very little tobacco." Trent's lack of success was a point of pride for Abram, who was able to sell all of his tobacco.[47]

This competition between manufacturers could become testy and often litigious. In a written request, Joseph H. Thompson and Company, Tobacco Commission Merchants in New York City, asked H. W. Reynolds and Son to help them secure a local lawyer in a legal matter against John Trent for one case of licorice, which he had bought and

had never paid for. Trent learned of their plan and wrote the commission merchants:

> Sir, if you are trying to scare me you have waked up the wrong man. Sir I will pay you as soon as I can But you can't scare me and you will get your money sooner by not making tools of H. W. Reynolds and Son than you will by doing so. His son by braking up my arrangement with a commission merchant that was furnishing me with money to run was the cause of my not being able to comply with, He has done every thing he possibly could to Bust me up.[48]

Civil War

Virginia seceded from the Union in April 1861. The Reynolds family was personally involved in the Confederate cause. Reynolds' records from the Civil War period are replete with rental arrangements, payments usually made by crop yields or barter. Typical is the receipt of Mathew Clarke and his wife:

> This is to certify that I am in debt to H. W. Reynolds and it is the contrack with him he is to hold my Crop of all Kinds and pay him self and my wife is to have Corn and wheate for bred out of my Crop and the said Reynolds is to have the Balance at the market price at the time the Crop is redy for division I am to have the Balance if Eney over paying the said Reynolds given under my hand and seal.[49]

Early in the war, Hardin sent Abram, then 15 years old, on an expedition to Charleston, West Virginia, to buy salt. Abram left Rock Spring Plantation with a four-horse team pulling a wagon driven by a slave. The wagon was loaded with tobacco to barter. On the first day, he met a man named Patterson from Franklin County who was also going to Charleston for salt. Patterson had the same type team and wagon and one slave driver, but he also had a pony he rode. The two men formed a "covenant" that they would stay together for the entire trip until they got back to the Franklin pike.[50]

Abram later wrote about a situation that faced the two allied groups as they neared far western Virginia near the Narrows:

> I said to my partner Patterson I am going to give you a thought which will save your teem and my teem alive — We are about to

> enter a Country that both armies have marched over Several times and destroyed Every thing and what we Should do is to ride this horse a head of the wagons and buy Corn for our teems and pack same to the road — it was impossible to buy Corn on the main high way hundreds of teems had gone on ahead of us and only chance now was for him to ride one day and pack in Corn to the main road and let me have his horse the next day *and all I charged for the thought was the use of his horse every other day* [italics added].[51]

About his homecoming from the trip, he wrote:

> I will never forget how my father rejoiced when he saw his Splendid teem So fat and Slick His neighbors teem that lived to get back alive was dead poor their boss had drove about Six horse teems into a wilderness of a hundred and fifty miles that not a bushel of Corn Could be bought for love or money and the boss an old tobacco peddler — He brought but little salt as half of his teems died other half so near dead Could pull but little salt, I brought back Four thousand pounds which carried us through the war.[51]

Abram entered Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in June 1863 at the insistence of his father and with the help of influential neighbors who wrote letters of commendation. At VMI, he participated in five forced marches "trying to keep the Yankees back." In nine months, to the consternation of his father, Abram left VMI to "drive back the Fiendish hordes invading the Sacred Soil of dear old Virginia."[52] Accompanied by his slave, Squire, Abram joined the Confederate Army and was transferred to Richmond, where he was nominated and approved as captain of his regiment. He was marching through Richmond in March 1865 when the city was abandoned.

Abram returned home to a reunion with his father, who was overjoyed to see him. Hardin told Abram, "My son, the Yankees have been here and torn up every thing, and my negro men have all gone with them. But since you have come back alive and well, it is all right. We can rebuild our lost fortune."[53]

According to Abram, Hardin was a "fine disciplinarian" and had "always kept me at a distance." With that in mind, Abram was pleased with his homecoming, writing later:

> I was glad my father made this demonstration it made a better man of me — Love is the greatest gift that was bestowed on man — It has brought back many wayward Children parents should never give up a wayward child.[54]

Emancipation and the freeing of Reynolds' slaves by members of General George Stoneman's regiment brought a new reality to Rock Spring Plantation. Abram and his brother, Richard Joshua (R. J.), busied themselves with helping their father on the farm and "saved the corn crop."[55]

Reconstruction

The Civil War freed 4 million slaves across the South. Reconstruction in the South literally meant the rebuilding of its social and economic systems. In Virginia's tobacco regions, many freedmen were left dependent on plantation agriculture and were working lands contracted under tenant and sharecropping rental agreements.[56]

As a result of the war, Hardin had to transition to freed labor on his farms, using various forms of rental arrangements. Documented on small pieces of paper, the marks of freedmen appear, contracting their labor. Though their situation was difficult, the very act of making a contract was a source of pride for them. On some notes, beside the "X" of their signature, is roughly written "a freed man." Slaves sometimes had no family names; after emancipation, freed people often adopted their former master's name. Thus, many freed Reynoldses were contracted in these emancipation rent agreements.

Former slave Jack Reynolds, whom Hardin had purchased in 1849, kept an account at Hardin's store and during 1866 bought mainly farming tools and a milk cow. Hardin entered Jack's name as "Big Jack Reynolds." The next year Jack and Darcus Reynolds held a rent agreement with Hardin for one barrel of good corn each. By 1871 Jack's rent agreement was for three barrels of good corn.

More than 30 emancipation rent documents illustrate a wide range of agreements. Most contracts were for a portion of the crop for a year. If a renter had some farming tools and a mule, then the rent was for a quarter of the crop. Renters who needed tools and a mule paid half of their crop. If orchards overlay the rented land, Hardin required half of the brandy, distilled from the fruit, after the tenants

paid the distiller. Many agreements spelled out the repairs and improvements the renters had to make, including fixing barns and fencing fields.[57]

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, a federal agency tasked with assuring that African Americans received their newfound rights, reported a rash of complaints from freed people about nonpayment of wages for 1865, including a complaint from the Office of Assistant Superintendent Freedmen in Greensboro, North Carolina, addressed to Hardin Reynolds:

> Sir a colored woman by the name of Cely comes to this office and complains of you threating to Drive her from your plantation I suppose you are well aware wherein Freedmen have help raised a crop they are entitled to a Support You are hereby ordered to give this woman a home on your plantation or a support to do her till christmass.[58]

Amidst the upheaval of reconstruction, Hardin sent Abram to Bryant and Stratten Commercial College in Baltimore, Maryland. Abram "worked until 11 o'clock at night and completed the course of study in 3 months." Afterward he did some accounting work for a firm and then got a job teaching in Maryland. Hardin urged his son to come home, saying that all he had "was for his family." Abram declined, noting that with his father having eight children, "I don't think you want me to work for an eighth — make me an offer." The father and son struck a deal for Abram to receive $600 per year plus "my board and one third of the profits."[59]

Abram returned to Rock Spring Plantation and formed a partnership, Reynolds and Lybrook. Shortly thereafter, A. M. Lybrook, a well-known lawyer in the county, married Abram's older sister, Mary Joyce, on March 13, 1867. Abram noted, "My father was not Known in the firm as we wanted him to go on our government bond." Thus, the tradition in the region of father and son tobacco manufacturing businesses continued, if not exactly on paper.

In 1872 Abram and Lybrook sold out to Hardin and R. J., and Abram moved to Bristol, Virginia, where he bought a building and established a tobacco-manufacturing business. Richard S. Reynolds, Abram's son, expanded the packaging portion of the business and founded Reynolds Metals, which became famously successful.[60]

Hardin's other industrialist son, R. J., was born July 20, 1850, three years after Abram. At intervals from the age of five until 24, R. J. worked for his father's tobacco factory at Rock Spring. He had been too young to enlist in the Confederate army and had spent the war years peddling tobacco products alone on long trips as far south as Georgia.

R. J. attended Emory and Henry College from 1868 to 1870. He left school and worked for Reynolds and Lybrook for two years on salary until he and Hardin bought the company. During this period, R. J. attended Bryant and Stratton Business College in Baltimore, where he found mathematics to his liking. On Saturdays he sold his father's tobacco products to Baltimore commission merchants and learned the tobacco manufacturing business from all angles.

R. J.'s salesmanship and determination are evident in this story of one of his tobacco peddling trips to Southwest Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. He was having difficulty selling his products since money was scarce at the time. Improvising, he started bartering for his tobacco:

> [R. J.] arrived at home late one night, with his wagon loaded to its capacity with beeswax, tallow, ginseng, cowhides, sheep-pelts, bear and wildcat skins, possum, mink and groundhog hides, [rag] carpets, knit sox, yarn and homespun of various kinds, a few pieces of valuable old furniture, with almost every other conceivable thing which a country store took in exchange for the things the country people had to have stored away in that wagon, with three or four horses and mules hitched on behind, and a solid gold-case watch in his pocket, which was originally purchased by the owner for one hundred and twenty-five dollars, but accepted in payment for tobacco at thirty dollars.[61]

Abram was not impressed that R. J. had left with $2,000 worth of tobacco and returned with such a load, so R. J. held an auction and served as its auctioneer. Proceeds from the sale exceeded the cash value of the tobacco by 25 percent.

In 1874, at the age of 24, R. J. sold his interest in the factory at Rock Spring and left home, bound for Winston, North Carolina, 50 miles to the south. There he purchased a lot on Depot Street and built his first factory, founding the RJR Tobacco Company. The location was near the center of bright leaf tobacco production and was on

a railroad line.[62] Though he left Virginia, he was never far from his father's land. Hardin owned property within 20 miles of the city that would become Winston-Salem and the center of R. J.'s tobacco manufacturing empire.[63]

On May 30, 1882, eight years after R. J. left Rock Spring, Hardin died and was buried in the family cemetery beside the brick plantation house.[64] By then Rock Spring Plantation had become the heart of his business empire, which comprised at least 8,000 acres in Virginia and 3,000 acres in Stokes County, North Carolina. As a testament to his success and influence, all five of his sons pursued his occupation, and two American industries emerged from Rock Spring Plantation.[65]

When questioned about his own business success, R. J. Reynolds attributed it to his father:

> I was trained early in the value of work by my father, who was a successful planter and business man. He took a great deal of interest in training young men to work, and in this he gained a reputation for efficiency. Above all things else, he believed firmly in work. I have heard him say over and over again that all the talent, or ability, a man could possess, was worthless unless it was backed up by work.[66]

Rock Spring Plantation Today

In 1969 Hardin's granddaughter, Nancy S. Reynolds, with assistance from other family members, restored Rock Spring Plantation. It was renamed Reynolds Homestead, and 717 acres were deeded to Virginia Tech, which operates the property as a continuing education center. Additionally, the university's College of Natural Resources operates a Forest Resources Research Center on the land. Reynolds Homestead is a designated State and National Historic Landmark and is listed on the National Registry of American Homes.[67]

Endnotes

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16. Nannie M. Tilley, *History of Reynolds Family*, unpublished, courtesy of Reynolds Homestead, p. 24.
17. Tilley, *History of Reynolds Family*, p. 3.
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Indian Slavery and Freedom Suits:
The Cases of Rachel Viney and Rachel Findlay

Mary B. Kegley

Although we often think of Negro slaves obtaining their freedom under certain circumstances, it is also true that some Indians[1] in Virginia who were slaves obtained their freedom. Many of them used the court system in Williamsburg, especially in the 1770s when "a multitude of cases" were heard.[2] The procedures were later spelled out in the Code of Virginia,[3] and freedom suits were mentioned in the files of the Superior Court, in local court orders, and in decided cases of the Supreme Court.[4] This article tells the story of two women, residents of Southwest Virginia, who obtained their freedom through the local court systems, Rachel Viney in 1815 and Rachel Findlay in 1820.

How could slaves file a lawsuit against their master? In these specific cases the exact details are missing, but it is known that Quakers, Methodists, and some local citizens were often willing to give assistance and encouragement. If the slave could reach the courthouse, then the laws of Virginia were specific. Persons who believed that they were entitled to be free were permitted to appear before the justices of the court in the county where they lived. If the court believed there was enough evidence to hear the case, the slave was permitted to file a petition reciting the reasons for the belief. The facts of the case usually showed that the individual was descended in the maternal line from an Indian brought into Virginia and held in slavery at a time when such was illegal; such illegal enslavement of Indians occurred repeatedly. After the case was filed, the master or owner of the slave was required to appear and post bond in an amount double the value of the petitioner. In the meantime, the slave was protected by the sheriff of the county. All court costs and attorney's fees were free because the slave was usually without means and considered to be a pauper. These freedom suits were often referred to as *in forma pauperis* cases. Some were indexed under the word "Pauper" or the first name

of the person bringing the suit. Seldom were surnames mentioned, but the two cases that follow are exceptions.

The master's bond required that there be no interference and no abuse toward the slave while the evidence was being gathered, and there was to be no prohibition from allowing the summons to be obtained. Yet, in at least one instance in Southwest Virginia, the lower court refused to hear a case. Consequently the attorney filed a writ asking to transfer the case to the higher or Superior Court. This fact emerged from the Findlay lawsuit where the documents filed proclaimed that because a certain relative of the master was a justice on the court, it would be impossible for the case ever to be heard there.[5]

In the two specific cases mentioned in this article, one was filed in Montgomery County and the other in Wythe County, Virginia. Each of the petitioners was named Rachel, one with the surname Viney, the other Findlay. Each had been freed by a court in Eastern Virginia, but since these records have not survived, exact details are unknown. Even though the slaves had obtained their freedom, their masters moved them westward, where they were sold illegally as Negro slaves. As a result, the two Rachels had to file freedom suits to try once more to gain their freedom.

Rachel Viney and eighteen other members of her family were from Northumberland County, Virginia, and her first case was held in the District Court for Richmond, Westmoreland, Lancaster, and Northumberland. There they recovered their freedom by verdict dated September 7, 1791. In addition to their freedom they were awarded one shilling in damages. These facts were recited in the case filed in Montgomery County on December 23, 1806, when, for the second time, Rachel filed for her freedom.[6] The evidence showed that her ancestor was Mary, who had come into Eastern Virginia by ship with her granddaughter, Bess. They were identified as Indians, not Africans, and were described as being "of yellow complexion and had long straight hair down to their waists." Bess was a young girl of twelve or thirteen. No Indian tribe was mentioned. Rachel Viney was a child of Sarah, a descendant of these two Indian women. The case stated that she had been sold back into slavery as a Negro. She was purchased by Henry Patton, of a well-known family who lived in that part of Montgomery County that is now Pulaski County.[7]

Her petition was filed in March 1807 without fees or costs because she was classified as a "pauper." She filed for trespass, assault and battery, and false imprisonment, which was the standard request in such cases. Not only was she suing for her own freedom but she was also petitioning the court for her children — Hannah, Santy, Jimmy, Abigail, Joe, and Solomon — all of whom were being held illegally by Henry Patton. In addition, she sued for her son Marcus who was in the possession of Samuel Patton, a son of Henry, and her son Jupiter, who was in the possession of Andrew Johnston of Giles County. Her daughter Hannah's three children — Sam, Daniel, and William — were also included in the suit. After more than eight years in the court system, all were declared to be free in 1815.

In 1816, the Giles County list of "free persons of colour" included Rachel Viney, age 49, then living on the New River at Philip Peter's place. Her occupation was listed as a spinster, meaning someone who does spinning and weaving. Also in Giles County were Hannah age 27, Jupiter age 22, Senty [Santy] age 18, Abbey age 14, Joe age 12, Solomon age 10, Sam age 7, Daniel age 5, Bill age 3, and Jim age 4 months. In 1830, Jupiter, Jimmy, and Hannah were still residing in Giles County.[8]

The other Rachel, identified as Rachel Findlay, had a similar experience. She was declared to be free the first time in 1773 by the court in Williamsburg. She claimed her descent from her grandmother named Chance, who was brought into Virginia by Indian trader Henry Clay of what is now Powhatan County. Based on uncertain evidence, Chance was approximately six years old and had been kidnapped by Clay somewhere in the Southern Indian Nations; Catawba, Choctaw, and Creeks were all mentioned. Two Indian children, Chance and James (who was about eight years old), and their progeny were raised by the Clays. The exact date of their arrival in Virginia is not known, and it is not known how soon after their arrival Henry Clay took them to the Henrico Court in August 1712 to have their ages adjudged. At this time Indian slavery was no longer legal in Virginia, a fact ignored by the Clay family.[9]

Rachel Findlay, the granddaughter of Chance, was illegally transferred about 1773 to the frontier of Virginia by Mitchell Clay of Powhatan. She was then twenty years old, and her daughter Judy was six. They lived in the remote parts of what is now West Virginia, at

the place later known as Princeton. The following year Rachel and Judy were sold as Negro slaves to John Draper, who lived in Drapers Valley in that part of Wythe County that became Pulaski. While with the Drapers, Rachel had eleven children, and although she attempted many times to find someone to help her get to the court (twenty miles away in Wytheville) or find an attorney to help her, she did not make the trip until 1813. She was then sixty years old and had forty-two descendants, many or all of whom would also be entitled to their freedom if her case succeeded. The results were not immediate because her evidence had to be gathered in Powhatan County, where the elders of the community knew her and her circumstances. Court papers show that Rachel made at least two trips to Powhatan to take depositions for the trial. Eventually, the case was transferred to Powhatan, and in May 1820, after seven years in the court system, she was once again declared a free person.

Not only did Rachel Findlay file her case for freedom, but thirty of her forty-two descendants can be identified in various lawsuits which followed. In addition, her youngest daughter somehow found her way to Huntsville (Madison County), Alabama, and records there show that she received her freedom based on her mother's successful lawsuit.[10] Other members of Rachel's family were probably given to Draper children who moved west and left no local information.

The court order books mention those family members of Rachel who had been freed in the local courts. Their freedom was granted, based on the fact that their mother (or their grandmother) Rachel Findlay had been freed by the court in Powhatan. Later, the same court recognized her success when she filed for registration as a free person of color descended from an Indian named Chance.[11]

Rachel Findlay's story appeared in the *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society* in 2003. In addition, court papers filed in Wythe and Powhatan counties were used as a basis of the historical novel *Free in Chains*, written by this author and published in 2002.[12]

Since publication of the novel, the article in the *JAAHGS*, and the book *Free People of Colour*, a descendant of Chance who traced his heritage through Rachel's daughter Judy, her daughter Ann, and her daughter Malinda, has been identified and is residing in Florida. He has an extended family living in various places in the United States

and is very proud of his Indian heritage and the fact that he was able to make the connection to Chance, born about 1706.[13]

The reader can only imagine what it must have been like for the two Rachels to know that they had followed the rules, gained their freedom, and then were betrayed and returned to slavery as Negroes. Rachel Viney spent twenty-four years in illegal servitude after the first court case in Northumberland. It took the Montgomery County Court more than eight years of that time to reach its decision. Rachel Findlay waited forty-seven years for her freedom after her case was heard in Williamsburg. Seven of those years were spent waiting for the courts of Wythe and Powhatan counties to act. Dreams of freedom for themselves and their many descendants must have given them the patience and determination to win.

Editor's Note: For a more detailed account of freedom suits and of the context in which cases like those recounted in this essay could arise, see Peter Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law —An American History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), chapter 2, "Indian Foremothers and Freedom Suits in Revolutionary Virginia."

Endnotes

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3. Code of Virginia 1849, Title 30, Chapter 106, pp. 464–5.
4. For some of the cases and court orders, see Mary B. Kegley, comp., *Free People of Colour: Free Negroes, Indians, Portuguese, and Freed Slaves* (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 2003); hereafter cited as Kegley, *Free People of Colour.* Catterall, *Judicial Cases* mentions cases heard in the Supreme Court of Virginia.
5. Wythe County Chancery, 1808-01SC, *Rachel, a woman of color, v. John Draper.* The case recited that a Joseph Crockett, one of the justices, was related through marriage to the Draper family. Consequently, a writ was signed by Peter Johnston,

Judge of the Superior Court, allowing the case to be presented to the higher court. Most of the available information came from her lawsuit.

6. Montgomery County, Virginia, Chancery suit, # 185, *Rachel Viney (also Vine, Vena) v. Henry Patton*; hereafter cited as *Viney v. Patton*. The suit began in 1806, the petition was filed in March 1807, and the case was decided in 1815.
7. *Viney v. Patton*; for some information about the Pattons, see *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, vol. 1, by F. B. Kegley and Mary B. Kegley, and vol. 2 by Mary B. Kegley.
8. Loose Papers, Giles County, Library of Virginia Archives.
9. Henrico County Order Book, August 1712, p. 161.
10. Madison County, Alabama, Deed Book P, p. 270.
11. Powhatan Order Book, August 1820.
12. *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society*, 22:1 (2003); Kegley, *Free People of Colour*; Mary B. Kegley, *Free in Chains: A Novel* (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 2002).
13. Personal correspondence with the author.

Architectural Fashion and the Changing Faces of Yellow Sulphur Springs

Dustin Albright

The Yellow Sulphur Springs Resort in Montgomery County, Virginia, traces its origin to the year 1800 and entrepreneur Charles Taylor. It was around this time that Taylor assisted in constructing a small set of log buildings to host travelers and guests seeking the health

This aerial photograph from 2002 shows the location of the Yellow Sulphur Springs Resort.[1]

benefits of the spring water.[2] One of these buildings from 1810 with its meager 20' x 20' footprint evolved into the hotel that remains on the site today. In the interim Yellow Sulphur Springs grew significantly in popularity before falling into obscurity just before the Depression. Its increase in prominence stemmed from its proximity to new railroad lines, its inclusion in a summer springs circuit, and good publicity from artists such as Edward Beyer[3] and writers such as Edward Pollard.[4] Setting aside the particulars of these influences as well as the medicinal history of the springs,[5] we can perceive at least one important trait of the spring resorts through a brief analysis of the architecture.

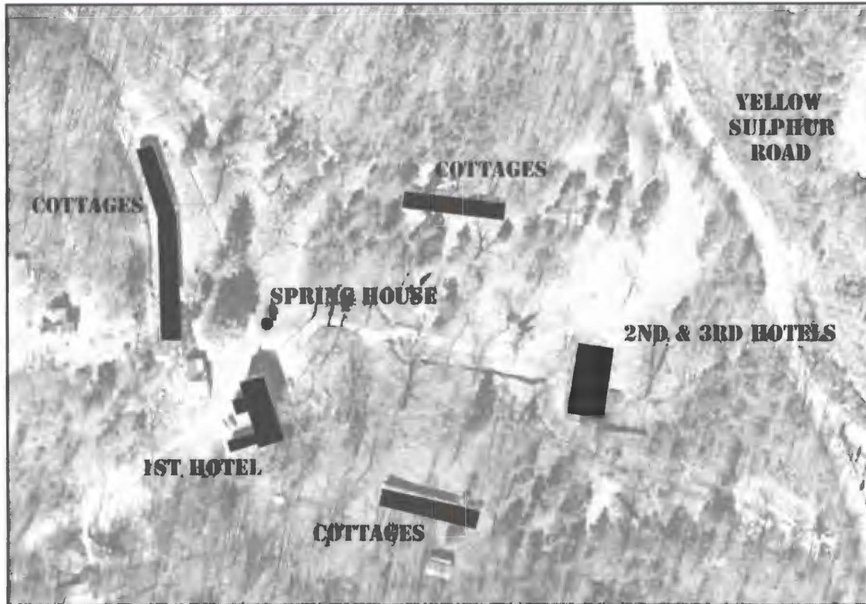
A walk around the grounds of Yellow Sulphur Springs or a tour through photographs taken there reveals a revolving door of architectural styles, sometimes blended or overlaid and sometimes set in opposition to one another. These incongruities proceed in part from the varying tastes of the resort's owners but are also a sign of their singular intention. The attraction of Yellow Sulphur Springs, like the

This 1871 photograph shows the old hotel following the addition of the porch.[6] The springhouse pavilion on the right was a new addition.

other mineral springs resorts of its day, was somewhat less about the springs themselves and more about the fashion of visiting them, less about the ancient waters from the ground and more about new attractions on the grounds. This reality was understood by its owners and is demonstrated in the architecture of the three hotel buildings that, at one time or another, have stood on the site.

In 1842 Armistead W. Forrest purchased the resort and began a series of building projects. In addition to expanding the hotel, Forrest concentrated on a series of cottage rows in the "Greek cottage style."[7] Similar measures were taken following the 1853 purchase by Thomas H. Foulkes, Charles P. Gardner, and James B. Edmundson. This time a more cohesive Greek Revival style characterized the new cottage rows, and a new porch accompanied the expansion to the hotel.[8] The columns of the porch, regularly spaced at 10 feet, presented a symmetrical façade to mask the asymmetries of the doors and windows. The owners' preference for Greek Revival was consistent with the time period, and this style was also chosen for the renovations to Solitude by Robert and Mary Preston, circa 1851.[9] In the case of Yellow Sul-

The second hotel after its completion in 1871[10]



This image depicts the layout of the Yellow Sulphur Springs Resort. The two hotel locations were approximately 150 paces apart.[11]

phur Springs, and particularly for the hotel, it is evident that the style, as with most vernacular examples, was highly superficial in nature.

The resort grew steadily in popularity before and after the Civil War until it was bought by J.J. Wade and J. Wade in 1871. Seeking to lodge more guests and to keep pace with other area resorts, the Wades built a second hotel with 40 guestrooms.[12] Its bilateral symmetry, defined center, horizontal divisions, and rectangular spaces were strong neo-classical features,[13] but its extensive veranda and mansard roof were romantic elements, familiar to many of the metropolitan visitors. This sort of architectural accessorizing demonstrates again the importance placed on fashionable accommodations. Standing opposite the old hotel and serving as a complementary bookend, the new hotel also helped to formally frame the space between, which served as a prime spot to see and be seen while on walks to and from the springhouse.

Unfortunately for the Wades, their new building burned in 1873, leading to a period of financial turmoil. In 1886, Captain Ridgeway Holt purchased the property for $4,653, less than one-fifth the price paid by the Wades fifteen years earlier.[14] Seeking to capitalize on the

The third hotel after its completion in 1888[15]

bargain, Holt invested heavily in a new hotel with 60 guestrooms. By 1888 the new building was complete, and whereas the second hotel had straddled the line between the Greek and romantic revivals, the third presented a full-blown romantic aesthetic and picturesque style. It was asymmetrical; emphasized vertical elements, such as its corner turret; and featured non-rectangular interior spaces.[16]

Curiously, though, the third hotel was located on the same spot where the second had stood. This decision is perhaps the most indicative of all that these buildings served as fashionable set pieces. It was not located in a grove of massive oaks, nor on a distant hill overlooking the road, nor any other spot particularly consistent with the English gardens or picturesque landscape paintings that preceded it. Instead it was propped up on the most convenient spot and near the entrance to the resort where guests could quickly note its contemporary face.

What a marvelous face it was, though, and what a fascinating play it assisted in staging. The Yellow Sulphur Springs Resort closed in 1923,[17] and following years of neglect, the third hotel was dismantled in 1944.[18] As with the second hotel, however, it lives on in the few photographs that remain, and these are enough to give at least a little insight into the fashion consciousness of the spring resorts and their guests.

Endnotes

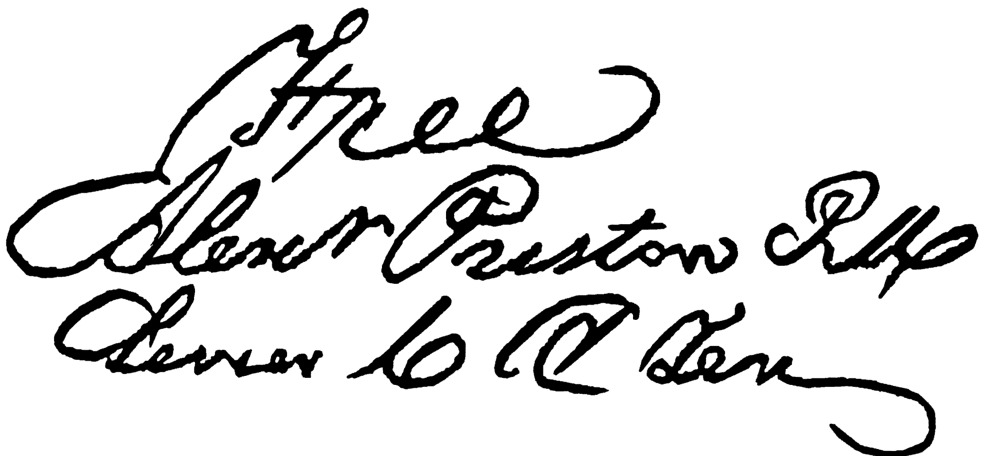
1. VGIN Aerial Survey, Montgomery County [aerial photographs], not to scale (Chester, Va.: Geographic Information Network, 2002).
2. John Gibson Worsham Jr., "A Place so Lofty and Secluded," *Virginia Cavalcade* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1978), vol. 27, p. 30.
3. See Edward Beyer, *Album of Virginia*, 1857.
4. See Edward A. Pollard, *The Virginia Tourist: Sketches of the Springs and Mountains of Virginia* (Philadelphia: Lippincott's Press, 1870).
5. See Amy Albright and Sherry Wyatt, "The Health-Giving Waters: The Mineral Springs Resorts of Montgomery County," a chapter in the forthcoming book *Virginia's Montgomery County*, to be published by The Montgomery Museum and Lewis Miller Regional Art Center.
6. The Old Hotel and Gazebo at Yellow Sulphur Springs (1871) VT ImageBase, Digital Library and Archives, University Libraries, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, www.spec.lib.vt.edu/imagebase/templeimages/t2-7/full/t121.jpeg
7. Worsham, "A Place so Lofty and Secluded," p. 31.
8. Worsham, "A Place so Lofty and Secluded," p. 31.
9. John Gibson Worsham Jr., "Solitude: Historic Structures Report," undated, VT ImageBase, Digital Library and Archives, University Libraries, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, http://spec.lib.vt.edu/archives/solitude/
10. The New Hotel at Yellow Sulphur Springs (1871), VT ImageBase, Digital Library and Archives, University Libraries, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, www.spec.lib.vt.edu/imagebase/templeimages/t2-7/full/t122.jpeg
11. VGIN photographs.
12. Stan Cohen, *Historic Springs of the Virginias* (Charleston, W. Va.: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1981), p. 132.
13. Scott Gartner, "Romantic Revivals and Picturesque Aesthetic," lecture, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, March 1, 2007.
14. Worsham, "A Place so Lofty and Secluded," p. 37.
15. Central Hotel Building at Yellow Sulphur Springs (1888), VT ImageBase, Digital Library and Archives, University Libraries, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, www.spec.lib.vt.edu/imagebase/templeimages/t2-7/full/t143.jpeg
16. Gartner lecture.
17. Worsham, "A Place so Lofty and Secluded," p. 41.
18. "Yellow Sulphur Springs," 1978 brochure, www.spec.lib.vt.edu/bicent/sites/yss.htm

Comments About Andrew Creswell's King's Mountain Letter*

Jim Glanville

In Volume 10 of the *Smithfield Review*, the present writer and his coauthor Hubert Gilliam presented an article describing a previously unpublished eyewitness account by Andrew Creswell of the Battle of King's Mountain.[1] This brief note amplifies and updates that article.

In a helpful email communication, Mary Kegley of Wytheville, a well-known regional historian who has been a student of early handwriting for more than forty years, clarified the return address in the upper right corner of the Creswell letter envelope. We reproduced the envelope as Figure 1 in our paper and commented that we did not understand the notations in the return address, which is reproduced below in freely enhanced form.



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Ms. Kegley transcribes the above as "Free; Alex[ander] Preston, PM; Sevier CH, Ten[nessee];" with the explanation that PM stands for post master (he was Alexander Preston, who would be entitled to free mail), and CH for court house. She noted that Creswell's letter was apparently mailed before the days of postage stamps or fees charged to whoever received the letter.

Kegley speculated that the letter was probably used again ten years later to claim a pension for Andrew Creswell's war-time service under an act of 1832 that allowed him to obtain his pension. She suggested that such an application would no doubt have recited basically the same facts as stated in his letter to John Preston.

Andrew Creswell remains obscure. The original published article mentioned that he is absent from the index of Lyman Draper's monumental book about the Battle of King's Mountain.[2] A further search of the Lyman Draper archives has revealed that Andrew Creswell is absent both from the index of Draper's Preston and Virginia papers,[3] and from the index to the Draper manuscripts.[4] Thus, the previous conclusion that Andrew Creswell had escaped the attention of the prolific Lyman Draper seems accurate.

Further investigations have yielded one additional documentary reference to Andrew Creswell. He paid taxes in 1787 in Fayette County (then Virginia and now Kentucky).[5] Other persons paying taxes in Fayette County that year were Robert Creswell, Hugh Cresswell [*sic*], and Samuel Cresswell [*sic*]. A compilation of Virginia colonial soldiers lists Michael J. Creswell and Robert Creswell; however, Andrew Creswell is not listed.[6] If this Fayette County resident is our Andrew Creswell, as seems probable based on these references, then in addition to living at his Tennessee home, Andrew spent some time in the future state of Kentucky.

Recent investigations bring into better focus the recipient of Creswell's letter: John Preston (1781–1864) of Walnut Grove.[7] He was a graduate of Dickenson College and a student of law at the College of William and Mary. Later, he was a justice of the Washington County Court, and became Colonel of the 105th regiment of the Virginia militia in 1805.

The Walnut Grove branch of the Prestons were descended from Scots-Irish Prestons unrelated to the Smithfield Prestons. The two families with a shared name were joined in 1802 when Colonel John

Preston of Walnut Grove married Margaret Brown Preston of Smithfield at the Smithfield Plantation. She was the youngest child of William and Susanna Smith Preston.

On the subject of the Battle of King's Mountain, the article neglected to mention an excellent "general-interest" article published in *Virginia Cavalcade* in 1981.[8] Additionally, following the publication of the article, an interesting Appalachian storytelling version of the battle has appeared.[9] Although this version of what happened at King's Mountain is most unconventional, it is still quite compelling.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Mary Kegley for making several clarifications to the article and to the *Smithfield Review* for this opportunity to amplify the original article. Thanks to Hugh Campbell, who once again has rescued the author from genealogical confusion. Thanks also to the staff of Newman Library at Virginia Tech.

Endnotes

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2. 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., 1881; reprint 1983).
3. Mabel Clare Weaks and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1915).
4. Josephine L. Harper, *Guide to the Draper Manuscripts* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1983).
5. Augusta B. Fothergill and John Mark Naugle, *Virginia tax payers, 1782-87, other than those published by the United States Census Bureau* (Richmond?, Virginia: self-published, 1940).
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7. John Frederick Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield in Virginia* (Louisville: The Filson Club, 1982), pp. 72–3.
8. E. T. Crowson, "Colonel William Campbell and the Battle of King's Mountain," *Virginia Cavalcade*, vol. 30 (1981), pp. 22–9.
9. Jo Carson, *Teller Tales: What Sweet Lips Can Do* [The Battle of King's Mountain] (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007).

Index

A

Abingdon, Va. 36, 43–4
District 46
Africans, slavery 64, 71–3, 80
slave trade 65
AISTOCK, Henry 69
Alabama 68, 90
Albemore Sound, N.C. 66
ALBRIGHT, Dustin 4, 93–8
Allegheny Mountains 66
American
Methodist Church 37–9
Methodism 35–57, 73
Revolution 1, 3, 35
Andes Mountains, Ecuador & Peru . 64
ANDREW, James Osgood, Bishop .. 73
Angwin, California 3, 5
Appalachian storytelling 101
Aristotle 42
ARMSTRONG, Martin, Col. 14, 21
Atlanta, Ga. 35
Augusta County, Va. 13, 19, 21

B

Baltimore, Maryland 71, 76, 80, 81
Baltimore Conference 37
BANON, Arche 74
Baptist institutions 36, 40
bartering 81
bateaux, river 66
Battle of King's Mountain 99–101
BEEMAN, Richard, historian 42
Bess, granddaughter of Mary, ancestress of Rachel Viney 88
BEYER, Edward 94
BIDDLE, Nicholas 44
Big Sandy River 12
BISHOP
Clay, blacksmith/wheelwright 75
H. J., blacksmith/wheelwright 75
blacksmith/farrier, wheelwright 75
Blackwater River 68
Blue Ridge Mountains 1, 71
Botetourt County, Va. 14, 16, 19, 21, 23
brandy distilling 74
bright leaf tobacco 69–70, 81
Bristol, Va. 80
British
Civil War 40
Conference 37
forces, army 3, 5, 11, 13, 15, 19
BRONSTEDDER 7
Brutus 46
Bryant and Stratten Commercial College 80, 81
BUCKINGHAM, James Silk 45
BUNDRANT, James, sharecropper . 74
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands 80
BYARS, William 36, 42, 44, 52

C

Caesar 46
CALLAND, Talbert 65
Calvinist doctrine 40
Camden, S. C. 20–1
CAMPBELL
Arthur 41
Benjamin Jewett, lawyer (d. 1877) 76
Hugh G., editor 4, 101
Timothy, B. J.'s son 76
William, Col. 6, 11–12, 16, 21–2, 24, 41–2

Canada 37
Caribbean 64
Carolinas 5–6, 15–16, 20–4
Caswell County, N. C. 69
Catawba Indian Nation 89
CHANCE, Rachel Findlay's grand-
  mother (b. ~1706) 89–91
Charles I of England 40, 46
Charles II of England 40
Charleston
  South Carolina 15
  West Virginia 77
Charlottesville, Va. 19, 48
Cherokees 14–15, 24
Chesapeake Bay 15, 66
Choctaw Indian Nation 89
Civil War 49, 77–9
CLARKE, Matthew and wife,
  crop payment for rent 77
CLAY
  Henry, Chance's owner 89
  Mitchell, of Powhatan 89–90
CLEVELAND
  Benjamin 22
  Grover, U.S. president 47
Clinch River 12, 14
CLINTON, Henry, Gen. 15
Clover Bottom, Va. 6
CLOYD, Joseph, Major 22
Code of Virginia 87
College of
  Architecture & Urban Studies 4
  Natural Resources, Virginia Tech ... 82
  William and Mary 36–7, 100
COLLIER, George, Commodore 15
COLLINS, Charles (1838–1852)
  .... 42, 45
Columbus 64
Commencement scene, E&H 47
Confederate
  Army 78
  cause 77–9
  Congress, government 47
Conference, General 37
Continental Army 6, 12, 20
COPENHAVER, Laura 54–6
CORNWALLIS, Lord 21–2, 24
Cotton South 71
County, frontier 22
COX
  Clara B., editor 4
  John, Capt. 11
  Nancy Jane, m. Hardin Reynolds ... 70
CRAWFORD, Jim 3–4, 63–92
Creek Indian Nation 89
CRESWELL
  Andrew 4, 99–101
  Michael J. 100
  Robert 100
CRESSWELL
  Hugh 100
  Samuel 100
CRITZ 67
CROCKETT
  Joseph, Colonel 12
  Walter, Major 8, 15, 22
CROMWELL 46
CRUMB, Matthias 7
curing process, tobacco 70

D

Dalton, Georgia 76
Danville, Va. 67, 69, 76
DAVIDSON, William, Lt. Col. 22
Department of History, Virginia Tech .. 4
Depot Street, Winston, N.C. 81
Depression 94
Dickenson College 100
Dickinson College 38
Distiller of brandy 74
District Court for Richmond, West-
  morland, Lancaster, and North-
  unberland 88
documentary by Jim Crawford 4
DODSON, George C. 73
"Down in the Old Belt: Voices from
  the Tobacco South" 4

DRAPER
  children 90
  John 90
  Lyman 100
Drapers Valley, Va. 90
DUNKIN, Nancy 74
DUNKLEY, Robert M., distiller 74

E

Ecuador 64
EDDY, Jackie 2
EDMUNDSON, James B. 95
Emancipation 79
emancipation rent documents ... 79–80
EMORY, John, Bishop 35–62
  biographical details 35–9
Emory and Henry College . 3, 35–62, 81
  presidents of 42, 51–53
Emory and Russell College 56
Emory University 35
England 15, 64
English, see British
Episcopalian institutions 36, 51
Europe 64

F

farrier/blacksmith 75
Fayette County, Va./Ky. 100
FERGUSON, Patrick, Maj. 22
farrier 75
FELCH, Nancy 2
Fincastle, Va. 23
FINDLAY
  Alexander 36
  Ann, Judy's daughter 90
  Chance, Rachel's grandmother 89–91
  Judy, Rachel's daughter 89
  Malinda, Ann's daughter 90
  Rachel 4, 87–91
Flemish bond (brick laying) 71
Florida 90
FLOYD, John 15
flue-curing tobacco 70
FORREST, Armistead W. 95
Forest Resources Research Center .. 82
Fort
  Chiswell, Va. 7, 9, 24
  Nelson 15
FOULKES, Thomas H. 95
France, French 8, 66
Franklin
  County, Va. 77
  Pike, Va. 77
  State of 41
Free in Chains 90
Free People of Colour 90
freed labor, freedmen 79–82
freedom suits 87–91
FRISTOE, Robert 22
FULTON, Creed, Rev. 36, 43, 46

G

GARDNER, Charles P. 95
GARLICK, Gasper 20
GATES, Horatio, General ... 20–1, 23–4
General
  Assembly, Va. . 12, 40, 46, 48, 51, 56
  Conference 37
Georgia 11, 13–15, 68
German settlers 67
Gilbert Town, N.C. 22
Giles County, Va. 89
GILLEY, Leftwich, sharecropper 74
GILLIAM, Hubert 99
Glades, the 15
GLANVILLE, Jim 4, 99–101
Gloucester Court House 72
GOODE, John, E&H alumnus 47–8
Gravely Tobacco Company 68–9
Great
  Age of the Pipe 64
  Britain 8, 37
  Depression 44
Greek
  cottage style 95
  Revival style 95

Greenbrier County, Va. 14
Greensboro, N.C. 80
GREENE, Nathanael, General 24
GRIFFITH, John 7, 9, 13, 15–16
Guayandot River 12

H

HAIRSTON 67
HAMPDEN, John 40
Hampden-Sydney College 40
Hampton, Va. 15
HARBOUR
  David 67
  Polly, m. Abraham Reynolds 67
HEAVIN
  John 18
  Thomas 17
HENDERSON, John 8
HENNINGER, Michael 7–8
Henrico Court 89
HENRY
  Howell M., Dr. 54
  Patrick 35–6, 40–57
Henry
  County, Va. 68
  Gaeble piano 71
HICKS, William, Rev. 46
hogshead(s) 65–6, 68
HOLLIMAN, Mary 4, 103–11
Holston
  Conference, ME Church 35–6, 38–9, 42, 44–5, 48–51, 55–6
  River 7, 15
Holston Methodism: From Its Origin to the Present Time 53–4
Holston Methodist, The 46
HOLT, Ridgeway, Capt. 96–7
Huntsville, Ala. 90

I

Indian
  slavery 87–92
  trader, Henry Clay 89
Indians 5, 7, 9, 12, 14–15, 87–91
Increase in Excellence 46
INGLES, William, Col. 11
Iroquois 15
ISRAL, William, sharecropper 74

J

Jack, H.W. Reynolds' slave 72, 79
JACKSON, Andrew, U.S. president . 44
James, Indian child kidnapped by Henry Clay 89
James River, Va. 66–7
Jamestown, Va. 64, 66
JEFFERSON, Thomas, Governor 12–16, 19–21, 23–4
Jim, a slave of H.W. Reynolds 72
JOHNSON, Edward 9, 12
JOHNSTON, Andrew 89
JONES, Beverly 72–3
Joseph H. Thompson and Company, Tobacco Commission Merchants ... 76
Journal of the Afro-American Historricalcal and Genealogical Society 90

K

KEGLEY, Mary B. 4, 87–92, 99–101
KELLY, Candi 2
KENNERLY, Joseph Jr., tanner ... 73, 75
Kentucky 15, 81, 100
KIBLER, Susanna 2
KING, Robert 19
King's Mountain, S.C. 4, 22–3
  letter 4, 99–101
  battle, victory 22–3, 99–101
Kingsport, Tenn. 40
KITTERING 7

L

LAMBERT, Philip 17
LAWSON, M. T., surveyor 76
Lead Mines 7, 8, 11, 13–16, 19, 21, 24
leather workers 75
leniency to Tories 9, 16–20

Letitia, see Preston, Letitia
LEWIS, Andrew, General 12
Lexington, Va. 39
Liberty Hall Academy 39
LONGLEY, Edmund (d. 1906) ... 52–3
Loyalists 5–34
  Plots 7–9
  Trials 19–20
LUNDY, Clyde E., Rev. 55–6
Lutheran missionary work 54
LYBROOK, A. M. 80
LYERLY, Cynthia Lynn 35, 55–6
LYNCH, Charles 16
Lynchburg, Va. 66–8

M

MACON, Nathaniel 39
MADISON, Thomas 24
Madison County, Ala. 90
Management Board 2
MARTIN 67
  Isaac P., Rev. 55–6
  Joseph A. 68
Mary, Indian woman, ancestress of
  Rachel Viney 88
Maryland 37
mathematics 81
Mayo, North, River 67
McCABE, James D., Reverend 44
McDONALD
  John 18–19
  Joseph 19–20
McDOWELL, Charles 22
McGAVOCK, James 7, 9, 11, 15
MEADOWS, Major, blacksmith 75
mediation attempts 10–12, 16–19
medicinal history of springs 94
Methodism, American 35–57, 73
Methodism and the Southern Mind: 1770–1810 55
Methodist (s) 3, 42, 48, 51, 87
  bishop 40
  camp meeting 41–2
  Episcopal Church 35–6, 45, 52
Methodist, *continued*
  Episcopal Church South 50–2, 73
  General Conference, New York ... 73
Methodist Magazine 37
  and Quarterly Review 37
militia, militiamen 3, 5–24
Milley, a slave of H.W. Reynolds 72
Montgomery County, Va. 5–8,
  11–13, 15, 20–1, 23–4, 88, 93
  Court 19, 24, 91
  militia, see militia
MOORE, John, Colonel 16
MORGAN, Abraham 20
Muncy's Fort 6
muskets 22

N

Nancy S. Reynolds Continuing
  Education Center 63
Narrows, Va. 77–8
Nashville, Tenn. 50
National
  Historic Landmark 82
  Registry of American Homes 82
Native Americans 64
"neighborly" meeting 10, 16–17
neoclassical features 96
New
  River 11, 15–16, 20
  York City 76
  York University 38
  World 64
Newman Library, Virignia Tech..... 101
Nicotiana rustica 64
No Business
  Fork of North Mayo River 67, 70
  Mountain 63, 70
Norfolk, Va. 15
Norfolk-to-Bristol road 70
North
  Carolina 13, 14, 69, 80
  Mayo River 67, 70
Northumberland County, Va. 88
NOWLIN, James, leather-worker 75

O

Office of Assistant Superintendent
  Freedmen 80
O'GULLION, Duncan 7, 9
Ohio region 15
OSBORN, Richard 3, 5–33
Oxford, Georgia 73
Oxford University Press 35

P

Pacific Union College 3, 5
Panic of 1837 43
PANNEL 67
PARKER, R. Moorman 55–6
Parliament, British 45
Patrick
  County, Va. 3, 63, 67–8, 71
  County Circuit Court 76
  Courthouse (Stuart) 69, 76
Patriot cause, families 5–24
PATTERSON, salt trader 77–8
PATTON
  Henry, purchased Sarah 88–9
  Samuel, Dr. 45–6
  Samuel, Henry's son 89
pauper 87, 89
PBS stations 4
peddling trips 69, 77–8, 81
PEDIGO, J. H., surveyor 76
PENDLETON 20
PENN 67, 72
  Jackson 73
Pennsylvania 67
Peru 64
Petersburg, Va. 66
Philadelphia Conference 37
PHIPS, William 11
Piedmont 63, 66, 71
Pigg River 68
plug tobacco 68
  manufacturing of 68
Pocahontas Press 4
POLLARD, Edward 94
Portsmouth, Va. 15
Powhatan County, Va. 89–91
Presbyterian 52
  Church 40, 42
  institutions 36
PRESTON 100–1
  Alexander 100
  John, Col. (1781–1864) 100–1
  John M. 49
  Letitia 14
  Margaret Brown, m. Col. John ... 101
  Mary 95
  Nelly 55–6
  Robert 95
  Susanna Smith 1, 101
  Thomas L. 45, 48–56
  William, Col. (1729–83) 1, 3,
    5–34, 101
  William C. 49
PRICE
  Michael 7
  Richard N., Rev. 46, 48–9, 53–6
Princeton, W. Va. 90
prisoners, accommodations 23
Protestant Episcopal Church 44
Pulalski County, Va. 88, 90
pullings, in harvesting tobacco 70

Q

Quaker Gap, N. C. 70
Quakers 87
Queen Anne County, Md. 37

R

Ramsour's Mill, N.C. 16
RANDOLPH, John 39
Randolph-Macon College 39, 40, 56
reconciliation, hopes for 16–19
Reconstruction 79–82
REDD, James M., Col. 68–9
rent agreements 79–80

Revolution, American
 1, 5–24, 35, 40, 46, 48
REYNOLDS 3, 67, 72
 Abraham 67–70
 Abram D., Hardin's son 63, 72, 77–81
 Darcus, Big Jack's wife 79
 David Harbour (1811–1836), Abraham's son 67–9
 Hardin William (1810–1882), Abraham's son 63, 67–82
 Jack, "Big Jack" 79
 Mary Joyce, Hardin's daughter, m. A. M. Lybrook 80
 Nancy Cox 63
 Nancy J. 73
 Nancy S. 63, 82
 Richard Joshua "R.J." 63, 79–82
 Richard S., Abram's son 80
Reynolds
 and Lybrook company 80–1
 Homestead 63–85
 Metals 3, 63, 80
Richmond
 College 40
 Va. 41, 76, 78
Richmond Virginia Gazette 41
rifles, lack of 22
river bateaux 66
RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company 3, 63
RJR Tobacco Company 81
Roanoke-Staunton River 66
ROARK, James 14
ROBINSON, British Col. 13
Rock Spring Plantation 3–4, 63–85, 81–2
Rockbridge County, Va. 14, 21
Rosemont Industries 54
RUNYON, Elva 55–6
RUSSELL
 Bryce 12
 Elizabeth Henry Campbell 36, 39, 41–3, 45, 48–57
 Madam, see Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell
Russell Methodist Episcopal Church, South 56

S

salt expedition 77–8
Saltville, Va. 56
sand lugs (tobacco lower leaves) 70
Sarah, Rachel Viney's mother 88
Saratoga, N.Y. battle 19
sawyer, Rock Spring Plantation 74–5
Scots-Irish settlers 67
SCOTT, Rachel Ann Smyth 43
Scribner's Magazine 54, 56
Second Bank of the United States 44
Seven Mile Ford, Va. 49
SEVIER, John 22
Sevier Courthouse, Tenn. 100
sharecropping rental agreements 79–80
Shawnee Indians 12
SHELBY, Isaac 22
SHELTON
 A. A., sawyer 75
 Thomas, leather-worker 75
SHULL, Mr. 10
SIMMONS, John E., blacksmith/farrier 75
SIMS, Hugh, brick mason 71
A Sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Russell, Wife of General William Campbell and sister of Patrick Henry 50
SKILLERN, George 21, 23
"skinner" (David Reynolds) 69
slaves, slavery 64–5, 71–4, 87–91
 insurrection 72
SMITH
 Nancy 2
 Susanna, m. William Preston 1, 101
Smith River 68
Smithfield Plantation 1, 7, 101
SMYTH, Tobias 43–4, 46
Smyth County, Va. 49
Solicitor General of the U.S. 47
Solitude House 95
South Carolina 13, 15, 68

Southeastern Jurisdictional Commission on Archives and History 55
Southern Methodist Review 45, 51, 53
Southampton County, Va. 72
Southern Indian Nations 89
Southside Virginia 40, 69–70
Southwest Virginia 35, 41, 81, 87–8
highlands 70
Squire, Abram Reynolds' slave 78
St. John's Church 40
Stamp Act of 1765 40
STAPLES
John C. 68–9
W. C., wagon hauling 75
State of Franklin 41
Staunton River 68
Steven, N.C. slave 69
STEVENSON, George J., Dr. 35, 46, 51
Stokes County, N.C. 70, 82
STONEMAN, George, Gen'l 79
STRINGFIELD, Thomas, Rev. 46
Stuart, Va. 68, 70
Suffolk, Va. 15
SULLINS, David 51
Superior Court, Va. 87–8
Supreme Court, Va. 87
Sycamore Shoals, N.C. 22
SYDNEY, Algernon 40

T

tanner 75
TATUM, Joseph M., used Reynolds carriage 75–6
TAYLOR
Charles, entrepreneur 93
Charles L., editor 4
Isaac, Capt. 16–17
Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law—An American History 91
tenant rental agreements 79
Tennessee 40, 81, 100
TEVIS, Julia 41
THOMPSON, Joseph H. 76
Tidewater, Va. 66, 71
tobacco 3, 64–6, 68–71
bright leaf 69–70
cultivating of 65–7
product manufacture . 3, 76–7, 80–2
Tory, Tories, see Loyalists
TRENT
John 76–7
Thomas, tobacco salesman 76
Tryon County, N.C. 22
TURNER, Nat 72

U

Union forces 49
United Methodist Church, see Methodist
United States 4
House of Representatives 39, 47
University of
Maryland 3, 5
Richmond 40
Virginia 55

V

Valley of Virginia 66–7
Vanderbilt University 35, 54
VANT 7
VARNER
Joseph W. 69
Miss P. 73
Molly 73
VEJNAR, Robert II 3, 35–62
VINEY
Abigail "Abbey", Rachel's daughter 89
Bill, Hannah's son 89
Daniel, Hannah's son 89
Hannah, Rachel's daughter 89
Jimmy, Rachel's son 89
Joe, Rachel's son 89

VINEY, *continued*
Jupiter, Rachel's son 89
Marcus, Rachel's son 89
Rachel 4, 87–91
Sam, Hannah's son 89
Senty (Santy), Rachel's son 89
Solomon, Rachel's son 89
William, Hannah's son 89
Virginia 14, 100
Commonwealth of........................ 56
Council 21
General Assembly, see General Assembly
militia, 105th regiment 100
Military Institute 78
Polytechnic Institute and State University, see Virginia Tech
Tech 1, 4, 82, 101
Virginia Cavalcade 101
VMI = Virginia Military Institute

W

WADE
J. 96
J. J. 96
Walkers Creek 6, 16
WALLENSTEIN, Peter 4, 91
Walnut Grove, Va. 100–1
Ward's Gap, Va. 68–70
WASHINGTON, George 39–40
Washington
and Lee University 40
College, Md. 37, 40
County, Va. 6, 11, 13–16, 19, 21, 24, 36, 40–2, 44, 51
County Court 100
Watauga River, N.C. 22
Waxhaws, S. C.. 15
WEISS 7
WESLEY, John 36, 38, 73
Wesleyan University 38, 52
wheelwright 75
Whigs 8
White Topper, The 54
WILEY, E. E. (d. 1893) 52–3
William and Mary, College of 36–7, 100
Williamsburg, Va. 87, 89, 91
WILSON 67
WIMBUSH, Elijah H. 73
Winston, N.C. 81
Winston-Salem, N.C. 82
Wythe County, Va. 88, 90–1
Wytheville, Va. 4, 90, 99

Y

Yellow Sulphur Springs 4, 93–8

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In this issue —

Preston's role as colonel of the Montgomery County militia provided the major context for all of his actions. In this position, the state made him responsible for coordinating not only the response of Montgomery County to the Indians, Loyalists, and English but, in some cases, for the entire southwestern region for which he had carried militia responsibilites before the most recent division of counties. .... page 5

But as the college prepared to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its creation, Thomas L. Preston, a long forgotten kinsman of Patrick Henry, appeared in 1887 and claimed that the "Henry" in Emory and Henry College really honored his grandmother (and Patrick Henry's sister), Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell. .... page 48

On these grounds, originally called Rock Spring Plantation, Hardin W. Reynolds, a planter, merchant, and tobacco manufacturer, and his wife, Nancy Cox Reynolds, raised their family. His successful tobacco business laid the foundation of experience and wealth for his industrialist children: R. J. Reynolds, founder of RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company, and tobacconist Abram D. Reynolds, whose son founded Reynolds Metals. .... page 63

Not only was she [Rachel Viney] suing for her own freedom [because of her Indian heritage] but she was also petitioning the court for her children...all of whom were being held illegally .... page 89

The attraction of Yellow Sulphur Springs, like the other mineral springs resorts of its day, was somewhat less about the springs themselves and more about the fashion of visiting them, less about the ancient waters from the ground and more about new attractions on the grounds. .... pages 94–5

Volume 10...presented an article describing a previously unpublished eyewitness account...of the battle of King's Mountain. This brief note amplifies and updates that article .... page 99

The Smithfield Review, Volume XII, 2008