The Smithfield Review

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

Volume XV, 2011

Published by the
Montgomery County Branch, Preservation Virginia
in cooperation with the
Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

This publication has been made possible
through the generous contributions of

National Bank
Blacksburg, Virginia

The Smithfield Preston Foundation
Blacksburg, Virginia

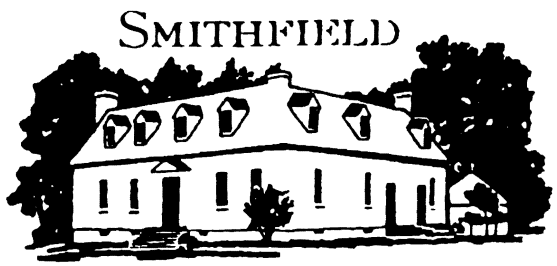
Individual Donors
Ann Gardner Gray
Mary C. Holliman
Marcus L. Oliver

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

The Smithfield Review

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

Volume XV, 2011



Published by the
Montgomery County Branch, Preservation Virginia
in cooperation with the
Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

The Smithfield Review is published annually, in the spring, by the Montgomery County Branch, Preservation Virginia, Blacksburg, Virginia, in cooperation with the Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

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

Smithfield Museum Store
1000 Smithfield Plantation Road
Blacksburg, VA 24060

Or call 1/540-231-3947 or 1/800- 446-0467
or email *info@smithfieldplantation.org*
Please include $3.50 shipping/handling/tax per copy.

Complete sets are available at a discount.

ISSN 1093-9652

Printed in the United States of America

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

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

A Note from the Editors

In this issue of the *Smithfield Review*, we present articles that will enhance our understanding of the considerable transition that took place in the thirteen colonies before and after the Revolutionary War.

The first article, by Tom Costa, a history professor at the University of Virginia at Wise, reveals the observations of an Englishman named James Buckingham as he toured and analyzed our young nation just fifty years after its birth. The well-travelled Buckingham was a capable reporter of southern life and customs and provided ample first-hand evidence of his observations.

Recent research of old naval records shows that William Radford, grandfather of the man for whom the City of Radford was named, was among the first of our country's marines. New information about William Radford and the Radford family is presented by David L. Mordy and James C. Mordy in the article "William Radford, Revolutionary Patriot of the Continental Marines." Both David and James, who are brothers, attended the University of Kansas and served as officers in the U.S. Navy. David is retired after working for several large corporations, and James is a retired lawyer.

Colonel James Patton was a dominant force in populating the fertile lands west of the Blue Ridge Mountains from 1737 until his death in the 1755 Draper's Meadows Massacre. Very little reliable information is known, however, about Patton's earlier life in the United Kingdom. Jim Glanville, a retired Virginia Tech chemistry professor and a frequent author in this journal, and Ryan Mays, a staff biologist at Virginia Tech, have undertaken an extensive search of UK records for more information about the activities of this interesting and important person. To date, this research has produced significant information about shipping practices between the UK and its American colonies. Early results of this research are reported in "The Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1." Later results will be reported in the next volume of *The Smithfield Review*.

When the Constitution of the United States was implemented in 1789, there was little precedent in the manner in which elections were to be accomplished. Consequently, it was not unusual for various forms of influence and intimidation to exist in order to achieve a desired political

outcome. Documented evidence of such behavior is provided in "Whiskey, Soldiers, and Voting: Western Virginia Elections in the 1790s." The author, Wesley Judkins Campbell, has academic degrees from the University of North Carolina and the London School of Economics and currently is a third-year student at the Stanford Law School.

Our "Brief Notes" section this year includes a supplementary discussion of Chicago's Newberry Library publication entitled *Digital Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*. In the section, Jim Glanville describes a mapping error in the 1772 boundary between Botetourt County and the newly formed Fincastle County. An additional brief note provides a request for financial support of a proposed Preston monument at Greenfield in Botetourt County.

With sadness, we inform our readers of the death of our publisher, Mary Holliman of Pocahontas Press. Mary was an important link in the production of our annual publication, and we will miss her cheerful, competent assistance. We are extremely grateful to Barbara Corbett and Carolyn Harris for performing the functions once handled by Mary. On very short notice, they responded admirably.

We also acknowledge the contributions of Virginia Tech historian Peter Wallenstein, our financial donors, our many anonymous reviewers, and the *Smithfield Review* Management Board members for their ongoing encouragement and assistance in making this publication possible.

James Buckingham's Travels in Southern Appalachia, 1839

Tom Costa

In two volumes published in 1842 as *The Slave States of America*, Englishman James Silk Buckingham offered his trenchant views of his journey through the southern United States. As a lifelong anti-slavery advocate, Buckingham devoted much of his trip to the lowland and Piedmont South where slavery was prevalent. His itinerary also included a lengthy sojourn in the southern mountains where slavery was less common, and his observations of mountain folk prove quite interesting.

He was born in 1786 in the village of Flushing, near Falmouth, into a family of modest means. As a child, he dreamed of going to sea, and he eventually secured a place aboard a government packet carrying mail to the Continent. His first trip to Lisbon, a strange yet magnificent seaport, fostered a lifelong interest in travel that took him to many foreign lands, including two visits to America. After settling for a time in India, he served a time in Parliament as member for Sheffield (1832-35). However it was his world travels and advocacy of various moral reforms that earned him his reputation.

As a teenager, Buckingham experienced a profound spiritual awakening and was baptized a Christian of the Calvinist persuasion. He remained a sincere Christian and moralist for the rest of his life, campaigning for temperance among other issues. But it was slavery—the subjugation of Africans—that attracted most of his criticism. As a youth in Falmouth, he met a talented black musician who offered "splendid proof of the utter groundlessness of the fallacy which supposes the negro intellect to be incapable of cultivation." On a later visit to Trinidad, he described the island's more "revolting" characteristics: "the constant sight of naked negroes working in gangs, many with chains on their legs, leaving sores by their friction, and others with iron collars round their necks, with great hooks projecting outwards from them on all sides."[1] His interest in the southern United States arose naturally from this hatred of slavery.

James Silk Buckingham and his wife, depicted in eastern garb by painter Henry William Pickersgill in this 1820s portrait.

Having traveled throughout the world by the time of his second visit to America, Buckingham was an astute observer of Southern life and customs. While his biases are evident throughout the narrative—chiefly his temperance and anti-slavery views—he peppered his account with first-hand evidence from southerners with whom he talked, paying special attention to recording the views of slave owners. Of course his account incorporates language and reveals stereotypes no longer accepted, especially his descriptions of race and ethnicity: the terms "Negro," "Negress," "mulatto," and "squaw," for example, and his views of "sober" Germans, "intemperate" Irish, and "half-intoxicated" Indians. Overall, however, his two volumes on the South offer a rich and detailed account of the history, climate, flora and fauna, population, and social customs of the southern states.

Buckingham first visited the United States shortly before the War of 1812. He described Norfolk, Virginia, his first landfall, as containing "unpaved and dirty streets, with mud and snow mixed to a depth of ten or twelve inches, innumerable pigs and half-clad negroes and mulattoes shivering with the cold, common-looking white men, dirty and coarsely dressed, and groups of half-intoxicated and beggarly-looking Indians, and their squaws... ." Norfolk gentlemen chewed tobacco and smoked cigars, habits that the moralist Buckingham abhorred, and "slaves were everywhere abundant, lying about the outhouses and passages, as indolent as dirty, and as little cared for as the hogs whom they made their companions."[2]

In the 1830s he returned to the United States, accompanied by his wife, their 12-year-old son, and an Irish manservant. He published four volumes that describe this latter visit, two on the northern states, entitled *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive,* and a two-volume work on the South, *The Slave States of America*, "a faithful Narrative of my Journey through that portion of the North American Republic, in which the Institution of Slavery still exists, and to which, its supporters and defenders still cling, with a tenacity as much to be deplored as it is to be wondered at."[3]

His tour of the South began in January 1839 when he landed in Charleston, South Carolina, after what he described as an extremely disagreeable voyage from New York. During subsequent months, he traveled across the Deep South, visiting New Orleans and Natchez on the Mississippi River, and commenting frequently on southern history and social customs, plant and animal life, and particularly decrying the institution of slavery and its defenders.

His tour of the mountain South began in Asheville, North Carolina, where he arrived after crossing the steepest mountains he had yet encountered, "the road winding in a serpentine form . . . and being extremely difficult for the horses. All the way over this hill, the road wound through thick forests, with deep hollows of glens, occasional water-falls, and splendid forest-trees; besides innumerable bushes of the rhododendron and kalmia to the extent of hundreds in view at one time."[4]

Asheville, he found, was "a small village, containing a brick Court-house, a wood-built Methodist Church, in which there are only occasional services, two hotels, and about twenty stores and dwelling-houses with a population of 200 persons, of whom not more than 120 are whites:" Leaving Asheville, he crossed the French Broad River: "The breadth of the stream was from 200 to 300 feet; the water was beautifully clear, and in many parts it reminded me of the rapids of the Nile, at what is called the Second

cataract, the first great interruption to the full and unbroken flow of the stream." He thought the scenery along the river among the most beautiful he had seen, "neither the Valley of the Mohawk in the North, nor of the Wye in Monmouthshire, appeared to me so nobly picturesque, as the Valley of the French Broad, in North Carolina."[5]

Following the river's route, he encountered wranglers driving a herd of horses and mules south from Kentucky toward South Carolina: "Some idea may be formed of the extent of this traffic, when it is mentioned that not less than 10,000 horses and mules, from these middle or western States come down every year for sale to the purchasers in the Atlantic States . . . as many as 500 at a time frequently passing through Greenville in a single day."[6]

Leaving the banks of the French Broad, Buckingham moved north into Tennessee, making for Greenville. As his party went up and down the numerous hills, the coachman frequently stopped to lock and unlock the wheels to prevent losing control. Buckingham deemed it the most disagreeable road he had yet traveled. And he did not find the inn at Greenville much better; the well-traveled Briton objected to the lack of an unoccupied room for him and his wife: "At length, for the lady's accommodation, we were shown what was called the 'reserved room for families;' where, in a space not much larger than enough to contain the two beds within it, we had to accommodate ourselves as well as we could." When he noted the presence of cigar stubs and empty whiskey glasses in the room, Buckingham was assured that it was clean, "as no one had been in it but Governor Polk, and he had merely lain down on the bed without taking his clothes off."[7]

Polk had recently visited Greenville in the midst of his campaign for governor against the Whig candidate, Newton Cannon, who was in town at the same time, staying at the rival hotel. The two candidates debated outdoors, and as Buckingham was told, Polk was the favorite, "admitted on all sides to be the best orator; and this weighs much more with the people of America, than higher and more important qualifications." Polk indeed won the contest in October 1839, a step on his way to the presidency, to which he was elected five years later.

The following day, taking the stage to Blountville, Buckingham commented on a scandalous painting on one of the doors of the stagecoach, "the only one in the country on which I had ever seen a picture painted on the door-panel. . . . The picture on the one side represented a hussar warrior taking leave of his wife or lover, while his horse and military companions awaited him at the garden-gate of his dwelling; and in this there was nothing

objectionable." The other door featured the scene to which Buckingham objected: "a fashionably-dressed beau, embracing a lady on a sofa; and the offensively amorous manner in which the figures were placed, seemed to attract the vulgar jests of the surrounding crowd."[8]

On the road northeast from Greenville, Tennessee, he encountered that icon of American westward movement, the Conestoga Wagon, heading south on the road from Kentucky to the Carolinas: "They are as long, but much narrower, than our English waggons; are, like them, covered with a canvas-cloth spread over arched hoops on the top; but instead of the ends being perpendicular, and the roof level or horizontal, the top is curved in a much deeper bend than the hollowest back of a horse; and the ends are made to cock up nearly two feet above the lowest part of the bend of the centre. ... The front projects forward, and the hind part backward, each in an angle of 20 [degrees] to 25 [degrees] beyond the perpendicular; and this shelters persons sitting in the front or back of the waggon from rain or sun."[9]

Arriving at Jonesborough in the late afternoon, he discovered that he had caught up with the gubernatorial candidates, who had been debating each other since breakfast. Buckingham decided to travel on to Blountville since Jonesborough was mobbed with the crowd who had come to see the politicians, but first he stopped at the local hotel to catch up on the news. Looking over the local paper as well as an edition from Athens, Tennessee, Buckingham admitted being "shocked and disgusted by the ruffianly and blood-thirsty spirit which seemed to guide the pens of the editors of these two papers; nor could I wonder at the unwillingness of men of worth and honour to enter into the stormy sea of political life, and undergo the ordeal of a popular election in this country, while they are so certain of being assailed with the most unmeasured vituperation, and made the victim of the most foul aspersions by their political opponents." He found the Tennessee newspapers to be worse than any others in their "coarseness and violence." He was not alone in his critique of American newspapers; he cited Americans themselves who lamented the nastiness of the political press.[10]

In Blountville, Buckingham and his group stayed at the Inn of William Deery, an Ulsterman who welcomed the Englishman with open arms and unbridled hospitality. Deery told Buckingham that he had left Londonderry at the age of nineteen and arrived in Tennessee early in the century with a supply of stores he thought the backcountry settlers would buy. He repeated this first venture several times and eventually settled at Blountville, opening a permanent store and buying land. By the time of Buckingham's visit in 1839 he was one of the wealthiest men in the neighborhood. To the

Englishman's approval, the entire family was "temperate and religious; the father having never tasted spirits or wine for forty years—the son never; and family worship being their habitual practice." That evening, he was treated to a pianoforte recital by Deery's eldest daughter. Her instrument was "of Clementi's make, which her father had imported from London expressly for her use. This brought a crowd of farmers, who were still in town, round the windows; others entered the hall or passage; and some came into the drawing-room, and seated themselves with their hats on, to enjoy the music."[11]

Leaving Blountville at night by the mail stage, Buckingham entered after midnight, "what is called 'The Old Dominion,'" arriving at Abingdon around seven in the morning. He found Abingdon to be "pleasantly situated, in an undulated part of the country. ...The town consists chiefly of one main street, and has about 200 houses, and from 1,600 to 1,800 inhabitants, including not more than 200 blacks employed chiefly as domestic servants in the town, though negro slaves are abundantly used in the cultivation of the surrounding country." On Sunday, Buckingham attended a Methodist service; about 100 whites were there, and the 50 or 60 blacks in attendance sat in a separate gallery "as is universal in this country." The preacher, "a primitive old man of eighty, dressed in a suit of grey cotton-cloth, with silvery-white hair, and feeble voice," told the assembled congregation that Americans were ungrateful for God's manifest blessings and occupied themselves in the pursuit of Mammon:

> He denounced the luxurious habits of the times, the love of pomp and display, which infected all classes; and he invoked the female part of his audience especially, to consider this besetting sin.
>
> At the close of the service, the preacher announced that he should be ready to meet the "coloured class of the communicants" at three o'clock in the afternoon, and the "white class" at four; the distinction being maintained as rigidly between the blacks and whites in the ordinances of religion, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as in every other occupation—as if there were a higher heaven for the white race hereafter, and a lower heaven for the blacks, supposing them to be admitted there at all, for as to this, some entertain doubts. [12]

During his five-day stay in Abingdon, Buckingham lectured at the local Presbyterian church; in the large audience were Virginia Governor David Campbell and South Carolina Senator William Preston.[13] "The system of manual labour schools has lately been introduced into this part of Virginia,

and a school of this description has been established within about ten miles of Abingdon. It is called the '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." Students were to study for two hours before breakfast, four hours after the morning meal, then work for three hours "in the field, garden, or workshop," between lunch and supper.[14]

Departing from Abingdon on August 1, Buckingham arrived that afternoon at Seven Mile Ford, "the situation of which was beautifully romantic, but both the hotel and its keeper, a fat colonel, were dirty in the extreme. We were asked here, for the first time on the road, to drink ardent spirits before dinner, this being the practice of the colonel himself, and one which he recommended to all his guests. I was happy to perceive, however, that every one declined it, and I was assured by some of our fellow-passengers, that in this there has been a manifest and extensive reform, within the last few years, which they attributed chiefly to the change in public opinion, brought about by the efforts of the Temperance Societies."[15]

Buckingham expressed puzzlement that since he had entered Virginia, "the original seat of the tobacco plant, there were fewer persons who chewed this stimulating weed, than in any of the Southern States through which we had lately traveled. Smoking was, however, very general; but instead of the cigar, so common everywhere else, the pipe was here more frequent; and this was constructed of a clay bowl of the ordinary shape and size, with a long thin hollow tube of cane for its stem. We saw many women using such pipes, as openly and freely as the men, a practice we had nowhere else observed among the sex, but which we were told was not at all uncommon here."[16] He also noted several of the peculiar expressions of Southwest Virginia, some of which are still in use:

> baggage is very generally called "plunder," and it sounded oddly enough to hear the inn-keeping colonel say to us— "Why, you and your family seem to require a pretty considerable deal of *plunder* to carry with you." Horses are called "critturs," and we several times heard the expression— "There is no getting a *crittur* for love or money; they are all employed *hauling* oats." The word "tote" is used to signify carry; and you hear the driver say— "Here, you nigger-fellow, *tote* this lady's *plunder* to her room." Up-stairs is pronounced "up-starrs;" the words bear and fear, are pronounced "barr" and "farr;" and one passenger was told, "The room *up-starrs* is quite *preparred*, so that your *plunder* may be *toted* there whenever *you've a mind*."[17]

From Seven Mile Ford, Buckingham proceeded north along the Great Road to Wytheville, where his party spent the night, and ate breakfast before traveling on. "Here we witnessed the characteristic operation of a large house-dog being sent in chase of a chicken, which he caught in his mouth and brought to the cook, who forthwith killed, plucked, dissected, and fried the same for our use; the whole operation, from the catching to the serving up, occupying less than half an hour of time."[18]

They left Wytheville, bound for Newbern. Buckingham complained of being cheated by the coach's proprietor, who charged him for an extra team of horses: "The truth is, this passion for the acquisition of money is much stronger and more universal in this country than in any other under the sun, at least that I have visited; and in proportion to the strength of the passion, so is the weakness of conscientiousness, or the sense of justice, among all ranks."[19]

On the road to Newbern, Buckingham commented on the countryside, including one of Virginia's many family cemeteries: "we observed in the fields a large sycamore-tree, with wide-spreading branches, enclosed with a neat palisade, and was told that this was a very usual way of forming a rustic cemetery, which was confirmed by our seeing several graves within the enclosure." He also noted a buckeye, observing that these trees were very prevalent in Kentucky, so much

> that the Kentuckians are often called "buck-eyes." In a few of the fields, also, we saw the buckwheat growing, from the grain of which are made the buckwheat cakes, so well known in all parts of America, as a favourite appendage to the breakfast table, both in the northern, southern, and western States ... . We saw here, also, a number of the small birds, called partridges by some, and quails by others; but more nearly resembling the quails of Arabia than the partridges of England, in size, form, and colour. They appeared very tame, and are said to form excellent food; but the people of the country are so satisfied with their daily fare of coarse fat bacon and beans (called here, "snaps") that few give themselves the trouble to shoot bird for their table.[20]

From Newbern, another stagecoach took him north into what is now West Virginia, to visit the many mountain health resorts. The spas and springs of the mountains of Virginia were well-known among the upper classes of both North and South. The cool mountain climate and reputed medical benefits of the waters attracted a crowd of visitors every summer. Sojourners included notable men such as Thomas Jefferson, who designed

the octagonal bath house at Warm Springs in Bath County, and Martin Van Buren, who spent time at Red and White Sulphur Springs, the latter the location of today's famous Greenbrier hotel and resort.[21]

On his journey north from Newbern, Buckingham noted the immense grazing fields common further west across the mountains. These fields reminded him of home: "the rich green grass of which, so unusual and pleasing to the eye, was particularly refreshing and agreeable ... . Vast herds of cattle are driven up here from the southern and western parts of the state—we saw as many as 600 at least in one drove—to be pastured and fattened for the eastern markets; and it is thought to be even more profitable than planting, though capital invested in that yields from 25 to 30 per cent; but in grazing it is said to realize 50 to 60 per cent, on the average of many years running."[22]

Climbing the range of mountains between Newbern and Giles Court House (Pearisburg), Buckingham described a Methodist camp as

> a large collection of log-sheds, pens, and small buildings, without a creature near them, though they covered several acres of ground, and enclosed an open parallelogram. These we learnt were the buildings belonging to one of the Methodist conferences, at which a camp-meeting was held every year, generally in August or September, when all the harvest business is over. Our informant said he had seen 5,000 or 6,000 persons assembled here from all parts of the surrounding country; and sometimes scenes of such extravagance were enacted, and such violent groans and screams were uttered, accompanied with faintings and hysterics, that it would give a stranger an idea of an Indian attack upon an encampment, with scalpings and tomahawkings, rather than a devout religious meeting.[23]

Following a change of horses at Giles Court House, they crossed the New River where, on the opposite bank, stood "one of the largest and most beautiful weeping willows I had ever seen; but it hung its drooping branches over a wretchedly dilapidated and dirty dwelling, disgraceful to its occupant." Several members of the group wished to get some bread, but were unable to do so. "The country-people use little or no wheaten flour; the meal of Indian corn is substituted for it; and 'corn-bread,' as this is called, is always eaten hot. No more, therefore, is baked at any time than is thought to be necessary for a meal ... . Orchards, however, were abundant and the permission of the owner of those near the house was asked, to gather of their produce."[24]

From Peterstown to the Red Sulphur Springs, the depressing scenes continued:

> The dwellings and people we saw, from this onward for several miles, were among the dirtiest we had yet met with. The men seemed as if they did not shave more than once a month, or wash more than once a year; the women looked as though a comb never went through their hair, or soap and water over their skins; and the children, though they were all clothed, never had their garments mended, and were as ragged as they were dirty. Yet they were all of the white race; and no negroes, Indians or savages among the wildest tribes of Africa or Australia, could possibly be dirtier, or apparently more indolent, than they were. It is indeed to this latter vice, that all their defects are to be traced. With a fine soil, a fine climate, good health, and sufficient means to cultivate their grounds, they could hardly fail, if they were industrious, to lay by a surplus every year and progressively get rich; but having negro slaves to do their work, they seem to think labour an evil to be studiously avoided; so that their dwellings and persons are dirty, and comfortless in the extreme.[25]

But the resort, several miles north of Peterstown, presented an elegant contrast to the preceding countryside. Here Buckingham spent two days, enjoying "the repose of body, serenity of mind, the delightful social intercourse with the visitors." He contrasted the pleasures of the resort with the personal discomforts he had experienced throughout his journey thus

Lithograph of Red Sulpher Springs resort by Edward Beyer, published in 1857 in his *Album of Virginia.*

far: "this delightful watering-place presented to us was literally delicious, and we enjoyed it to the full."[26] On the day after his arrival, Buckingham attended a Sunday service

> conducted after the English Episcopalian ritual, by a clergyman of South Carolina, whose sermon was excellent .... Service was repeated, in the afternoon, with an equally full audience; and the evening was spent in walks, social visits, and conversations. Altogether it appeared to be a very happy day to all parties; and to us it was peculiarly so, from our meeting here with friends from New York and Albany on the one hand, and from New Orleans, Savannah, and Charleston on the other—embracing, therefore, the northern and southern extremes of the country; while from the intermediate cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore we met several others, whose renewed intercourse was peculiarly agreeable.

He noted visitors from New Orleans and Mobile, Texas and Havana, Cuba, as well as naval officers from Pensacola and army officers from Key West, and gentlemen from Arkansas, Missouri, Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, Kentucky and Ohio. The majority, however, of the approximately 200 guests at the Red Sulphur Springs hailed from Virginia.[27]

The name of the resort came from the reddish deposit on the rock at the bottom of the springs. The water itself was clear and "delightfully cold, and only slightly sulphurous in taste or smell." The overflow, carried in pipes to the baths, was also bottled and shipped some distance, and according to Buckingham, had a great reputation for its medicinal properties. The resort featured a large hotel and rows of cabins for single men as well as families. The dining hall held as many as 300. "It is sufficiently lofty to be always airy; and has suspended from the ceiling, by a complicated frame-work, a handsome and well-fitted series of table-fans, like the punkahs of the East Indies, but composed of several in succession pulled up and down the table lengthwise, instead of a single large board pulled across the table breadthwise, which last is the most simple, elegant, and efficient of the two and is the only kind used all over Hindoostan."[28]

There were several points of interest within riding distance of the spa town: the Falls of the Kanawha, and a nearby "blowing cave," where the wind blew so hard "the current can scarcely be stood up against, from its force." But the most interesting local attraction, according to Buckingham, was what he understood to be a newly formed lake (Mountain Lake), once a creek and salt lick that had become blocked at one end, and the rising water had submerged all the trees on either side of the hill.[29]

From Red Sulphur Springs, Buckingham journeyed to the much larger White Sulphur Springs, the most popular of the mountain resorts. On the way, he related a story about one of his fellow travelers that illustrated American political symbolism:

> An officer in the American navy had with him a fine straight walking-stick, which was admired and commented upon by another of our fellow-passengers, as one of the straightest and prettiest pieces of hickory he had seen for some time. This led to a statement of its history. It was cut from a hickory tree which overshadows the tomb of the ex-President Jefferson, the great revolutionary leader of the democratic party, and author of the Declaration of Independence, at Monticello. The hickory, from its hardness, toughness, and obstinate powers of resistance, has been selected as the fittest emblem of the modern leader of the democratic party, the ex-President Jackson, who is familiarly called "Old Hickory." To make this walking-stick more perfect, it was cut from the tree, of the length necessary to include a knot for every letter in the name of Andrew Jackson, neither more nor less, and yet it was the exact height required for a walking-cane. It was, therefore, at once a sort of emblem and talisman combined ... .[30]

Along the road to the White Sulphur Springs, Buckingham saw numerous sugar maple trees and described the process of extracting the sap and boiling it down:

> In the months of February and March, while the sap is rising, the sheds called "sugar-camps," are erected, or the old ones resorted to, in the centre of a large cluster of these trees. These sheds contain the boilers, of from fifteen to twenty gallons each, and moulds to receive the syrup when brought to the proper consistency for forming it into cakes. The borers then proceed, with an auger of about an inch in diameter, to bore the tree with two holes, four or five inches apart from each other, both about twenty feet from the ground, and in an obliquely ascending direction. In these are placed tubes of elder, of the proper size to fill the holes, and about ten inches long. These are usually placed on the south side of the tree, and do not penetrate more than half an inch beneath the surface as the sap is most abundant there. The sap is thus drawn off by these tubes, and falls into the troughs placed to receive it, being collected every day, and poured into casks till required to be placed in the boilers. In these it is boiled, and the scum is taken off carefully, and fresh sap added, till the whole becomes a fine syrup. After this it is suffered to cool, and strained through some woolen substance,

> by which the remaining impurities are removed. Each tree, upon the average, will yield about four pounds of sugar; this, when well made, is quite equal in taste and strength to the brown sugar of the cane; and when refined, it is not inferior to the best loaf sugar of Europe. It is chiefly consumed, however, in the interior districts.

Further along the way, he asked a gentleman whether the inhabitants made much of the maple sugar and recorded the response, "'Yes, they do, I reckon, right smart,'" which Buckingham learned meant "in great quantity."[31]

At his next stop, the Salt Sulphur Springs, Buckingham described the chief mode of physical activity for the patients, bowling, in which both men and women engaged: "For the exercise of the Invalids, there is a ten-pin alley, under a shed, at which the ladies exercise themselves as well as gentlemen; and as the ball is rolled along a wooden platform, and not as with us on the grass, it is less laborious, and many of the ladies whom we saw engaged, threw the ball with skill and grace."[32]

At Union, the next town on the road to White Sulphur Springs, Buckingham noted a large oak tree that the locals termed "The Mammoth Oak," "it being the custom of this country to call everything very large by the epithet of 'mammoth;' so that one hears of a mammoth cake, a mammoth pie, a mammoth oyster—terms the most incongruous." Buckingham thought the tree, while large, did not rival the cedars of Lebanon, or the African baobab.[33]

He was also less than impressed with the local beer, although it did have the virtue of being non-alcoholic. It "did not much resemble the beer of England, being made only of hop-water and molasses, without fermentation, so that it would not keep more than three days in draught, or a week in bottle, and it possessed no power of intoxication, however great the quantity that might be drank. It was, therefore, merely a sweet and bitter drink, which a vitiated taste might by habit be brought to prefer to pure water ... . It had the advantage over English beer, of not intoxicating those who drank it, while it was quite as wholesome."

Indeed, Buckingham praised mountain and back country folk for their sobriety: "In the thousands of miles we had travelled through the interior, we had scarcely seen a drunken man, and never a drunken group or party; nor had we witnessed half the quarrelling, abuse, and profane swearing, that is to be seen and heard between almost any two post-towns in England. At the public tables, neither wine, spirits, or beer are placed; simple water or milk is the beverage of all."[34]

White Sulphur Springs was by far the largest resort Buckingham had yet visited. The ballroom was much too small for the five or six hundred guests, and there was no drawing room or general public space for ladies and gentlemen to gather. And while the wealthier guests had their private carriages with which to explore the surrounding area, the majority of the visitors had little to occupy them. The food, he wrote, was also bad: "The fare at the table we thought worse than at any other Springs, and the servants, almost all negroes, were both dirty and ill-disciplined ... . In the evening we attended the ball, where, in a small and crowded room, about 200 persons were literally packed. In addition to the animal heat from such a number in a small space, (the room moreover being very low, and greatly heated by the number of lights,) the orchestra was filled by negro musicians; the bands being almost always formed of coloured people. Every door and window, at which, if unoccupied, fresh air might have come in, was crowded by the negro servants of the visitors, so that the heat and effluvia from such sources were far from agreeable. There was a great admixture of company also, more than I had thought likely to assemble at such a place. The majority were genteel in dress, appearance, and manners; but there were many coarse and vulgar persons, among the men especially, and some few among the women."[35]

The manly Englishman, who had traveled the world, also complained about the numerous dandies of both sexes at the resort, although he admitted that there were generally fewer dandies in America than in either France or England: "One of the males ... had ... suffered his hair, beard, and moustaches to grow uncut in wild luxuriance, and to all appearance uncombed. ... Another of these caricatures of humanity seemed to wish to be taken for an hermaphrodite, as his dress and appearance left you in doubt as to which of the sexes he belonged ... his hair, which he put up at night, as we were told, in curl papers, hung down around his face in the most feminine ringlets; while a white seam marked the place of its parting on the top of his head; and his affected lisp and mincing gait were precisely those of a conceited young boarding-school miss ... . The few female dandies we saw were not quite so ridiculous as the males; their peculiarities consisting chiefly in the extravagant excess to which they pushed the prevailing style of dress beyond its usual limits; extremely compressed waists, very low bodies, greatly exposed back, and perfectly naked shoulders, hugely protruding bustles, and artificially projecting busts, added to the most beseeching coquetry of attitude and manner."[36]

Leaving White Sulphur Springs on the morning of August 8, Buckingham traveled south, crossing the continental divide around noon.

The view was magnificent at nearly 4,000 feet above sea level, "a succession of rich and beautiful valleys." He found Sweet Springs to be the oldest and most beautiful of the resorts: "The superintendant of the bath, was an old Frenchman, who left Paris in 1789, after having been present at the destruction of the Bastille. He landed at Alexandria near Washington in that year, and has never been out of the State of Virginia since; though now eighty years of age, he is as healthy and vivacious as any Parisian who had never quitted the capital." Most of the guests, however, as the visitors he had encountered at the other resorts, came to these places for the society rather than to take a cure, and Buckingham thought this practice on the whole to be harmful. Travel for the purpose of seeing the natural wonders and exploring the natural history of the area he thought worthy, but to visit the spas for the "perpetual round of frivolous amusements," he believed was not.[37]

On August 9 Buckingham left Sweet Springs for Fincastle, crossing "Prince's Mountain," which he judged the most beautiful scene he had yet viewed. "The grandeur of the prospect, and the depth and solemnity of its effects upon the feelings, were indescribable. I had crossed many loftier mountains than these—Lebanon in Palestine, and Zagros and Louristan in Persia, especially—but even in the former, rich and beautiful as it is in scenes of the greatest loveliness, they seemed to me all inferior to the unrivalled splendour revealed to our delighted vision, by the progressive winding ascent of the western slope of Prince's Mountain."[38]

At Fincastle, he lodged at the Boar's Head Inn, the first of that name he had seen in America. The town itself "contains about 250 houses, and 800 inhabitants, of whom, there are nearly 200 negro slaves; these increasing in their proportion to the whites as you approach the Atlantic coast. There are four churches here, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal; a Court house, built of an octagonal shape, and crowned with a dome; two large Academies, well attended by male and female students; a Weekly Newspaper of democratic politics; this being the party to which the farmers of the interior chiefly belong."[39]

With the mention of newspapers, the talk eventually turned to politics.

> I found here, as elsewhere, that the rich and mercantile classes were nearly all Whigs; and the people of moderate fortunes, and the agriculturalists, nearly all Democrats. The difference between them, however, is not so much on the principles of general politics, as on the question of banks; the Whigs being for a national bank, a credit system, and paper currency; the Democrats being for the custody of the

> public money by a national treasury, ready-money transactions, and a metallic currency; while both, as usual in political controversies, carry out their doctrines to extremes. A new party is rising up, however, called by themselves Conservatives, who will not ally themselves to either. By both the old parties, however, these Conservatives are called "Impracticables." Mr. Rives, a distinguished Senator from Virginia, has seceded from the Democrats, but not gone over to the Whigs, nor joined the Conservatives.[40]

Departing Fincastle, Buckingham proceeded along the Great Valley Road to Buchanan: "This is seated on the banks of the James River, and is at the head of its navigation. The river is crossed by a good bridge; and several boats laden with supplies, for Richmond, lay at the bank. The town has about 100 houses and 600 inhabitants. There was a militia muster as we passed through; but this body being highly popular here, we did not remark any of the extravagancies we had seen in New York and in Georgia, where the object of all was to bring it into contempt. On the contrary, the young men here appeared proud of their military display; and as, from the abundance of deer in the mountains, they have good opportunities of practising with the rifle, they could muster a company of 100 good marksmen, which would furnish an excellent quota to a provincial army, if foreign aggression or internal insurrection should render their services necessary. In every point of view this seems a better force for a free country to keep ready for its defence, than the standing armies of Europe."[41]

Traveling northwards through the Valley, he stopped at Natural Bridge, which he compared to the Pyramids of Egypt in being more impressive up close than as seen in pictures. He was shown the place where some years earlier a young man had scaled the rock to write his name above that of George Washington, who had done the same in his youth:

> The aspirant to fame succeeded in his object of passing beyond the spot where Washington's name was written, and inscribed his own above it. But on looking below to survey the height over which he had climbed, he conceived that it might be as easy and more safe to complete the remainder of the ascent, than to retrace his steps; and the resolution was thence formed to attempt it. His efforts were crowned with success; but when he reached the summit, and threw himself prostrate on the earth above, he fainted, according to some, and lost his reason, according to others ... . On looking at the spot, it would seem impossible for anyone to accomplish such an ascent; but the records of

> extraordinary daring are too full of acts of astonishing achievements, to make it easy to set limits to the personal energies of man, under peculiar circumstances of danger or excitement.

Buckingham went on to describe the awesome beauty of the rock bridge and gorge, concluding that there were "few spots on the globe, where beauty and sublimity are more effectively combined than here."[42]

From Natural Bridge, Buckingham journeyed to Lexington, getting a view of the Peaks of Otter and crossing the James-Kanawha Canal.[43] He described Lexington as having "the appearance of a well-built and thriving

Frederic Church, "The Natural Bridge," painted in 1852, considered an example of the Hudson River School.

Edward Johnson's more distant view of Natural Bridge was painted in 1860. Like Church's it is in the tradition of the Hudson River School.

town." The town was home to three churches, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist, as well as a state arsenal and Washington College, which began as "Liberty-Hall Academy." There was also a female academy called Ann-Smith Academy that held nearly 100 students.[44]

Staunton was the next large town on his itinerary,

> one of the oldest as well as largest of the country towns of Virginia west of the mountains. It was founded by the British long before the Revolution; and so early in 1745, a Court of Justice held its sittings in the Court House here, under the Colonial jurisdiction ... . Staunton has now about 300 houses, and upwards of 2,000 inhabitants, with very few negroes, or people of colour. There are two Court Houses, one for common and statute-law cases, and one for chancery cases; a public markethouse, and four hotels; four churches, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptists, and Episcopalian; one male academy, two female seminaries, and a primary school.[45]

From Staunton he traveled to Waynesboro, then took a stage to Weyers Cave. The farmland in this portion of the valley reminded Buckingham of the cultivated fields of England, "presenting altogether the richest agricultural landscape that we had yet seen in the country. It struck us more like the

best parts of the Vale of Taunton, by the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey, than anything to which we could compare it at home; but much more extensive in area, and bounded by more lofty mountains . . . as a rich and fertile plain, nothing could surpass it in beauty."[46]

He was treated to a complete tour of the cave, after paying a dollar admission fee, and noted its remarkable features, including the Dragon Room, Devil's Gallery, and Solomon's Temple. The following day he returned to the cave, joined by hundreds of other visitors who came for the grand illumination advertised by the proprietor. Buckingham was disappointed by the spectacle, noting that the light of the 2,000 candles advertised was barely able to light the large halls, the immense crowd hindered the view, and even the band was annoying. Furthermore, after the illumination, the large crowd continued to enjoy themselves, as the proprietor and hotel owner "placed no restraint on the supply of ardent spirits to all who chose to pay for it at the bar." The result was a drunken riot, during which the landlord got into a fight with one of the guests, to Buckingham's extreme annoyance.[47]

Descending from the Blue Ridge Mountains through Rockfish Gap, Buckingham immediately noted the difference between plain and highland: "We found here, besides the marked change in temperature, two other corresponding changes;—one, the more frequent cultivation of the tobacco plant; and the other, the greater abundance of negroes."[48]

He visited Jefferson's home at Monticello, where he sadly noted the condition of the great Virginian's tomb, "the neglected and wretched condition of which ought to make every American, who values the Declaration of his country's independence, blush with shame." He had difficulty gaining an entrance to the house, then occupied by "a family very little disposed to encourage the visits of strangers." The family was that of Uriah Levy, an officer in the U.S. Navy, then absent on duty in the West Indies. Inside the house, Buckingham evaluated conditions as much better than the outside had led him to believe. He found the interior more in the French than English style and the most tasteful and harmonious he had yet seen in his tour of the South.[49]

Descending from Jefferson's little mountain to the town of Charlottesville, Buckingham made a visit to the University of Virginia. Since the school was then out of session, he saw few students, and devoted his attention to describing the principal buildings, the Rotunda housing the museum and library, and the lawn and pavilions on either side. At the time of Buckingham's visit around 200 students were enrolled; he noted their curriculum comprising Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, along with modern

languages, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and Portuguese. The more "technical" subjects included mathematics, natural philosophy (science), chemistry, materia medica (a sort of 19th-century course in pharmacology), anatomy and surgery, moral philosophy, and law.[50]

Traveling east from Charlottesville, Buckingham made a stop in Richmond, describing the site of the Virginia capital as "particularly striking and beautiful." As he moved from the Piedmont into the Tidewater region, he remarked upon the decayed appearance of the fields, which he blamed on slavery. He ended this stage of his journey eastward through Virginia at Norfolk, the town he had first visited so long ago. He found it had grown considerably in the thirty years since his first visit, but many of its former inhabitants had died or moved away. Norfolk's commerce did not match other cities he had visited: New York, New Orleans, even Richmond had overtaken it. True to form, he attributed the lack of business to the evil effects of slavery.[51]

He departed from Norfolk on September 11, and then visited Jamestown, Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria where he stopped at Mount Vernon. From Mount Vernon he traveled north again, visiting Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and finished his trip to the United States with another stay in New York City.

Despite his occasional forays into romantic excess and his frequent moralizing on the evils of slavery and alcohol, Buckingham's account has much to offer. His description of the South, particularly the mountain south, offers us a number of entertaining and instructive snippets of nineteenth-century American life and customs seen through the eyes of an educated world traveler.

Endnotes

1. James Silk Buckingham, *Autobiography of James Silk Buckingham* (London, 1855), vol. 1, 171, 221. The young black musician was Joseph Emedee, or Emidy, who became quite well known as a performer and composer in and around Cornwall. Buckingham himself took music lessons from Emedee.
2. *Autobiography*, 253, 257.
3. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), vol. 1, "Dedication," [unpaged, p. i].
4. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 194.
5. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 202-3, 206.
6. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 203.
7. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 239.
8. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 241.
9. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 243-4.

10. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 246-7.
11. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 259, 263. The Deery Inn in Blountville is today a historic site, listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) was an Italian composer and piano-maker who lived and worked in England.
12. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 273-5.
13. David Campbell of Abingdon served as governor of Virginia from 1837 to 1840. William Preston,son of Francis Preston of Abingdon and grandson and namesake of William Preston of Smithfield, and a cousin of Governor Campbell, was Whig Senator from South Carolina from 1837 to 1845. He later became president of South Carolina College (later University).
14. *Slave States*, vol. 2, pp. 276-7. Emory and Henry College was founded in 1836. Its campus is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.
15. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 291-2.
16. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 292.
17. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 292-3.
18. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 294.
19. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 295.
20. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 296-7.
21. See E. Lee Shepard, ed., "'Trip to the Virginia Springs': An Extract from the Diary of Blair Bolling," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 96, no. 2 (April 1988), pp. 193-212.
22. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 298-9.
23. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 302-3.
24. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 303-4.
25. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 305.
26. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 306.
27. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 307, 316.
28. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 309, 312.
29. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 314-15. The "newly formed" lake is Mountain Lake, located in Giles County, Virginia. Buckingham repeats the common myth that the lake formed within the memory of man. It was first described by Christopher Gist in 1751 and is probably at least 2,000 years old. Its level fluctuates considerably depending on rainfall, which may explain the mention of submerged trees.
30. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 320-1.
31. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 322, 327.
32. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 324.
33. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 326-7.
34. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 328-9.
35. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 335-6.
36. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 336-7.
37. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 343-4, 347-8.
38. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 350. Buckingham's Prince's Mountain may be Price Mountain, the highest ridge between Sweet Springs and Fincastle.
39. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 352.
40. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 354. William Cabell Rives, Senator from Albemarle County, started his career as a Jacksonian Democrat, but eventually became a Whig and was a leader in Virginia of the Constitutional Union Party in 1860.
41. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 355.
42. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 358-9, 361.
43. The Canal, intended to provide western farmers a means of bringing their produce to Richmond, was begun in the 1790s and by 1851 had reached as far a Buchanan, eventually being superseded by rail transportation.
44. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 362-3.

45. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 365-6.
46. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 367.
47. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 390-1.
48. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 395.
49. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 400-2. See *Saving Monticello: The Levy Family's Epic Quest to Rescue the House That Jefferson Built* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).
50. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 404-5.
51. *Slave States*, vol. 2, 456.

Notes on Illustrations

Henry William Pickersgill - James Silk Buckingham and wife, page 2
original in the collection of the Royal Geographical Society, London. Digital image by The Yorck Project: 10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH, downloaded from Wikimedia Commons, *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_William_Pickersgill_001.jpg,* accessed 2/11/11

Edward Beyer - Red Sulphur Springs, page 10
from Edward Beyer, Album of Virginia (Richmond, 1857), digital image downloded from Wikimedia Commons, *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:BeyerRedSulphurSprings.jpg,* accessed 2/11/11.

Frederic Edwin Church - The Natural Bridge,Virginia, page 17
original in the collection of the Bayly Art Museum, Charlottesville, Virginia. Digital image downloaded from Wikimedia Commons, *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Frederic_Edwin_Church_-_The_Natural_Bridge,_*Virginia.jpg, accessed 2/11/11.

David Johnson - Natural Bridge, Virginia, page 18
original in the collection of Reynolda House, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Digital image downloaded from Wikimedia Commons, *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Natural_Bridge_Virginia_David_Johnson.jpeg,* accessed 2/11/11.

William Radford, Revolutionary Patriot of the Continental Marines

David L. Mordy and James C. Mordy

(Authors' Note: This article looks at the Revolutionary War period of the life of colonial patriot William Radford, a Marylander and later a Virginian, whose progeny had ties to the New River Valley. His daughter, Mary, married Gen. John S. Preston, son of Col. William Preston of Montgomery County fame, and the city of Radford was named for his grandson, John Blair Radford. Another grandson was Rear Admiral William Radford, after whom the USS Radford, destroyer DD/DDE 446, was named.[1])

As a Continental marine lieutenant during the Revolutionary War, William Radford was among our country's first marines, one of thousands of young men who went to sea during the war and helped play a strategic role by causing part of His Majesty's Navy to focus on the West Indies, moving some of the threat away from America's Atlantic coast. Radford served during 1776 aboard the Maryland ship *Defence* and in 1777 aboard the Continental Navy ship *Hornet*. The latter ship was captured by the British, and Radford was imprisoned in England before escaping and making his way to France, then returning to America.

A family history by George Munford related that young William Radford, then "in his seventeenth year" visited the Geddes Winston family in Hanover County, Virginia, and was among those who "instantly formed" a company of soldiers after an impassioned speech at Hanover Courthouse by Patrick Henry,[2] famous cousin of the Winston family. Unaware that his Radford ancestor became a marine in 1776, Munford goes on to say that Radford's army company was captured by General Tarlton [sic] in his celebrated raid on Charlottesville and sent to the Tower of London.[3] Unaware of William Radford, the Maryland marine, Munford mistook for his ancestor a man of the same name in the Virginia army. The mistaken identity was further embellished in a book by DeMeissner, who provided a specific date for (the wrong) Radford's enlistment in the 1st Virginia Regiment of the Continental Line—August 4, 1776[4] —and stated that "his name appears on the [Continental army] rolls for the period June, 1777, to November 1779."[5]

To the contrary, her Radford ancestor was actually a marine during this period, serving on the Maryland Navy ship *Defence* in the summer of 1776, perhaps earlier.[6] After that he served on the Continental Navy ship *Hornet* in 1777, was captured at sea by HMS *Porcupine*,[7] and was then taken to Forton Prison in England (not the Tower of London) on October 13, 1777.[8]

The narrative below does not dispute the idea that Radford might have served as a Virginia soldier for a period of time, possibly in the Independent Company of Hanover that was, in fact, formed at the time of Patrick Henry's Hanover speech in November 1774.[9] Indeed, this part of the family account seems plausible. The story of his service as a marine during 1776 and 1777 is recounted below, a different story than previously reported.

William Radford, a Maryland Marine

William Radford was born in Frederick County, Maryland,[10] about 1758,[11] to John Radford and Ruth Tannehill Radford. William's father died about the time that William was born, and his widowed mother soon married Charles Prather.[12] When the Prathers moved west from Frederick County, they are said to have placed young William into the care of his maternal uncle, Carlton Tannehill, in Frederick County.[13] When Radford was later in prison, he was listed as a resident of Maryland, born in "Frederick's County."[14]

In 1775, when other colonies such as Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Virginia were forming navies, and the Continental Navy was not yet formed, the Maryland Council of Safety recognized the need for a Maryland navy. The biggest problem the colony faced in its new venture was recruiting enough men to operate the ships. At that time the ship's captain was responsible for recruiting his own crew.[15] Joshua Barney, second officer, or master's mate, on the ship *Hornet,* then commanded by Capt. William Stone, provides an example of how a captain typically went about finding a crew:

> A crew had not yet been shipped and the duty of recruiting one was assigned to Barney. Fortunately for his purpose, just at this moment a new American Flag, sent by Commodore Hopkins for the service of the *Hornet* arrived [in Baltimore] from Philadelphia—nothing could have been more opportune or acceptable—it was the first "Star-spangled Banner" that had been seen in the State of Maryland; and next morning at sunrise Barney had the enviable honor of unfurling it to the music of drums and fifes, and hoisting it upon a staff planted with his own hands at the door of his rendezvous. The heart-stirring sounds of the martial instruments, then a novel incident in Baltimore,

> and the still more novel sight of the Rebel colors gracefully waving in the breeze, attracted crowds of all ranks and eyes to the gay scene of the rendezvous, and before the setting of the same day's sun, the young recruiting officer had enlisted a full crew of jolly "rebels" for the *Hornet*.[16]

Whether in that way or another, young Radford was recruited for the Maryland Navy ship *Defence.* It is not known whether he was on board when the *Defence* first saw action in March 1776, but indications are that he had enlisted by May, if not earlier. Crew lists in July[17] and September 1776 list Radford as a sergeant of marines.[18] Capt. George Cook treated his September list, including Radford, as still current when three additional names were added on November 4, 1776.[19]

In its debut in March, the *Defence* responded to a threat from the British sloop-of-war *Otter*, which had proceeded far up Chesapeake Bay and had captured several ships (called "prizes"). James Nicholson, then captain of the *Defence*, was praised for re-taking the prizes, perhaps without any shots being fired. The *Otter* had run aground on Bodkin Point Shoal at the entrance to the Patapsco River.[20] Nicholson returned up the river with some of the prizes, which had been abandoned.[21]

A bill from John Slemaker, pilot of the *Defence,*[22] provides dates of the ship's departures from Baltimore from March to September 1776:

March 8	June 6 and 27	August 1 and 9
April 30	July 4 and 23	September 10
May 18		

Fragments of information about short cruises undertaken by the *Defence* in 1776 give some idea of the ship's activities at that time. Capt. Hamond of the HMS *Roebuck* reported that on July 29,

> [t]he *Defence*, a Rebel Privatier of 20 Guns belonging to Maryland, hearing of the [British] Fleet's being left at George's Island under the Protection of the *Fowey* only, came with 2 Tenders up the River to attack them, and a Battery from St. Mary's was to be [opened] as soon as she appeard in Sight. The *Roebuck's* return frustrated their schemes, and the Rebel Vessels returned to their rendezvous at Baltimore.[23]

During 1776 the *Defence* captured several ships. Records of the Maryland Council of Safety for December 2, 1776, show that "[t]he *Defence* arrived [in Baltimore] some time ago, she took five Prizes, but none of them valuable." These prizes were the schooner *Nancy*;[24] the sloop *Daniel*,[25] taken October 4; the brig *Georgia*,[26] which the *Defence* escorted into Annapolis on October 21; the brig *Brothers*;[27] and the snow [a type of square-rigged ship] *George*, taken November 2 by the *Defence,* then recaptured on November 7 by HMS *Camilla,* and finally captured again by the Maryland privateer *Enterprize* and taken into Baltimore on December 4, 1776.[28]

The Continental Navy

Toward the end of 1776, two Nicholson brothers were recruiting crew members for their respective ships. James Nicholson, who had been captain of the *Defence* in early 1776, had become captain of the frigate *Virginia* being fitted out in Baltimore. His brother, John Nicholson, at age 20, had been appointed first lieutenant on the *Defence* April 5,[29] and had by November been named captain of the *Hornet*, which was being repaired in Philadelphia. A letter written on November 29, 1776, by Samuel Purviance Jr. indicates James Nicholson's role in recruiting:

> The ship *Defence* is a few days ago arriv'd at Annapolis from her Cruise, And as her Crew were almost every One recruited by Capt. Nicholson, they went out on the late Cruise [on the *Defence*] chiefly at Capt. Nicholson's request & with the expectation of Shipping with him in the Frigate [*Virginia*] on their Return. The time of their enlistment will be expired about the 15th or 20th of next Month [December], before which they [cannot] leave the *Defence*.[30]

The situation changed in December 1776 when the defense of Philadelphia and the ships there became an all-consuming matter, as described in the following correspondence from Samuel Chase of the Continental Marine Committee to Capt. James Nicholson:[31]

> Wednesday morning Philadelphia Dec. 11th 1776
> It has been reported that you was coming up to this city with a Body of seamen and marines, one of the frigates is ready for the sea. The other three may be soon ready for a short voyage, if men could be procured, you would render essential service, if you could immediately come up with a body of seamen ... . It cannot be doubted the Council of Safety would lend the Hands belonging to the *Defence* for this very important service ... .

And in a letter from the Maryland Council of Safety to Capt G. Cook, dated December 15, 1776:[32]

> Sir. The assistance of the men belonging to the *Defence* may be of service to the common cause at Philadelphia. We request you therefore to march immediately without loss of time with all the men that can be spared from the necessary care of the Ship whilst in harbour. When in Philadelphia you are to obey the direction of the Honble Congress.
>
> Mr. Chase having mentioned nothing of great guns in his letter to Captn Nicholson, we think none ought to be removed 'till further orders. Let the men take their small arms &c and let no time be lost.

The reason for asking the captain of the *Defence* to bring his crew to Philadelphia was that the city was threatened with invasion by Sir William Howe, whose British troops were coming through New Jersey toward Philadelphia, seat of the Continental Congress. The Congress itself was in peril and at the same time was frantic about recruiting seamen and getting the *Randolph,* the *Hornet*, and the *Fly* to sea. On December 2, the Marine Committee was authorized to pay a $20 signing bonus, an advance payment of prize money, to seamen who agreed to serve on the *Randolph.*[33] On December 7, Congress authorized Captain Biddle of the *Randolph* to enlist "such of the sailors in prison as he shall think proper."[34] Before the frightened Congress abandoned Philadelphia for Baltimore on the 12th, it resolved that General Putnam should be prepared to burn "such of the frigates and other Continental vessels as may be in imminent danger ... ." Biddle was offered a reward of $10,000 if he got the *Randolph* safely to sea.[35]

The nature of this crisis during December 1776 caused Congress, meeting in Baltimore, to give George Washington, for a period of six months, broad powers to raise and supply an army, including the power "to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army" and "to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected ... ."[36] On December 19, Thomas Paine published, in Philadelphia, the famous line, "These are the times that try men's souls."[37]

On December 18, Capt. George Cook took as many as 75 crewmen from the *Defence* and marched from Baltimore to Philadelphia in a desperate effort to help defend Philadelphia in any way possible.[38] It is not known whether Radford was among those whose enlistment expired in mid-December or among those who marched to Philadelphia. Capt. Cook's December 23 list of *Defence* crewmen in Philadelphia[39] does not include Radford's name.

While Continental ground forces were maneuvering to defend Philadelphia, Robert Morris's December 25 letter to Capt. John Nicholson of the *Hornet* urged him to set sail before ice prevented the ship from getting to sea.[40] Then they received reports of George Washington's defeat of the British at Trenton on December 26, and his success at Princeton eight days later. The British threat was gone for the moment.[41]

Radford on Board the Hornet

The *Hornet* had been under repairs during the latter part of 1776, having lost her mast-head and boom when the *Hornet* and *Fly* fouled each other,[42] and the ship was leaky,[43] foreshadowing future problems. The work was completed by December, although the ship would prove to be still leaky. During the tumultuous days of December and January the ships continued their recruiting scramble for crewmen. In a January 7, 1777, letter,[44] Capt. Cook of the *Defence* complains about his men deserting and his losing "those who did say their time of entry is expir'd." It was so urgent to get the Continental ships to sea that Robert Morris asked Captain Biddle of the *Randolph* to provide "a compleat list of your officers and men on board," but only if it would not delay sailing.[45]

Radford chose to enlist as a Continental marine lieutenant on the *Hornet*, probably during the chaotic recruiting days of December or January. It is not known just how this came about, but perhaps it was natural for the *Hornet's* Capt. John Nicholson to recruit Radford, considering that the two men had served together on the *Defence* for several months during 1776, Nicholson as first lieutenant and Radford as sergeant of marines. The two men were about the same age. Nicholson was 20 and Radford perhaps a year or two younger. Radford, along with the rest of the crew, was presumably on board from the time the *Hornet* sailed from Philadelphia until it was captured in the West Indies by the British in April. The ice conditions permitted the *Hornet,* the *Randolph*, and the *Fly* to leave Philadelphia February 6.[46] The ships encountered delays, however, and were still in the Delaware on February 16.[47]

After the *Hornet* sailed from Philadelphia in February, she loaded 20 barrels of rice and 26 barrels of indigo in Charleston for her voyage to Martinique.[48] William Bingham, the Continental agent in Martinique, was also agent for the merchant firm Willing & Morris, and Bingham was a key intermediary in the sale to France of agricultural products such as rice, indigo, and tobacco, important commodities that helped finance the Revolution. Bingham was knowledgeable about merchant ship traffic in the

West Indies and helped supply intelligence to the Marine Committee. A letter dated December 14, 1776, from the Marine Committee to William Bingham[49] emphasized the need for the *Hornet* to capture prizes:

> We expect this will be delivered to you by John Nicholson Esqur. who commands the *Hornet* Sloop of war belonging to the Continent. She will carry you some Rice and Indigo by order of the Secret Committee which you'l please to receive expeditiously. As this sloop touches at Carolina before she sails for the West Indies it is uncertain when you may see [her], therefore our orders must be discretionary, and when she arrives if you [have] any advices or any goods to send that you think of importance to these States, you may dispatch Capt. Nicholson therewith immediately. Should this not be the case you may assist him to procure more Men, and let him go a cruising during the Winter Months only dispatching him so as to be here by the beginning of April. If our trade in the Islands is interrupted by any privateers or Tenders that this Sloop can match they should be her object. If there be none such she may cruise where there is the best chance of good Prizes.—
>
> If Captain Nicholson is lucky enough to send any in to you, sell such parts as are suited for the Island consumption, but be careful what you sell is the property of none but british subjects not resident in Bermuda or New providence [Bahamas]. Whatever you sell render regular accounts of it—make the seamen &c necessary advances and transmit us their receipts with the Accot. Sales &c for what you sell that just distribution may be made on their return. If Captain Nicholson meets with any Canon more suitable for the *Hornet* than those on board, assist him in buying and getting them mounted—Supply him with Money and necessaries he may want for the service his receipts will be your vouchers and your drafts on us will be paid—
>
> When you dispatch him for the Continent he will take on board any goods you have to ship.

During the winter of 1776–77, while Congress was at Baltimore, Robert Morris, vice-president of its Marine Committee, administered the navy and chaired a Secret Committee of Congress. He wrote the following in a letter to Bingham on February 26, 1777:[50]

> The *Hornet* Cap Nicholson went from hence to Charles Town South Carolina from whence she proceeds to you with Rice & Indigo. We hope she will arrive safe and you must also send her directly back for this

> Coast with similar supplys to those now ordered by the *Independence* and we shall continue making you remittances as fast as we can get opportunities of doing it with any tolerable degree of safety.

Radford Captured and Imprisoned

The *Hornet* "was built in Bermuda, of 100 tons burden, mounted ten carriage guns and four swivels, and had a crew of thirty-five."[51] The ship had the months of March and April to follow the instructions of the Marine Committee to "cruise where there is the best chance of good prizes." As far as is known, the ship saw no action until April, when she became involved in a naval battle to the northeast of Turks Island, some 900 miles from Charleston.[52]

Putting the story together from several sources, at daylight on April 27 the *Hornet* and Continental privateer *Lewis* (Capt. John Stevens)[53] were sailing together when they spotted other ships, including an enemy sloop and a schooner.[54] A French brig from Charleston had been captured by the sloop, which turned out to be the HMS *Porcupine* (Capt. Cadogan), manned by a hundred men. Some six hours later, with the *Hornet* on the starboard bow of the British warship and the *Lewis* on its port quarter, cannon fire between the sloop and the two Continental ships commenced, and as many as 50 shots were fired during the battle, which lasted three-quarters of an hour. Five of the men on the *Porcupine* were killed.[55] The enemy schooner came up fast, and the *Porcupine* chased the *Hornet* while the schooner chased the *Lewis*. The *Hornet* surrendered, and the *Lewis* escaped.[56]

After the battle, the *Hornet* was taken on May 9 by the *Porcupine* into Jamaica, where the *Hornet* was reported to be leaky and, after condemnation, was appraised at £2443.12.6, including cargo, stores, and gunpowder.[57] Capt. Nicholson and his crew were confined in irons on Admiral Clarke Gayton's flagship, the *Antelope*.[58] Admiral Gayton, whose forces captured more than 235 American ships during the war,[59] was the British commander-in-chief at Jamaica. Radford was among prisoners on the *Porcupine* from April 27 until May 27.[60] Some members of the *Hornet* crew were taken off the ship in Port Royal, Jamaica. Radford was among those transferred to the HMS *Antelope* and later taken to England. He was committed to Forton Prison at Portsmouth on October 13, 1777. On that date, according to the journal of prisoner Timothy Conner, all 22 men and officers from the *Hornet*, including Capt. John Nicholson, were imprisoned at Forton.[61] This prison had been receiving American naval prisoners since June 14, 1777, when 38 crew members of the *Rising States* were incarcerated there.[62]

Among the prisoners already at the prison when Radford arrived was Capt. John Floyd of Virginia. Floyd had been a tutor of the children of Col. William Preston at Smithfield and had worked for Preston as his deputy surveyor, making some of the earliest surveys of southwest Virginia and Kentucky before he joined the privateer *Phoenix* as captain of marines. Floyd had also been captured by the British navy in 1777.

Radford Escapes

Radford made his escape sometime after being listed on a December 29, 1777, roll of Forton prisoners.[63] Family reports that Radford escaped by tunneling under the wall could be true.[64] Radford's name on another list of prisoners simply notes "Run," meaning that he escaped, without saying how.[65] Floyd had escaped earlier, arriving in Paris by October 30, 1777.[66] Regarding Radford's escape to Paris and return to America, as told in Munford's book, he was among escaped prisoners "treated with the utmost hospitality by Lafayette and furnished with ample funds to enable them to return to Virginia."[67] DeMeissner writes, "While in Paris William Radford was presented by General La Fayette to Queen Marie Antoinette ... ."[68] A major difficulty with these undocumented stories is that Lafayette was not even in Paris at the time. He was in America during the last half of 1777 and all of 1778. After discounting the family stories regarding Radford's escape and return, reliable documentary information is absent.[69] Still, there is little reason to doubt that Radford followed the usual pattern for escapees from Forton, making his way to Paris, where the Continental commissioners assisted prisoners in returning to America.

Epilogue

The Naval Historical Center listing of its earliest officers shows Lieut. William Radford as a Continental Marine Corps Lieutenant.[70] Radford eventually received payment for his service when Congress passed legislation in 1792: "Certificate Date May 5, 1792, William Rodford [sic], Ship *Hornet*, Lieutenant marines, Interest Commencing Dec. 17, 1778, Certificate #2365, Amount of Certificate Issued $355.66."[71] At that time the pay rate for a marine lieutenant was $18 per month, or $0.60 per day.[72]

After his return from prison, Radford located his mother and stepfather in Maryland. In May of 1779, Radford received from his stepfather, Charles Prather, a Potomac River property in Montgomery County, called "Long Acre," for a recited consideration of 5 shillings.[73] The land had been a dower property of Radford's mother, Ruth. In June 1779, Radford sold Long Acre to Brooke Beall for £1,275.[74]

On December 14, 1780, Radford married Rebecca Winston of the Geddes Winston family of Hanover County, Virginia, that he had visited before enlisting as a marine. The couple had six children: Mary, Sarah, John, William C., Marie Antoinette, and Carlton Tannehill. In 1786 William Radford purchased a plantation in Goochland County, Virginia, and in 1792 he moved to Richmond. He became a successful merchant and businessman and operated the Eagle Tavern in Richmond. His will was dated February 19, 1803, and he died on April 3, 1803.[75]

Endnotes

1. The destroyer *Radford* is memorialized in the Radford National Naval Museum in Newcomerstown, Ohio.
2. George W. Munford, *The Two Parsons* (Richmond: J.D.K. Sleight, 1884), 71.
3. Munford, 71.
4. Sophie R. DeMeissner, *Old Naval Days* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 3. DeMeissner adds to Munford's 1884 account of the incident by saying that it happened in the summer of 1776, when Patrick Henry was "the recently elected governor," and by introducing the August 4, 1776, date for the wrong person. Because this source uses a wrong date for an event in Radford's seventeenth year of age, her calculation of Radford's birth year is also thrown into question.
5. DeMeissner also quotes a bounty land warrant document provided by Ballard Smith certifying that Continental soldier William Radford died of his wounds by 1781. She did not recognize that Ballard Smith was certifying the death of a person with the same name, but a different person than her ancestor, who did not die until 1803, more than 20 years later.
6. W. B. Clark, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Washington: Naval Historical Center; GPO, 1964-, 11 vols. to 2006) (NDAR), vol. 7, 39-40, "Muster Roll of the Maryland Ship of War *Defence*."
7. NDAR, vol. 8, 1039-1040, "Prisoners from the Continental Navy Sloop *Hornet* Carried on Muster Roll of H.M.S. *Porcupine*."
8. William R. Cutter, "A Yankee Privateersman in Prison," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 30 (1876), 346.
9. George Morgan, *The True Patrick Henry* (New York and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907), 179-180. Description of the formation of the Independent Company of Hanover at "Merry Oaks" tavern in the vicinity of Hanover Courthouse.
10. Robert S. R. Yates, Sr., *A History of William Radford of Richmond, Virginia* (Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen Publishing Company, 1986), 3-12. Yates uses 3-12 to represent a single page and not a range of pages. Yates uses the date 1759, but see notes 4 and 11.
11. Montgomery Co., Maryland, Circuit Court Deeds, Liber A, 315-316 (deed recorded August 10, 1779). On May 8, 1779, Charles Prather of Washington Co. Maryland, sold for a recited consideration of five shillings to "William Radford, son and heir of John Radford, deceased" tracts of land that "Prather possessed by right of dower, of his wife Ruth, widow of the said John Radford." This transaction suggests that Radford had by then reached legal age 21, and was born by 1758 to John and Ruth Radford.
12. Yates, *A History of William Radford*, 3-12.
13. Yates, *A History of William Radford*, 3-12.
14. NDAR, vol. 11, 889.
15. Nathan Miller, *The U.S. Navy*, 3rd ed. (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1997), 19.

16. Mary Barney, ed., *A Biographical Memoir of the Late Commodore Joshua Barney* (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1832), 30.
17. NDAR, vol. 5, 1310-12. William Radford was on a list of the ship's crewmen who were owed two-months pay, as of approximately July 31, 1776.
18. NDAR, vol. 7, 39-40. Ship's roster of September 19, 1776, lists William Radford.
19. NDAR, vol. 7, 40.
20. Tom Cunliffe, *Pilots: Pilot Schooners of North American and Great Britain* (Brooklin, Maine: Wooden Boat Publications, 2001), 22.
21. Isaac J. Greenwood, *The Revolutionary Services of John Greenwood of Boston and New York* (New York: The DeVinne Press, 1922), 137.
22. NDAR, vol. 6, 774.
23. NDAR, vol. 6, 173.
24. NDAR, vol. 7, 337.
25. NDAR, vol. 7, 109.
26. NDAR, vol. 7, 320.
27. NDAR, vol. 7, 378.
28. NDAR, vol. 7, 389, 859, 994.
29. *Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety 1776*, Archives of Maryland, vol. 11, 312. Also in NDAR, vol. 4, 671.
30. NDAR, vol. 7, 327, Samuel Purvience, Jr. to Richard Henry Lee.
31. *Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety 1776*, Archives of Maryland, vol. 12, 520. Capt. James Nicholson, senior captain of the Continental Navy, was asked to bring a crew from the ship *Defence*.
32. *Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety 1776*, vol. 12, 530.
33. *Journal of the Continental Congress*, (Library of Congress), December 2, 1776.
34. *Journal of the Continental Congress*, December 7, 1776.
35. *Journal of the Continental Congress*, December 12, 1776.
36. *Journal of the Continental Congress*, December 27, 1776.
37. Thomas Paine, *The Pennsylvania Journal*, December 19, 1776.
38. *Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety 1776*, vol. 12, 537.
39. NDAR, vol. 7, 579-80.
40. *Letters of Delegates to Congress* (Library of Congress), vol. 5. Continental Marine Committee to John Nicholson, December 25, 1776.
41. Nathan Miller, *Sea of Glory* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1974), 220.
42. Mary Barney, 31.
43. Hulbert Footner, *Sailor of Fortune: the life and adventures of Commodore Barney, USN* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940), 25. Also see *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, vol. 5. Marine Committee to William Stone, August 27, 1776.
44. *Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety*, vol. 16, 25.
45. *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, vol. 6. Marine Committee to Nicholas Biddle, January 30, 1777.
46. *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, vol. 6. Executive Committee to John Hancock, February 10, 1777. "The *Randolph* Frigate & ships under her convoy got safe out to Sea last Thursday."
47. *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, vol. 6. Marine Committee to John Nicholson, February 16, 1777.
48. NDAR, vol. 8, 454. From log of James Power, master of HMS *Porcupine*.
49. *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, vol. 5, Marine Committee to William Bingham, December 14, 1776.
50. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 70 (1946), 198-200.
51. NDAR, vol. 8, 454.

52. NDAR, vol. 8, 454, "latitude 22 1/2° north, longitude 70° west."
53. Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Naval Records of the American Revolution* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1906), 52.
54. *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, Monday, June 16, 1777, in NDAR, vol. 9, 124-125.
55. *Continental Journal* (Boston, July 31, 1777), dateline Charlestown, S. Carolina, June 23.
56. *Gazette of the State of South Carolina.*
57. NDAR, vol. 8, 454.
58. *Continental Journal.*
59. Clarke Gayton, "A List of Rebel Vessels, Taken by the Squadron, of His Majesty's Ships & Vessels, under my Command at Jamaica, between the 21st day of December, 1775 and the 26th day of February, 1778," in NDAR, vol. 11, 447-53.
60. NDAR, vol. 8, 1039-40. Twenty-seven men were listed, not including Captain Nicholson and several others.
61. "A Yankee Privateersman in Prison," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 30 (1876), 346.
62. William R. Cutter, 343.
63. "John Thornton's Memorandum for the American Commissioners in France," in NDAR, vol. 11, 885-891.
64. Yates, *A History of William Radford*, 3-6.
65. "American Prisoners at Forton Prison, England 1777-1779," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 33 (1879), 37-39.
66. William B. Willcox, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), vol. 25, 125.
67. Munford, 71.
68. DeMeissner, 5.
69. Yates, *A History of William Radford*, 3-2 to 3-5, relates that Mrs. Rebecca (Winston) Radford enjoyed telling her grandchildren fanciful stories, including her description of the crown jewels in the Tower of London, where she said her husband was imprisoned (contrary to documents cited in notes 61, 63, and 65, showing his imprisonment in Forton Prison).
70. Naval Historical Center on-line (December 24, 2010), *www.history.navy.mil/wars/revwar/officers.htm,* "Revolutionary War, Continental Navy and Marine Corps," listing of Marine Corps Lieutenants.
71. *American State Papers, Senate, 11th Congress, 3rd Session, Claims: vol. 1,* 388. "A statement of all the claims which have been adjusted and allowed at the Treasury Department, and for which certificates of registered debt issued, in virtue of a law entitled 'An act providing for settlement of claims under particular circumstances barred by limitations heretofore established.' Passed on March 27, 1792."
72. Gardner W. Allen, *A Naval History of the American Revolution* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), vol. 2, 695.
73. Montgomery Co., Maryland, *Circuit Court Deeds, Liber A*, 315. Deed dated May 8, 1779, recorded August 10, 1779.
74. Montgomery Co., Maryland, *Circuit Court Deeds, Liber A*, 300. Deed dated June 15, 1779.
75. Yates, 3-1. Transcription of 1803 will, 3-36.

The Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1.

Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays

Introduction

The Scotch-Irish immigrant James Patton (c1692-1755) dominates the early history of southwestern Virginia and the state's southern Appalachian frontier. However, he is a paradox and presents the question: How can a man of such prominence on the Virginia frontier from 1739 to 1755 be so elusive in the approximately forty-five years from his birth to August of 1737? Until now, with the publication of the present article, August 1737 was the first reliable date from which documentary evidence about him was known.

Figure 1 shows maps of the principal locations associated with James Patton during his lifetime.

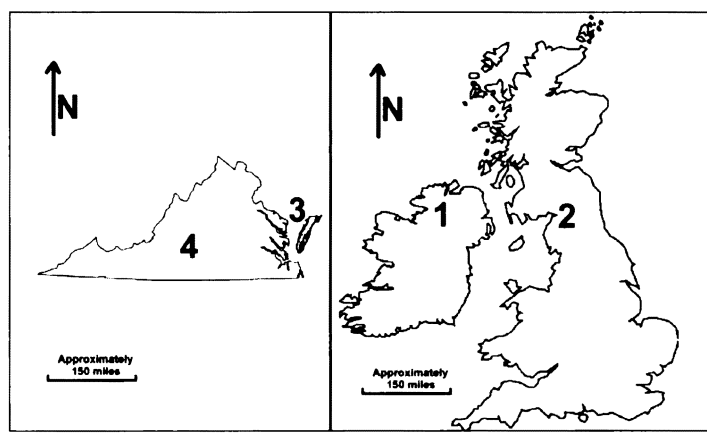


Figure 1. Location map showing the principal places associated with the life of James Patton in Virginia and the British Isles.

1. The counties of Donegal and Derry (Londonderry) in the north of Ireland.
2. The ports on the Irish Sea on the Solway Firth estuary at the border of Scotland and England.
3. The Chesapeake Bay.
4. The early western and southwestern Virginia frontier.

Although much has been written about Patton's life prior to August 1737, none of that writing that we have seen has been supported by formal historiographic proof. That extensive writing, in the form of family history and genealogy, is discussed and critically examined here.

Figure 2. The Tinkling Spring. This spring, which rises near the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church in Fishersville in Augusta County, Virginia, has become an icon for the spirit of the Scotch-Irish pioneers (who had been "Born Fighting"[1]) such as Patton who opened the southwest Virginia forests and mountains to settlement. James Patton was a founding member of the church. Today, the Tinkling Spring Church houses a small museum that celebrates that history and records the work of the Reverend Howard MacKnight Wilson, who ministered at the church from 1946 to 1957 and with the assistance of his wife wrote the book *Tinkling Spring, Headwaters of Freedom*.[2] The tribute to them in the church's museum states, "Perhaps the Wilsons' greatest accomplishment was making church members aware of their own incredible heritage." Authors' picture.

In the summer of 1737, Patton was based in the Scottish town of Kirkcudbright (pronounced approximately as "cur-COO-bree") on the northern coast of the Solway Firth. Three years later, in 1740, he was settled in the Shenandoah Valley in the newly-formed Augusta County (Figures 2 and

3). Patton's activities between 1737 and 1740 can be fairly well documented from three principal sources: (i) his dealings with the planter and oligarch William Beverley of Essex County, Virginia; (ii) shipping records on both sides of the Atlantic; and, (iii) the remarkable record left in the letter book of Walter Lutwidge, a shipping merchant of the port of Whitehaven, Cumbria, on the northwest coast of England, with whom Patton had stormy relations in 1739-1740.

Figure 3. The old cemetery at the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church, with the modern-day church building in the background. A nearby memorial tablet records that Patton's wife is buried here, while his remains lie at Draper's Meadows in Blacksburg, where he was killed by Indians. The tablet is "Sacred to the memory of the immigrants to this valley who turned the wilderness into habitations," and who in November 1744 were assessed 12 shillings per family to build the first Tinkling Spring Meeting House on this spot. The present article reveals for the first time ever that Patton buried an earlier wife in Whitehaven, England. Authors' picture.

Because of the extensive Virginia records he created, we know a great deal about Patton's activities on the Virginia frontier from 1740 until his death in 1755. During this time he held the Augusta County offices of Justice of the Peace, Colonel of Militia, Lieutenant, President of the Court, and Sheriff. He was also President of the Augusta Parish Vestry and a member of the House of Burgesses. Probably his greatest single

achievement was obtaining his "great grant" of 100,000 acres in 1745 on the Mississippi watershed, the first ever such grant made by Virginia. He is also noteworthy as the uncle[3] of William Preston, who was Patton's protégé and principal successor, as well as the founder of an American family dynasty that continues to the present day.[4] As readers of the *Smithfield Review* will know, Patton was killed by Indians near the present Smithfield Plantation house in Blacksburg, Virginia, where a commemorative DAR brass plaque records the event. The exact location of his remains is unknown (Figure 4). However, having pointed out that Patton had a spectacular career after he became established in Augusta County, we note that that career is not the subject of this article.

In this article we do the following four things: 1. We survey and assess what has been written about Patton's life before 1737, all of which information until now derives from Patton-Preston family sources. 2. We describe his life from 1737 to 1740 using Virginia and Cumbria records. 3. We describe new documentary evidence we have found about Patton, including evidence for an earlier wife and for his becoming a burgess of a Scottish town, and 4. We describe our ongoing effort to find additional, new, primary historical evidence about him in the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Cumbria. We plan to report on the success or failure of this ongoing effort in a follow up Part 2 to this article.

Writings About James Patton's Life Before 1737

Writings about James Patton's life before 1737 derive exclusively from family traditions, written family histories, and from genealogical studies based on those traditions and histories. Such information derives from various descendants and relatives of Patton, and principally from studies by the descendants of Patton's nephew William Preston (1729-1783), who, along with his father and mother, is traditionally considered to have crossed the Atlantic on a vessel captained by Patton. Collectively, this information constitutes Patton-Preston family history and genealogy.

To venture into a study of James Patton's family history and genealogy is to walk into a minefield. As we describe in this section, the Patton-Preston family history literature dealing with James Patton is highly suspect, and critical analyses of that literature are both rare and obscure. Consequently, and particularly so in the present age of do-it-yourself internet genealogy, errors and misconceptions of family history are repeated again and again in electronic form to the utter befuddlement of the casual reader. It will be impossible for us in this article to give anything but a brief overview of the

situation and perhaps to place a few metaphorical warning flags around the minefield.

Any study of James Patton properly begins with his biography. Patton's sole, published, biographer was the Blacksburg-based historian Patricia Givens Johnson.[5] She recounts in the first chapter[6] of her biography the received Patton-Preston family genealogy as recorded in the Lyman Draper papers[7] and elsewhere, and as developed by Preston Davie.[8] Johnson concluded, "Mystery shrouds James Patton's activities before [his] coming to America." One reviewer of her biography commented that Johnson

> tells this story in a simple, straight-forward manner, utilizing her limited sources well, although occasionally recording family tradition as fact...she is faithful to her subject. He was litigious, dominated county politics, and gave no quarter to Indians, his pastor, or his former associates. Patton was instrumental in settling western Virginia, but he was not the stuff of which popular heroes are made.[9]

Figure 4. The 1740 Virginia farm at the Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia in Staunton. At the time of his arrival in Augusta County in 1740 James Patton may have spent some time in a place such as this before erecting a larger and more elaborate dwelling. He called his first Augusta home Springhill and not Springfield, where according to some writers he was raised in County Donegal, Ireland. Authors' picture.

However, it is clear from Johnson's handwritten notes in her papers[10] that she was highly skeptical of the asserted facts in Preston Davie's genealogical account of James Patton. Specifically, Johnson wrote to the curator of manuscripts at the Filson Club: "I see no real proof that Preston Davie gives of James Patton being the child of Henry Patton other than just a statement that he was."[11] Johnson's analysis and conclusion notwithstanding, an internet search today will produce hundreds of genealogy sites that assert without the slightest qualification that Henry Patton, husband of Sarah Lynn, was the father of James Patton.

The three earliest Patton-Preston family histories date from the period 1833-1843—a hundred years later than Patton's time of arrival in Augusta County (Figure 4). The first of these early family histories is by Patton's great-nephew Francis Preston, who wrote of his grandmother, Patton's sister: "I remember her well, though she was old, a well looking sensible old lady: Her maiden name was Patton, the sister of Col. James Patton who settled in Augusta—a great land speculator."[12] However, while Francis Preston wrote about his grandmother and about the death of James Patton, he did not write about Patton's origins. The second early family history was written by John Brown (1731-1803), who was the husband of Margaret Preston (the second daughter of James Patton's sister) and thus a great-nephew of Patton. Brown stated that James Patton was from Donegal, Ireland, had for some years commanded a merchant ship (Figure 5), and was "a man of property, enterprise and influence."[13] The third early family history was written by Letitia Preston Floyd (1779-1853), the daughter of William Preston, and thus a great-niece of James Patton. Her history takes the form of a letter to her son Rush dated 22 February 1843.[14] This letter is the source of some of the most persistent and wholly unsupported information about James Patton that today occurs widely throughout the genealogical literature. Preston Davie's assessment of her family history was very caustic:

> From all accounts Mrs. Letitia Preston Floyd besides being the wife and also the mother of Governors of Virginia was a lady of unusual character and accomplishments; but if her letter to her son Rush Floyd now being examined, is a criterion, accurate historical writing, cannot be included among her talents, for unfortunately it is replete with errors, as a check with official records now available makes clear. Indeed some of the events as described in this letter are such a jumble of inaccurate hearsay and fact as to make them more imaginative than real.[15]

Among the many unsubstantiated claims about Patton in the Letitia Preston letter are that he was born in Newton Limavaddy [*sic*] in County Londonderry, Ireland, in 1690, that "He was bred to the sea," and that he "served as an officer in the Royal Navy." It is highly unlikely that any of these assertions is true.

Figure 5. This ship is pictured in the museum at the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church, where it symbolizes the transatlantic crossing of the early settlers. There is no doubt that James Patton captained commercial vessels and sailed them from ports on the Irish Sea to the Chesapeake Bay. However, claims that Patton was a naval officer or that he ever came to the attention of the king can be dismissed as fabrications. Authors' picture.

Nathaniel Hart Jr., who revised the John Brown family history described above, elevated the James Patton legend to new heights in 1842 when he stated, "Old Colonel Patton was a naval officer and favorite of the King."[16] Certainly, later, Patton became acquainted with a number of Royal Virginia Governors, but it stretches the bounds of possibility that he ever came to the notice of any English monarch.

Bad and errant family history had become ossified by the end of the nineteenth century, by which time erroneous statements about James Patton such as those above had been printed in widely distributed and considered-authoritative publications including R. A. Brock's *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-*

1758 (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1883, footnote p. 8), Charles Hanna's *The Scotch Irish* (New York: Putnam's, 1902, pp. 46-47), Lyon Gardiner Tyler's *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915, p. 305), and the pages of influential journals such as the *Monthly Magazine of the Daughters of the American Revolution* (November 1897, 76-83) and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July 1908, 24).

The most authoritative modern genealogical account of the Patton-Preston family is unquestionably the 1982 book by the distinguished genealogist Frederick Dorman.[17] Dorman's work, as he describes in his preface, was rooted in the already-mentioned, extensive collection of manuscripts and papers gathered over many years by Preston Davie and now located principally at the Filson Historical Society and the Virginia Historical Society. In Dorman's book, the publication of which was supported by funds from the Preston family, he makes a few scattered references to James Patton and his sister Elizabeth Patton, but offers no (zero!) genealogical discussion or speculation about either of them. From Dorman's omission one may reasonably conclude that he perhaps was not persuaded by the evidence he found in the Preston Davie files.

Given the above analysis, it is understandable why we decline in this article to enter the morass of present-day online James Patton genealogy—with but a single exception. That exception is the work of the late anesthesiologist and avocational genealogist David V. Agricola (1946-2006). Despite his death, Agricola's web pages remain active at the present time,[18] and while what he says about James Patton is derivative and unoriginal[19] he does provide well-researched and convincing sketches of James Patton's relatives, such as Henry Patton of Back Creek, in present-day Pulaski County, Virginia. Noteworthy in Agricola's body of work at his website is his 860-entry Patton-related reference list. The chief lesson we learn from Agricola comes from the vast index of Pattons in his compendium that he published at an online genealogy forum site.[20] From that index we learn that there exist fragmentary records of no fewer than seven James Pattons who were born between about 1690 and 1708. That is a remarkable finding, and obviously complicates the search for the "right" James Patton.

Surprisingly, despite all of the effort devoted over the years to Patton-Preston family history and genealogy, there remain some extremely basic facts that are still unknown. For example, the well-known Presbyterian and Valley of Virginia historian Joseph A. Waddell concluded in connection with James Patton's wife: "There is no record, known to me, of the date of Mrs.

Patton's death nor of her Christian name."[21] Some genealogical sources tell that Patton married a woman from Whitehaven, Cumbria, named "Osborne" or "Osborn." However investigations by our associate Alan Routledge tell that so far no evidence has been found of any persons from families with either of those names being buried in local cemeteries.[22]

In summary, we are of the opinion that all published accounts of James Patton's early life and background recounted in Patton-Preston family history derive from unproven sources, and, while it is possible that some elements of some accounts may be true, the overall picture is so confused and muddled that it is impossible to write an accurate account of Patton's life before 1737.

Two Long-standing Possibly Pre-1737 Primary Documents

The two extant, primary documents discussed in this section are in the William Preston Papers of the Lyman Draper Manuscript Collection held in Madison at the Wisconsin Historical Society. They are the only two documents that make any claim to being pre-1737 primary documents relating to Patton, and both are highly problematic. Their provenance is not documented although our speculation is that these two documents reached Preston in his capacity as John Buchanan's executor, who had in turn been James Patton's executor.

The first of these two long-standing documents is a letter[23] from Robert Macky in London clearly addressed to "Capt. James Patton," at St. Collome [Columb], Cornwall, [England] and dated April 7. Unfortunately, the year of the letter is torn away, and we have no idea when the tear occurred. Thwaites[24] dates this letter as being no earlier than 1731, while Weaks[25] dates the same letter to about 1730. Frankly, with the provenance of the letter unrecorded, and with the year in which it was written missing, its date cannot today be said to be anything other than conjecture. The letter recounts some news, asks for a favor on behalf of a relative of the writer and concludes, "I shall be glad to hear from you before you Proceed further and to know how you have Surmounted yr prant [present] misfortunes." So assuming that the recipient was the James Patton who is the subject of this article, we may conclude that he suffered misfortunes at an uncertain date, and sometimes visited the port of Newquay—the closest port to St. Columb.

The second of the two long-standing documents is a letter from Major J. O. Miller to Rebeca Daviss of Dublin, from Ballycassidy, Ireland, dated 17 January 1731.[26] Ballycassidy is in County Fermanagh. Weaks[27] describes

this letter as being "In reply to letter of 13th inst regarding arrangements for the support of her brother's daughter Katharine." The letter begins "I recd yours of the 13th instant last poast and in answer can only say that I thought my Cosn James had taken care to provide for his sister Katherin." Whether or not this is a reference to James Patton is uncertain. We certainly know of no evidence that James Patton had a sister named Katherin/Katherine/ Catherine, and the claim of such a sister is not made even by any of the online genealogists.

On the other hand our reading of this letter does open up the possibility of a new insight about Patton's base of operations circa 1731. The letter seems to imply that this Katharine spent some time with Patton or his family at the port of Dumfries on the Solway Firth in Scotland. Miller wrote: "I hard yt [heard that] she was settled wth you[r] nevys [nephew's] wife [in] Drumfrees [Dumfries] but she thought not fit to stay there but she is nothing to me." This quotation plausibly connects Patton to the port of Dumfries, an interpretation of this letter which no previous writer has offered.

In summary, in our opinion these two documents are of problematic provenance, cannot be unambiguously linked to James Patton of Augusta, contain only hints for historians, and have modest probative value.

James Patton's Origins: The Circumstantial Evidence of Place Names

In the absence of legitimate documentary evidence for James Patton in Ireland, identical or similar matched place names in southwest Virginia and the north of Ireland provide clues about his origins. These similar (or in some cases identical) place names are shown on a map (Figure 6) and listed in the table in the legend to that figure. The table shows the two-letter code used for the places and the Irish and Virginia forms of the place names.

Matched place names come in two categories. In the first category are places in the north of Ireland that have been associated by William Preston family historians and genealogists as having a Patton connection on the basis of family tradition. In the second category are Irish names given to places in early surveys of southwest Virginia by the surveyor John Buchanan, who was surveying in the period 1746-1751 on behalf of James Patton, and who later became Patton's son-in-law. Some of the place names considered here arise in both categories. An exhaustive account of the family history records that mention the places shown, and a formal review of the secondary literature, is hardly justified and not worthwhile. However, each of the places on the figure does deserve brief explication along with a reference to one or two of the more prominent citations for that place.

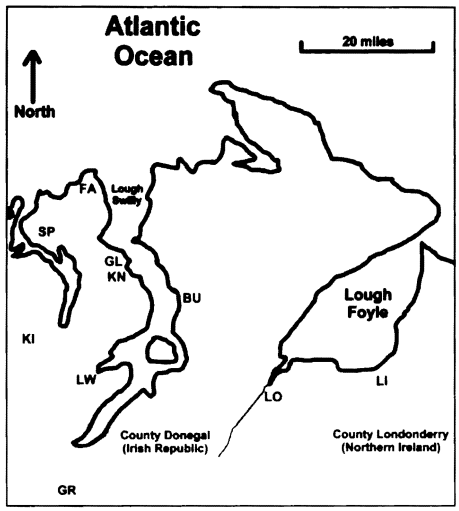


Figure 6. Schematic map of the north of the isle of Ireland showing places either mentioned in Patton family tradition or used by the surveyor John Buchanan to name Virginia plats during his surveys for James Patton in 1748 and 1749.

Code	Irish Form	Virginia Form
BU	Buncrana	Burncrannack
FA	Fanad	Fannet
GL	Glenvar	Glenvar
GR	Greenfield	Greenfield
KI	Kilmacrennan	Killmackrenan
KN	Knockalla	Knockholow
LW	Leannan	Lennon
LI	Limavady	Limawady
LO	Londonderry	Londonderry
SP	Springfield	Springfield

The two-letter code for the places, followed by the Irish form of the name and the Virginia form of the name are shown at left and discussed in the text.

A discussion of these connected place names properly begins with Springfield, the place where family tradition says that Patton grew up.[28] On 15 December 1748, John Buchanan surveyed for James Patton a 4,000-acre tract on a branch of the New River in present-day Pulaski County and named it Springfield.[29] Patton mentioned the disposal of this Springfield property in his will.[30] Mary Kegley cited Springfield as an example of a James Patton Donegal-Virginia connection.[31] In Donegal, Springfield is a place where a Patton family lived. Patricia Givens Johnson speculated that James Patton was born at Springfield in Donegal[32] and wrote a history of the Springfield property in Virginia.[33] Springfield in Donegal was one of the places Patricia Burton visited in her effort to match Patton-related place names across the Atlantic.[34]

On 26 October 1749 John Buchanan surveyed for James Patton a 4,400-acre tract "at a place called Fannet surounded by Knockholow & Glenvar mountains."[35] F. B. Kegley[36] cited this survey as being made "at a place called Tunnel on west side of New River—Knock and Glenvar Mountains." As Louise Leslie recounts,[37] many years passed before the site of this tract was finally identified by Frances Moss and Mary Kegley as being Burkes Garden. Knockholow, coded KN in Figure 6) and Glenvar (coded GL in Figure 6) were identified by Mary Kegley as mountains both in present-day Tazewell

County and in Donegal.[38] The place cited as "Tunnel" by F. B. Kegley and "Fannel" by Louise Leslie, were misreadings of the handwriting of Augusta County surveyor Thomas Lewis' copy of John Buchanan's original plat. We now in this article reinterpret the word "Tunnel (or Fannel)," the word which Lewis wrote as "Fannet," as the Fanad peninsula in County Donegal (coded FA on Figure 6), and on that peninsula we interpret Knockholow as Knockalla Mountain at map coordinates 55.164444, -7.614722 and Glenvar as the nearby village of Glenvar at coordinates 55.157199, -7.601509.[39] These new identifications confirm and extend Mary Kegley's analysis and place either John Buchanan or James Patton at a very specific locality in County Donegal at GL and KN.

We here report a new, previously undiscovered place name connection involving the Lennon Water. The "Lennon water" (LW on Figure 6) is mentioned on the copy of John Buchanan's plat of "a place called Killmackrenan,"[40] where Buchanan surveyed 2,600 acres for James Patton. According to F. B. Kegley, this survey was made on 14 March 1746;[41] however, our investigation shows that the date of Buchanan's survey of the tract is not written on the Augusta County surveyor's record.[42] We conclude that Buchanan took the name from the Leannan, or Lennon, River that flows through the present-day town of Kilmacrenan (KI in Figure 6; see also Figure 7) in County Donegal and debouches into Lough Swilly at Ramelton (at the place LW in Figure 6). Today, the Lennon Water can be identified as either the Middle Fork of the Holston River or Hutton's Creek that flows across the Indian Fields and empties into the north side of the Middle Fork about three miles downstream from the town of Chilhowie in Smyth County.

Limavady (coded LI on Figure 6) is said to have been the birthplace of James Patton by Patricia Givens Johnson following Letitia Preston Floyd,[43] who spelled it Limavaddy. Brock (cited above) has this as "Newton Limaddy."

Figure 7. Road sign on the way in to the variously spelled Kilmacrenan. This picture was taken in 1995 by Mary Kegley during her visit to explore Patton connections in the north of Ireland. Used courtesy of Mary Kegley.

Burncrannack (coded BU), and which standard Irish etymologies equate with Buncrana on the eastern shore of Lough Swilly, is said by Preston family tradition to be the birth place of Patton's sister Elizabeth, and is named on her modern gravestone (Figure 8). Londonderry (coded LO) is said to have been the home of Anne, an aunt of James Patton, and a place where Patton lived periodically as a youth.[44]

Figure 8. The grave of Patton's sister Elizabeth at Greenfield in present-day Botetourt County, Virginia. The Greenfield house was situated among the trees on the knoll at the left of the picture. She was the wife of John Preston and together they were the progenitors of the Preston dynasty through their son William Preston and his myriad of distinguished descendants. She outlived her husband by many years, lived here at Greenfield with her son as a widow, and was buried here on 25 December 1776. The inscription on the reverse, unseen, side of this modern gravestone states "Born December 25. 1700, Burncrannack, Ireland." Authors' picture.

In summary, the place name evidence shows that in Ireland the principal place names associated with James Patton cluster on the Fanad peninsula, and near Lough Swilly. Additionally, the towns of Kilmacrenan, Londonderry, and Limavady are frequently mentioned. However, while there is nothing in the place name similarities that constitutes proof that Patton came from the Donegal/Derry region, the circumstantial evidence is sufficient to establish that James Patton of Augusta and his relatives had significant connections to the region. We conclude, even in the absence of documentary proof, that it is highly likely that Patton came originally from the north of Ireland and probably from Donegal.[45]

The William Beverley to James Patton Letters of 1737

When James Patton finally entered the legitimate historical record in 1737 he did it with astonishing style. That entrance occurred in the form of two letters addressed him at the port of Kirkcudbright, Scotland (Figure 9) from a person of great rank and prominence in Virginia—William Beverley of the Blandfield Plantation on the Rappahannock River in Essex County.[46]

William Beverley was in 1737 a full-fledged member of the Virginia elite with a powerful economic base that derived from his many land holdings and plantations.[47] Ships trading in and out of Blandfield carried tobacco, slaves, sugar, rum, corn, and a host of other goods. Beverley served for twenty-eight years in the lucrative position of clerk of Essex County, while in the House of Burgesses he represented Orange County (1736-1740) and Essex County (1742-1749); he was appointed to the governor's council in 1752 and served on it until his death in 1756.[48] Beverley's prominence in 1737 thus contrasts sharply with Patton's invisibility up to that year.

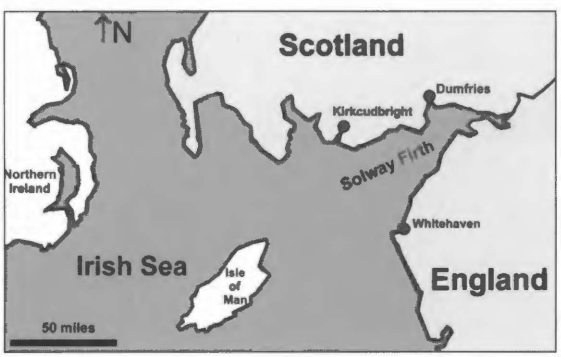


Figure 9. Location map for James Patton during the years 1737-1740. Documentary records place him at Kirkcudbright and Dumfries in Scotland and Whitehaven in England. All three places are ports on the Solway Firth. Although there is little doubt that Patton came originally from the north of Ireland, there are no extant contemporary documents that prove he did. Authors' diagram.

On 8 August 1737, Beverley, at Patton's request, sent Patton a copy of the order of the Virginia Council granting Beverley western land. Beverley told Patton, "I should be very glad if you could import families enough to take the whole off from our hands at a reasonable price and tho' the order mentions families from Pensilvania, yet families from Ireland will do as well." On 22 August Beverley added in his second letter that the grant was for 30,000 acres and offered Patton one-quarter of it in exchange for Patton exerting his "utmost endeavour to procure families to come in & settle it." Also in the second letter Beverley wrote, "I heartily wish you success & a safe return to us" and explained to Patton that he would not be voting for Edwin Conway in the upcoming election for Speaker of the House of Burgesses. The latter statement is a report of little consequence in itself, but

remarkable in that it was made by a man of great prominence to another man who at that date was on the record both obscure and inconsequential.

These two 1737 letters make it clear that the two men had exchanged a number of earlier, either unrecorded or now-lost letters, and imply that they had a long-standing, close relationship involving transatlantic trading and the shipment of goods. Unfortunately, the letters only hint at Patton's earlier life, they do not reveal it.

New Documentary Evidence

In this section we describe six newly discovered pieces of documentary evidence about James Patton. Four of these come from the records of the port of Whitehaven (Figure 9). The first of these four port records shows the arrival of a vessel captained by Patton, while the other three record his consignment of goods to Virginia. The fifth piece of documentary evidence comes from the records of the court of Essex County, Virginia, and the sixth piece is Patton's signature from a document he signed in Kirkcudbright (Figure 9) in 1734.

Already known Virginia shipping returns[49] tell that Captain James Patton of the ship *Walpole*[50] owned by Walter Lutwidge arrived in Virginia from the port of Whitehaven on 26 August 1738.[51] During its journey the *Walpole* stopped in Dublin as confirmed by a surviving document showing that there Patton contracted to bring an indentured servant to Virginia.[52] Dorman says that "It appears almost certain that it was on this voyage that John Preston [father of William Preston], his wife, three daughters, and one son sailed for Virginia."[53] The same Virginia records show that the *Walpole* departed from Virginia eight months later, on 23 April 1739.

Our research, here published for the first time, documents Patton's arrival back in Whitehaven and does so by relying as a primary source on English records of the port of Whitehaven.[54] These records tell of the arrival of Walter Lutwidge's ship *Walpole* from Holland on 11 September 1739, captained by Patton and bringing with him 3,100 ells of Osnaburg linens, 96 ells of sail cloth, and oak timbers. From this record it is possible to infer that tobacco, and any other goods that Patton had carried back across the Atlantic from Virginia, was unladen in Holland, because when he docked at Whitehaven he was carrying only goods from mainland Europe. These Whitehaven records also show that commencing in late October 1739 Patton acted to make three shipments, or consignments, to Virginia on vessels he did not himself captain and on which we have no evidence he traveled, though he must have made his final transatlantic crossing to Virginia at about this time.

On 30 October 1739 Patton shipped two millstones to Virginia on the *Walpole*. On 1 February 1739/40[55] in the *William* bound for Virginia he shipped: shot, wrought iron, nails, saddles, cart gears, hats, haberdashery, woolens and worsted stuff, hosiery, cordage, pewter, brass, cast iron, and tin. On 21 April 1740 in the *Hope* bound for Virginia he shipped: cotton stuffs, woolens and worsted stuff, hosiery, haberdashery, muskets, felt hats, and a great deal of wrought iron.[56]

We have quoted here in full from Patton's shipping lists because they have never before been published and because they illustrate the range of goods needed by people bound for a permanent home on the Virginia frontier, and to a place where Patton would be bringing new settlers.

To these four new documentary records from England we can add also one new record from Virginia. In Essex County, at a court held on 20 July 1737, in a financial dispute between Nathaniel Fogg and Samuel Maynard, evidence was presented that Maynard was indebted to Fogg "To [money] reced of Adam Reid acco. [account] of Capt. Patten £11.12.8½ [Eleven pounds, twelve shillings, and eightpence-halfpenny]."[57] Our reading of this case is that Patton was in no way personally involved. Rather, he had some financial involvement with the defendant Maynard which the auditors appointed by the court to assess the merits of the case listed in their accounting. In the outcome, the court decided that the auditors report was incomplete and referred the matter back to them.

For our purposes, what happened in court is irrelevant. The record is dated almost three weeks before the first of the two Beverely letters discussed above. And, while that's not a long time, it is sufficient to establish this Essex record as the first ever documentary reference to Patton in America. The record also confirms what has long been clear by inference, that Patton had significant business dealings in Virginia long before he made his final transatlantic journey and settled in Augusta County.

Compelling new documentary evidence comes from Whitehaven and from our correspondent and colleague there, Alan Routledge. In the St. Nicholas Church[58] archive are three thick volumes of the earliest records of the church for the years 1696 to 1837 that were officially copied in the 1940/50s. They were carefully typed up, indexed and bound. In those records Routledge found the burial record "1728 26Th June Ally wife of James Patton, mariner." Routledge reports that the original records themselves still exist and that he is attempting to get a copy of the original entry. He further reports that all of the undamaged headstones were laid flat as a patio at one end of the old church grounds and that if any headstone to Ally exists it

will be among those stones. Routledge's preliminary search shows the site to be covered in moss and knee deep in weeds; he expects the area of the gravestones will have been cleaned up by next spring.

This information about an earlier wife of Patton is, of course, very interesting. Nowhere in the vast Patton literature is there any hint that the woman buried at Tinkling Spring was his second wife.

Compelling new documentary evidence information also comes from our correspondent and colleague David Devereux of the Stewartry Museum Kirkudbright. After the submission of the manuscript of the present article, he sent the authors an email message telling that James Patton was made a burgess of the Burgh of Kirkcudbright on 28 December 1734. As illustrated by comparing Figure 10a with Figures 10b, and 10c, the Kirkcudbright signature of James Patton is an unambiguous match for the many James Patton signatures located in the original records in the Augusta County Courthouse and other American archives. We will give a full account of what happened in Kirkcudbright in 1734 in Part 2 of this article.

Figure 10a. James Patton's signature from the Kirkcudbright Town Council Minute Book 1728-1742, page 174. A meeting convened in the Council House of Kirkcudbright on 28th day of December 1734.

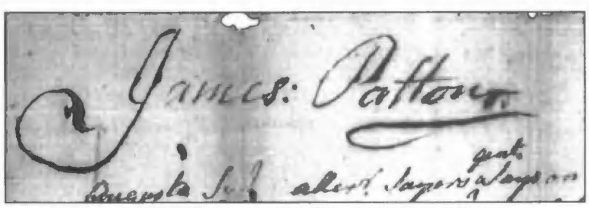


Figure 10b. Augusta County Judgment case file for August 1754, Augusta County Courthouse. Memorandum in the case Charles Campbell versus Jacob Goldman, witnessed by James Patton, May 1754.

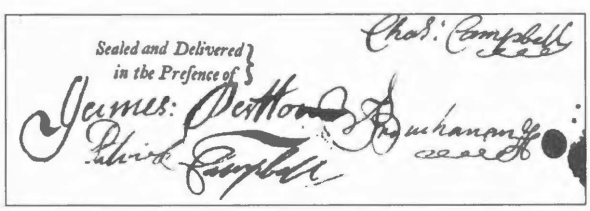


Figure 10c. Augusta County Judgment case file for May 1755, Augusta County Courthouse. Bond of Charles Campbell and John Buchanan [Gent.] to John Buchanan, witnessed by James Patton, November 1752.

Walter Lutwidge and James Patton 1739-1740

A most remarkable source of documentary evidence for Patton's activities in the years 1739-1740 is the letter book of that period kept by the merchant Walter Lutwidge who operated a shipping business out of Whitehaven. Lutwidge gained most of his fortune from the tobacco trade in the early eighteenth century and eventually came to own outright a half a dozen ships and a partial interest in many others.[59] As already described above, James Patton served on some occasions as the captain of a ship owned by Lutwidge.

Lutwidge's 1739-1740 letter book,[60] with its many references to James Patton, first came to light by chance about 1960.[61] With the aid of transcriptions provided by Alan Routledge of Whitehaven (who has ready access to the original document), and our copy of the letter book on microfilm, we have recently undertaken a detailed analysis of the Lutwidge letters (which we plan to publish in full elsewhere). That analysis has produced over forty references to Patton and includes letters from Lutwidge to Patton and detailed discussion by Lutwidge of letters written to him by Patton.

The letter book reveals that Patton and Lutwidge had a stormy and disputatious relationship. That relationship was described in some detail by Richard MacMaster[62] in a 1980 article that deserves to be much better known than it currently is among historians of western Virginia. The letter book was also the basis for the following assessment of Patton (and also of his contemporary John Lewis) in a recently published volume of Irish immigrants' letters and memoirs edited by four historians. The editors write:

> Both [Beverley and Joseph Borden] grantees [of land] advertised extensively for settlers, but Beverley's superior political and commercial connections facilitated his efforts, and by the end of 1738 he had made several large grants of his own to two rather unsavory Ulstermen—John Lewis (1678-1762), a substantial tenant in County Donegal who had fled to Pennsylvania in the late 1720s purportedly after killing an oppressive landlord, (ref 2) and James Patton (1692-1755), a sea captain from County Londonderry who had absconded to Virginia after defrauding successive employers in Scotland and England. Both Lewis and Patton imported Scots-Irish settlers, from Pennsylvania as well as directly from Ireland, on Beverley's behalf.[63]

The letter book record of the Patton-Lutwidge relationship begins on 2 September 1739 with a copy of a letter from Lutwidge to Patton and

ends in April 1740 with a letter from Lutwidge to James Johnson in which Lutwidge gives Patton the name of The Incendiary Patton.

As the correspondence progresses, Lutwidge makes many derogatory remarks about Patton, growing increasingly exasperated as time passes. Here are some samples of what Lutwidge said:[64]

> "Your friend patton has prov'd—this to your self, you Must be Upon your guard with him..." (Letter to Mr. Freman, place unstated, 19 November 1739).
>
> "Sr.[Sir] I herewith return you unseald My Letter to Mr. patton in answer to his to me which is of An Extrordenary Naiture...I Realy begin to think ye man is not right" (Letter to John Thompson, place unstated, 19 November 1739).
>
> "its allways a maxim with me to Drop all resentments wn [when] affairs are Ended, but if my oponants Inetine [intend] to carry there resentmts farther, I dont I own follow our saviours Doctrine so far, as when I gett a cuff of one side to turn the other" (Letter to James Patton, place unstated, 19 November 1739).
>
> "...I have mett wth Boath Knaves and fooles in plenty and but few Honest Industereus men, but of all ye Knaves I Ever mett with Patton has out don them all. James Concannan can tell [you of] his viloney wch I dare not repeat, he chargd no Less then 6000 lb of fresh Beef in Virga [Virginia] 40 Barrs [barrels] Indian corn and Evry thing Else in proportion, took 15 Serts [servants] to him self att a clap. In short Hell itself cant out doe him" (Letter to James Johnson at a tobacco port on the western side of the Chesapeake Bay, 24 December 1739).
>
> "your frind Mr. Patton has provd ye Greetest Knave I ever knew and had it not been for ye sake of others I wod have stript him of his Eill gott Geere [ill-gotten gain]" (Letter to John Wilson, Maryland, 24 December 1739).
>
> "the Rogue patton writes to me you have arrested his Goods in Mr. harrises hands for a triffle and the like. he wod pretend its my Debt but I have nothing to say to it. I settled with and after giv it up. Great artickles he wronged me of. there Remaind a ballance Due to me of 50 lb which he gave me his promissary note for, which note he now wod shuffle of, soe I have no other way then to write Mr. Harris to stop his Goods untill he pays me. the Rogue took up 400 pound in holland of my mony and wrote it all away but 50" (Letter to Archibald Hamilton in Rotterdam, 29 December 1739).

"...your be surprized to here that he [Patton] and I shud fall out, but if I was able to give you in a letter ye conduct of that man you wod say as I Doe that a Greater cad not be. Ile give you a sample[:] his crimes was such that when he found I had found him out he said he wod if i wod not pass his account, be like sampson at his Death..." (Letter to "Prov Johnson" at an uncertain location, possibly Dumfries or Carlisle[65], 29 December 1739).

"Sr. I Expected that you wod agreeable to your promise have paid your bill when Due, but instead of that you trump up Casks [*sic*] and bulls [cocks and bulls] and the like which I Dont trouble my self aboute" (Letter to James Patton, place unstated, 29 December 1739).

"[T]he chief reason of my giving you ys [this] trouble is to advise you that your friend Capton patton has not provd soe Just to me as I Expected. in short he wrote away 4000 Guilders which he took up from you and Hamilton to 50 lb which 50 lb he now refuses to pay...there is som little favours Got in No. Brittan [North Britain] and in order to Intimedate me he Declared he wod inform, tho he had no more knowledge of my affairs in No. brittan then you had, he never being upon ye spot when I Either shipt or landed. I need goe no farther to give you an Idea of the man and this to me who brought him out of his scraps [scrapes] with the relaetion to the kirkcudghbright [Kirkcudbright] compa [Company] oblidged by his [word omitted] to break up and afterwards to make him commander of a ship and send her round the world to transport passengers over to settle his plant[ation] in virginia & transport his family & maintain them for upwards of 15 mos. & after doing all this he had the Impudence to apropriate the servtts [servants] he carryed over to his own use. In short he resolv'd as it was to be his last voya [voyage] to stick at nothing to Gett money" (Letter to Robert Harris, Rotterdam, 29 December 1739).

"You Did go partly to Dumfrieze to look for saylors but your main End was for more valuable reasons. this is fine spinning...I have many artickles to Draw up wch I omitted but things once Ended ought to be forgot..." (Letter to James Patton, place unstated, 10 January 1739/40).

"I have gott an end with your friend Capt. Patton and I pray god keep evory honest man out of his hands" (Letter to Robert Harris, 19 January 1739/40).

"as for ye rest of your Letter its not worth answering only yt a few more Gilpins, Wilsons & Pattons wod soon have brought me to my Primitive" (Letter to James Patton, place unstated, 3 February 1739/40).

"...I am afraid of patton whos mallis [malice] runs so high that he acted the part of an insendory [incendiary] towards me in order to gett me to comply his wicked imaginary accts to the amt of a large sum and as I contem'd [condemned] him under that light, knowing right well he had no knowledge of any male [mal] conduct in me, he since Declares hel [he'll] order my ships in Virginia to be search'd and if any goods be found in ym Not taken in in England hel causd them to be seizd there. I submitted so far to his accounts as to give upwards of £120. besides his keep [keeping] my ship over a year in Virginia contrary to Express orders after we had signd & not before he began with Insendry letters and the like. its not in the power of my pen to sett forth the wickedness & impudence of that man and Rouge which I took out of the bryers when his former owners fell out with him for the same crimes which I chargd him with but the[y] were Ignorant and Did not know where to lay there fingers. the[y] laid them on the shadow and Did not see the substance which made me conclude he had been Eill [ill] used by them. so [I] advis'd them to Give up there Demds [demands] but since I have been concrned [concerned?] he and them as he had Don me and much wors. he maide a great nause [noise] about your charge against him about the bills of Loding [loading] and insisted upon my paying that sum as it was for my bueseness. he was never on board my ship from the time he went to holld [Holland] until he saild but one half hour. I have mett with many bad masters but he Exceeds them all by which method he has picked up £1500 or £2000 & this he now bosts of" (Letter to Archibald Hamilton, Rotterdam, 10 March 1739/40).

"I believe I am ye most unluckey man aLive with relaition to my factors [business associates]. ye Insendery [Incendiary] Patton, for I can Give [him] no other name, has provd ye Greetest villon I Ever knew—he cheeted me to a great degree in ye Litle matter he had to doe and that openly and plainly, and tho I, Like a fool, setled wth him on his own Terms, yett after wee had signd and Discharged Each other he drew up other Romantick charges and wrote me Incendery Letts [letters] not fitt to be nam'd. I wod have you to be on your Guard wth him. he Gave out here he wod cause my ships to be arrested in ye country If ye [they] had any counter Band [contraband] Goods in them, and a Thousd wors things. ye fellow was Turnd wch is ye Best thing I can say for him. I desire to draw up ye state of his accts and send them in [so] yt you may be a judge of his Wickedness, and I shall print them and all his Letts and send them in to Virga [Virginia] yt his works may follow him" (Letter to James Johnson at a tobacco port on the western side of the Chesapeake Bay, [?] April 1740).

The story of the Patton-Lutwidge altercation seems to boil down to this: Lutwidge took Patton on as a ship's captain after he had parted company with his former employer or business associates in Kirkcudbright, following a dispute. Lutwidge assumed at the time that Patton was in the right and his former employer or associates in the wrong. However, over the winter of 1738-1739 Patton kept Lutwidge's ship the *Walpole* in Virginia rather than returning with tobacco in the fall of 1738 as he had been ordered to do. Lutwidge consequently began to smell a rat. When Patton did finally return, rather than confess to any misdoing he engaged in a furious argument with Lutwidge. Apparently, Lutwidge did not have entirely clean hands, because though he at first pressed Patton to make good on what he owed, Lutwidge fairly quickly backed off when Patton threatened to blow the whistle and behave like Samson and bring down the temple around himself. From other sources we know that Lutwidge was a man quick to turn to litigation to harry his debtors, and did not hesitate to have them thrown in jail. That Lutwidge did not seek judgments against Patton suggests that Patton either knew of or guessed at something Lutwidge wanted to hide. Richard MacMaster in his 1980 article speculated that the Kirkcudbright customs officials allowed Lutwidge to land tobacco at less than full duty and that Patton knew this.

We think that MacMaster's scenario is well judged. A plausible, though speculative, interpretation of the Patton-Lutwidge imbroglio is that Lutwidge was indeed engaged in shady practices; perhaps tobacco drawback schemes (see below), smuggling, or custom official payoffs. Patton, on his part, had little to lose by going public with defamatory information because he clearly had an already well-planned "escape" to Virginia, with William Beverley as his *de facto* sponsor. Patton could afford to pull the "Samson" act because he was leaving the country.

Speculations

Various writers have speculated about the possibility that Patton was engaged in some nefarious activity during his mysterious years.

The earliest such speculation that we have found is in an 1889 book by the Kentuckian Thomas Marshall Green, where he writes "Burden [Benjamin Borden] lived in the [land] Grant [in present-day Rockbridge County] until near the time of his death, in 1742 [actually 1743]. His daughter had married in Ireland, James Patton, a ship owner and master, a man of some property, acquired by 'privateering' on the Spanish main, and of great energy and force of character."[66] No doubt as a result of this statement, Borden's daughter is one of the internet genealogists' candidates for Patton's wife.

In an 1896 letter, Joseph A. Waddell wrote:

> Col. Patton was indeed the great man among the early settlers of Augusta County, and he would have been a leader in any community. One of his descendants in Kentucky sent me word that he (Col. P.) was a pirate (!) before he anchored in the Valley, but that I must tell the whole truth about him. I suppose he meant it as a joke, as anything known of Col. P. indicates that he was a law-abiding, honorable and God-fearing man."[67]

If, as seems plausible, Waddell's unnamed Kentucky correspondent was Thomas Marshall Green, we may conclude that while Green was perhaps not right, he certainly was not joking. On the other hand, Patricia Givens Johnson was skeptical of the claim of Waddell's unidentified correspondent and wrote that no evidence "can be found to support a charge of piracy against [Patton]."[68]

The 'Patton was a pirate' allegation has shown remarkable durability. In an interesting semi-fictional account of the Ledford family author John Egerton writes:

> They was right poor, the Ledfords was, so John and two of his brothers decided to make their way to America. There was a sea captain by the name of James Patton that sailed out of the ports there on the Irish Sea. He traded in slaves, and took convicts and such across the water for a price – a hard man he was, some said a pirate. Well, in 1738 he docked a ship called the Walpoole [Walpole] at a harbor there near where the Ledfords lived, and when he left out of there bound for Virginia, he had my grandfather and two of his older brothers aboard.[69]

In addition to these speculations about piracy, we now offer some additional speculation concerning the tobacco trade between Whitehaven and Virginia. This speculation derives from our investigation of Patton's relationship with William Beverley of Essex County that we have recounted elsewhere.[70]

The study of tobacco trade between Britain and America has received considerable academic attention.[71] Between 1700 and 1750, British tobacco imports from America doubled, with much of the trade growth occurring at the port of Whitehaven. An important factor in the burgeoning Whitehaven tobacco trade was the development of a Dutch market by Walter Lutwidge and other members of the Lutwidge family.[72]

However, during this period much fraud occurred in tobacco-importing ports. Smuggling was a problem, as was the corrupt collusion of merchants and customs officials. Collusion happened most severely at Scottish and northwestern ports.[73] In retirement from a forty year career as a Customs and Excise officer, Ronald Gibbon amassed documentary evidence relating to historic smuggling and corruption in the Solway Firth region. Based on this evidence he drafted a manuscript, which, after his death, was published in Whitehaven.[74] Gibbon wrote, "Cumbria offered particularly good opportunities for smuggling due to its geographical position. Customs duties in both Scotland and the Isle of Man were often quite different from those in England. Goods could be carried across the Scottish Border on foot, or by a short voyage over the Solway, whilst the Isle of Man, was little further. During the 17th and throughout the 18th centuries, important trade-links existed between Cumbria and the New World. Tobacco, spirits and other goods were legally imported under the watchful eye of Customs Officers based in Cumbrian ports. Alongside this legitimate trade, smuggling also flourished," (p. 7) and "In addition to goods smuggled into Cumbria from Scotland, the Isle of Man and Ireland, there was a considerable 'trade' in contraband from other countries" (p. 11). Another method of defrauding the customs involved "drawback." Duty was payable on tobacco when it entered England, however if the same tobacco were to be subsequently re-exported, the owner could reclaim the original payment as drawback. Around 1724 the tax collector at Dumfries reported evidence that the eminent Whitehaven tobacco merchant Thomas Lutwidge was involved in this type of fraud. In another scheme, hogsheads of tobacco on which the drawback may have been legitimately paid were often slipped to the Isle of Man (in far larger quantities than necessary for consumption there): "[T]he Collectors at Whitehaven and Dumfries were convinced that most of it was re-packed and returned illegally into Britain in small boats," (p. 13).

Surely, if circumstantial evidence carries any weight, for engagement in nefarious activity involving Virginia, the Solway, and tobacco, James Patton, in business with one of the most prominent tobacco planters of the colony, was the right man at the right place at the right time.

Future Plans

We have titled this article "Part 1" with the expectation that we will follow up (we plan next year) with a Part 2 in which we will, or will not, be able to say more (hopefully much more) about the pre-1737 James Patton.

To track down the mysterious James Patton on the western side of the Atlantic will require developing hitherto untapped sources. Unfortunately, potential untapped sources are very few. However, one source we plan to pursue is to seek any documents or depositions left by Patton's daughter Margaret Patton Buchanan, later Margaret Patton Anderson. She spent her later years in Tennessee and Kentucky, and may have lived to the age of almost 100. Surely she knew where she herself had been born, and must have heard family history from her mother and father. It is just possible that direct testimony from her lies buried in a Tennessee or Kentucky courthouse.

To track down the mysterious James Patton on the eastern side of the Atlantic will likewise require developing hitherto untapped sources. To aid in this effort we have already developed collaborators and potential collaborators in Cumbria in England, Galloway and Dumfries in Scotland, and in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Specifically, we seek to locate any and all primary documentation relevant to Patton, his career, activities, and immediate family. In Cumbria, Alan Routledge has provided invaluable help and we look forward to further collaboration with him. In Kirkcudbright, David Devereux has provided invaluable help and we look forward to further collaboration with him. In Ireland we have been in contact with various persons at The Institute for Ulster-Scots Studies, Londonderry; The Donegal Ancestry Centre, Ramelton, County Donegal; The Federation For Ulster Local Studies, County Down; The Ulster Local History Trust, County Fermanagh; The Centre for Migration Studies in Castletown, Omagh, County Tyrone; The Donegal Historical Society, Ballyshannon, County Donegal; and The Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast. We hope to be able to exploit one or more of these contacts.

We will welcome communications from any readers of this article who can share unpublished genealogical studies of James Patton.

Conclusions

The principal conclusion of the studies reported here is that although the pre-1737 James Patton is a tough nut to crack, there are unknown records waiting to be found and we have found some.

We further conclude that the published accounts of James Patton's early life and family history derive from unproven sources and that at the present time it is impossible to write an accurate account of his history. The work reported here suggests that the poor quality of the nineteenth century Patton-Preston family histories and their uncritical acceptance by later writers may have hindered the search for the real James Patton. Present-day internet genealogy sources about James Patton are simply not credible.

In this paper we have been able to add some previously unknown primary evidence about the Patton story from our study of the Whitehaven Port books, the records of the Essex County court, and the records of the Council of Kirkcudbright. The newly discovered shipping information confirms what is written in the Lutwidge letter book and provides a useful insight into the goods that Patton was shipping to Virginia as he planned ahead for the settlement and development of the future Augusta County.

Most importantly, the efforts of Alan Routledge in Whitehaven have shown that James Patton had an heretofore unsuspected first wife while the efforts of David Devereux in Kirkcudbright have shown that James Patton was actively involved in business in that port in 1734.

We have identified some hitherto untapped potential sources of information and conclude that our future work will include pursuing those sources on both sides of the Atlantic. For studies in Ireland, we will engage collaboratively with specialists in the Irish records.

Acknowledgments

It is a great pleasure to acknowledge the work of Alan Routledge in Whitehaven and David Devereux in Kirkcudbright to whom we extend our gratitude. We thank Hugh Campbell for searching on our behalf at the Filson Historical Society. We thank Mary Kegley for encouragement, ongoing discussions, and many helpful suggestions. For help at the Library of Virginia, we thank Minor Weisiger and David Grabarek. We thank the Interlibrary Loan staff and the Special Collections staff at Newman Library at Virginia Tech. Bruce Pencek and Dave Beagle at Newman Library provided help at critical moments. We thank our Irish correspondents. We thank several anonymous referees whose comments have helped us strengthen this article. As always, one of us (JG) thanks Deena Flinchum for ongoing support and encouragement.

Endnotes

1. James Webb, *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America* (New York: Random House, 2005). At the time of writing this article Webb was a sitting US Senator from Virginia.
2. Howard M. Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom: A Study of the Church and Her People 1732-1952* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1954).
3. Patton's sister Elizabeth (c1700-1774) married John Preston, "the progenitor." She is buried in the Greenfield cemetery near Amsterdam in modern-day Botetourt County, Virginia.
4. Richard Charles Osborn, *William Preston of Virginia, 1727-1783: The Making of a Frontier Elite* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1990).
5. Patricia Givens Johnson died in 1996 leaving behind a valuable body of work about the early Virginia frontier. Biographical information about her is online at *http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaead/published/vt/vivlbv00087.document.*

6. Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, 3rd. ed. (Charlotte, NC: Jostens, 1983), 3-15.
7. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1906). See also, Mabel Clare Weaks, *The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1915). The Preston papers in this large collection are designated as the QQ series. Microfilm copies of these papers are available in various repositories including Newman Library, Virginia Tech.
8. Preston Davie (1881-1967), a descendant of William Preston, was a wealthy, New York lawyer who spent many years amassing family records in an attempt to establish James Patton's genealogy. Davie never completed or published his long-planned Patton biography. We have consulted his genealogical notes and memoranda ("Memorandum concerning the Early Career and Antecedents of Col. James Patton of 'Springhill,'" "An Account of Colonel James Patton (1692-1755) of Springhill Plantation," and "Prestons of Greenfield and Smithfield"), which are in the collections of the Filson Historical Society, formerly called the Filson Club. In the first of these memoranda Davie wrote: "Col. James Patton's career after he became a resident of Virginia in 1738 [actually 1740] is known and adequately documented, but information at present available as to his career before coming to Virginia consists for the most part of uncorroborated family traditions."
9. Alan D. Williams, Review of *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* by Patricia Givens Johnson, *Journal of American History*, 63:2 (1976): 386.
10. Patricia Givens Johnson Papers 1920-1986, Ms88-007. Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Va.
11. Johnson Papers, Letter to James R. Bentley of the Filson Club from Camp Springs, Maryland, 22 September 1972. Ms88-007. Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech.
12. Gen. Francis Preston, "Sketch of Col. Wm. Preston," 17 August 1833. Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Microfilm reel 59, second page 332. Newman Library, Virginia Tech, item 233S.
13. John Brown, with revisions by Nathaniel Hart, Jr., Orlando Brown, editor. "Memorandum of the Preston Family," circa 1836. Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Microfilm reel 85, Newman Library, Virginia Tech, item 16CC7.
14. Letitia Preston Floyd, Letter to her son, Rush Floyd, dated 22 February 1843 from Burke's Garden, Virginia. Hereinafter cited as Letitia Floyd, *Letter*, 1843. See: Letitia Preston Floyd. "Recollections of 18th Century Virginia Frontier Life by Letitia Preston Floyd. Introduction by Wirt H. Wills, Transcription by June Stubbs," *Smithfield Review* 1: 3-16, 1997. This transcription was prepared from handwritten copy by James Cochran Letitia Floyd's 1843 manuscript "History of the Preston Family" made by Cochran in 1848 and now held at Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech.
15. Preston Davie, Letter to Miss Florence D. McCrossin of Birmingham, Alabama, from his summer residence in Newport, Rhode Island, undated but circa August 1955, 5 Davie Papers, Filson Historical Society.
16. Nathaniel Hart Jr., Letter to Lyman Draper, August 2, 1842. Kentucky Papers. Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Microfilm reel 110, Newman Library, Virginia Tech, item 2CC27/1.
17. John Frederick Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield in Virginia* (Louisville: The Filson Club, 1982).
18. David V. Agricola, "The Patton Website," main page at *http://my.stratos.net/~dvagricola/*. The seven volumes of Agricola's privately printed *Patton Compendium* are described here, though only one volume appears to be currently available in printed form.

19. As his sources on James Patton, Agricola quotes nothing in the way of primary evidence and relies principally on quotes from Patricia Givens Johnson's biography and the work of Judge Lyman Chalkley (*Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish settlement in Virginia, extracted from the original court records of Augusta County 1745-1800*, v 3, Rosslyn, Va.: Mary S. Lockwood/ Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912). As we note in the text, Johnson had her personal reservations about received Patton genealogy, and Chalkley's book is the only publication of which we are aware that is warned against as unreliable at the Library of Virginia website. See the caveat at: *http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/local/va5_chalkleys.htm.*
20. David V. Agricola, "Index to the Patton Compendium," posted online 17 June 2005 at *http://www.jenforum.com/cgi-bin/pageload.cgi?agricola::patton::5012.html.* Copies in the authors' files.
21. Joseph A. Waddell, Letter to Col. Thomas L. Preston, 29 April 1896. Filson Club collections. Copy in the Patricia Givens Johnson Papers 1920-1986, Ms88-007. Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech. Waddell, incidentally, is the author of the useful history titled *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871*, second edition (Staunton: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902).
22. Alan Routledge, personal communication, email message dated 22 August 2010. Efforts to seek such persons are ongoing.
23. Robert Macky, Letter from London to Capt. James Patton, 7 April [c1730] at St. Columb, Cornwall, [England]. Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Microfilm reel 110, Newman Library, Virginia Tech, item 1QQ2.
24. Thwaites, *Descriptive List.*
25. Weaks, *The Papers*. See citation in endnote 7.
26. Major J. O. Miller, Letter to M[r]s. Rebeca Daviss of Dublin, from Ballicasy [Ballycassidy], 17 January 1731. Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Microfilm reel 110, Newman Library, Virginia Tech, item 1QQ1.
27. Weaks, *The Papers*, 6. See citation in endnote 7.
28. Preston Davie. See citations in endnote 7. It remains a puzzle to us why Patton called his first home in Augusta County Springhill and not Springfield, although later he did use the latter name for property he owned in what became Pulaski County.
29. Augusta County Surveyor's Record 1, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia. Augusta County microfilm reel 107, Library of Virginia.
30. Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Microfilm reel 110, Newman Library, Virginia Tech, item 1QQ63-66. The probated will is in the Augusta County Courthouse, Will Book No. 2, 131-135.
31. Mary Kegley, "A Donegal-Virginia Connection." *Donegal Annual*, 47: 113-115, 1995. Hereinafter cited as Kegley, *Donegal Connection*. For a general discussion of recycled North British borderland names in the southern Appalachian backcountry see David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 639-42.
32. Johnson, *Patton and the Colonists*, 5.
33. Patricia Givens Johnson, *Springfield Saga: The Thompsons of Fort Thompson on New River, Pulaski County, Virginia* (Blacksburg: Self Published, 1985).
34. Patricia Burton, "The Pattons of Donegal." *Derry People*, (Letterkenny, County Donegal) Saturday 11 May 1974. This account of a visit to Springfield makes for entertaining reading, despite some glaring errors.
35. Augusta County Surveyor's Record 1, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia. Augusta County microfilm reel 107, Library of Virginia. Transcription by Ryan Mays.
36. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 125.
37. Louise Leslie, *Tazewell County*. (Johnson City, Tennessee: Overmountain Press, 1982), 419.

38. Kegley, *Donegal Connection*, 113. The primary citation is Augusta Surveyor's Book 1, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia.
39. Typing these coordinates into Google Maps (in the format as written here) will show these locations.
40. When it comes to Kilmacronan, spelling is a nightmare. There are literally dozens of variant spellings on both sides of the Atlantic.
41. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 122.
42. Augusta Surveyor's Record 1, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia. Augusta County microfilm reel 107, 46, Library of Virginia.
43. Johnson, *Patton and the Colonists*, 5, citing Letitia Preston Floyd. *Letter*, 1843.
44. Johnson, *Patton and the Colonists*, 5, citing Preston Davie.
45. "Patton is a well known name in Donegal." Sean Beattie, editor of the *Donegal Annual*, personal communication (email message) 9 December 2010.
46. William Beverley, Letters to James Patton on 8 and 22 August 1737. "Letterbook, 1737-1744," microfilm M-1334, John D. Rockefeller Jr., Library, Williamsburg. Also, transcribed by Worthington Ford as "Some Letters of William Beverley," *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, second series, III: 223-239, 1895.
47. Emory G. Evans, *A "Topping People": The Rise and Decline of Virginia's Old Political Elite, 1680-1790* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 96.
48. Emory G. Evans, "William Beverley," *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* (Richmond: The Library of Virginia, 1998), volume 1, 477-478.
49. Virginia Shipping Returns, South Potomac and Accomac Districts, 1735-56, C.O. 5/1445, British Public Record Office. Library of Virginia, Virginia Colonial Records Project, microfilm reel 26.
50. The spelling *Walpoole* is often seen. Although Lutwidge himself sometimes used this spelling, *Walpole* is correct, quite likely for the contemporary English statesman Robert Walpole.
51. Preston Davie was apparently the first person to locate these shipping records as attributed to Davie by Wilson in *Tinkling Spring*, 22.
52. Peter Burke, indenture to James Patton for five years of service in return for his passage to America, and for food, clothing, and lodging. Witnessed 28 April 1738 by William Walker, Lord Mayor of Dublin. Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Microfilm reel 110, Newman Library, Virginia Tech, item 1QQ4.
53. Dorman, *The Prestons*, 2.
54. Whitehaven shipping records. PRO E190/1460/5, Exchequer, King's Remembrancer Port Books. Library of Virginia Colonial Records Project Reel 930. See John T. Kneebone and Jon Kukla, eds., assisted by Daphne Gentry and Donald W. Gunter. *A Key to Survey Reports and Microfilm of the Virginia Colonial Records Project* (Richmond: Virginia State Archives and Library, 1990).
55. We would say 1740 in our modern calendar. The records say 1739 using the old style (Julian) calendar in which the turn of the year occurred on 25 March. After 1752, the new style (Gregorian) calendar was adopted in both colonial America and England with the turn of the year occurring thereafter on 1 January.
56. *Whitehaven Port Records.*
57. Essex County Orders 1736-1738. Court of 20 July 1737. Essex County microfilm reel 63, Library of Virginia, 131.
58. St. Nicholas Church in Whitehaven dates from 1693, was rebuilt in 1883, and largely destroyed in a fire in August 1971. It is, among other reasons, noteworthy as being the burial place of Mildred Warner Gale, the grandmother of George Washington. See *http://www.visitcumbria.com/wc/whitehaven-st-nicholas-church-and-gardens.htm.*
59. Anonymous, "Walter Lutwidge," the Whitehaven and Western Lakeland Web Site, online at *http://www.whitehavenandwesternlakeland.co.uk/people/walterlutwidge.htm.*

60. Walter Lutwidge, *Letter Book 1739-40*, Cumbria Archive item YDX 79/1, microfilm from Rockefeller Library of Colonial Williamsburg. The letter book consists principally of copies of outgoing letters. There is a second, later, letter book (Cumbria archive item 79/2) that covers 1745-1749. It is not germane to the James Patton story.
61. Edward Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century,* Volume 2, *Cumberland and Westmoreland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 34-35.
62. Richard K. MacMaster, "Captain James Patton comes to America 1737-1740," *Augusta Historical Bulletin* 16(2): 4-13, 1980. See also Richard MacMaster, "Ulster-Scots in Virginia: From Pennsylvania to Shenandoah,", online at *http://www.ulstervirginia.com/ulsterscotsvirginia.asp.*
63. Kerby A. Miller, Arnold Schrier, Bruce D. Bolling, and David N. Doyle, eds., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 147.
64. Lutwidge's letter book (a record of copies of his correspondence) was written both by him and his clerks. In the extracts we quote, we have retained his language verbatim while occasionally changing punctuation for the modern reader.
65. "Prov Johnson" is John Johnson with whom Walter Lutwidge had exchanged several letters mentioning a "bottle" account. Our searching has revealed Provosts named Johnson around the right time at both the Solway towns of Dumfries and Carlisle. However this Johnson could not have been a Provost of Kirkcudbright, as suggested by Richard MacMaster, because David Devereux has informed us in a personal communication that Kirkcudbright has never had a Provost of that name.
66. Thomas Marshall Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky*. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1889), 8.
67. Joseph A. Waddell, letter to Col. Thomas L. Preston, April 20, 1896. Filson Club collections. Cited by Patricia Givens Johnson Papers 1920-1986, Ms88-007. Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech.
68. Johnson, *Patton and the Colonists*, 6.
69. John Egerton, *Generations: An American Family* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983; (reprinted 2003 with a new afterword), 50. This book is self described by its author (p. 48) as " a combination of verifiable fact and plausible imagination."
70. Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "William Beverley, James Patton, and the Settling of the Shenandoah Valley." *Essex County Museum and Historical Society Bulletin*, 55: 1-5, 2010.
71. Jacob M. Price, *Tobacco Atlantic trade: The Chesapeake, London, and Glasgow, 1675-1775*, ten reprinted articles (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1995).
72. Alan W. Routledge, *Whitehaven: History and Guide* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), 57. Chapter 5 of this work, pp. 52-62, is titled "The American Connection." Routledge, like coauthor Glanville of this article, is a retired chemist.
73. Robert C. Nash, "The English and Scottish Tobacco Trades in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Legal and Illegal Trade, *Economic History Review*, New Series. 35(3): 354-372, 1982. See also T. C. Barker, "Smuggling in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the Scottish Tobacco Trade," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 62(4): 387-399, 1954.
74. Ronald T. Gibbon, *To the King's Deceit: a Study of Smuggling on the Solway* (Whitehaven: The Friends of Whitehaven Museum, 1983).

Whiskey, Soldiers, and Voting: Western Virginia Elections in the 1790s

Wesley J. Campbell

Editor's Note: Elections in eighteenth-century Virginia were conducted quite differently than current elections. In this article, the author presents revealing descriptions of early elections in Montgomery County, Virginia immediately following the birth of the United States. The behavior and motivations of the electorate, as well as the candidates, provide interesting insight regarding the social structure of that era.

The 1793 congressional election in western Virginia was a riotous affair. Francis Preston[1] defeated fellow Montgomery County native Abram Trigg[2] by only ten votes, but Trigg contested the result. In a petition to the United States House of Representatives, Trigg alleged that Preston's brother William, a captain in the United States army, had unduly interfered with the election by ordering the federal troops stationed in Montgomery County to intimidate voters.[3] One perspective on the events appears in a report of the House Committee on Elections:

> That, on the day of elections, the said troops were marched, in a body, twice or three times round the court-house, and paraded in front of and close to the door thereof.... That some of them threatened to beat any person who should vote in favor of [Mr. Trigg]. That one of the soldiers struck and knocked down a magistrate who was attending at the said election. That three soldiers stood at the door of the court-house, and refused to admit a voter because he declared he would vote for [Mr. Trigg]. That many of the country people were dissatisfied with the conduct of the soldiers, which produced altercations at the election between the soldiers and the country people, the former being generally for [Mr. Preston], and the latter for [Mr. Trigg], and terminated in a violent affray between them after the poll was closed.[4]

In spite of these turbulent events, the House of Representatives decided to uphold Preston's victory.

The 1793 election between Preston and Trigg makes for a great story, but perhaps more remarkable is that such tumultuous "poll days" were actually quite common in the eighteenth century. Although there is a general

paucity of sources for early congressional elections in western Virginia, sustained controversies in Montgomery County in the mid-1790s provide an exceptionally crisp record. This evidence illustrates not only the chasm between eighteenth-century and modern electioneering practices but also the social and political forces influencing western elections. Perhaps the most important factor in a candidate's success was whether he had cultivated a network of avid (and often elite) supporters. The experience of western Virginia in the 1790s therefore provides an interesting, and at times dour, perspective on the first federal elections.

Eighteenth-Century Voting

In the 1790s, Virginia conducted elections viva voce, meaning each voter announced his vote orally in the courthouse in front of the sheriff, candidates, and any others in attendance.[5] According to an early account from Kanawha County (now in West Virginia[6]), the sheriff asked each voter,

> in a voice audible over the whole court-house, "For whom do you vote?" The elector, turning to the bench, and glancing along the line of candidates—each of whom, perhaps, at the moment is grinning on him a smile of expectancy—he announces audibly, looking, and perhaps pointing, at the preferred candidates as he speaks: "I vote for Mr. A. for Congress, and for Mr. B. and Mr. C. for the Legislature." "Thank you, sir," "Thank you, sir," is simultaneously responded by Messrs. A., B., C., with a bow and a broad smile of complacency.[7]

After leaving the courthouse, each voter was "taken by the friends of the candidates voted for into the court-house yard, where their barrels or jugs of whisky are placed, and, if he uses the 'critter,' he is helped to a *grog* at each place by the aid of a tin-cup and a pail of water."[8]

Virginia adopted voice voting long before the American Revolution. Not only were candidates able to hear each vote as it was announced; they also had the right to request, at their own expense, a copy of the poll list on which all the votes were recorded.[9] The process provided transparency, obviating any fear that a magistrate or sheriff would miscount the vote. But it also came with consequences, such as the nearly ubiquitous attempts to "persuade" voters through physical intimidation and alcoholic enticements. By the 1780s, voice voting had fallen out of favor in most states because of voter intimidation fears, but Virginia continued the oral voting tradition until the Civil War.[10]

Given its system of voting, western Virginia unsurprisingly had a legacy of election controversies long before independence. According to Richard R. Beeman, "the record of contested elections in the Virginia backcountry displays a pattern of rowdiness, drunkenness, and occasional outright intimidation."[11] The 1755 election in Augusta County is a notable example. When some of William Preston's supporters feared that Preston was about to lose, they blocked the doors, overturned the candles, and threw the sheriff, who was in charge of administering the election, onto a table with such force that it collapsed. The event quickly descended into a brawl. The sheriff, apparently recovered from his recent upheaval, began striking citizens with his staff in an effort to restore order.[12] Based on his analysis of this and other colonial election fracases, Beeman concludes that "traditional notions of respect were far less secure" than scholars have assumed and that "the inclination of an independent and mobile citizenry to pay deference [to political elites] was far more grudging at the very outset."[13] That is, according to Beeman, voting rituals were a sign of incipient citizen empowerment. The free flow of whiskey may also have contributed to the lack of traditional respect.

Much of the inspiration for creating a new national constitution in 1787 stemmed from failures in the existing model of political representation. Many years later, James Madison recalled losing his first bid for public office because his opponent, a local tavern owner, provided voters with "spirituous liquors, and other treats," a practice which Madison decried as "inconsistent with the purity of moral and of republican principles."[14] He also viewed state representatives as unduly beholden to the whims of local majorities and therefore amenable to ignoring the national interest. "Everyone knows," Madison wrote in the forty-sixth *Federalist* essay, "that a great proportion of the errors committed by the State Legislatures proceeds from the disposition of the members to sacrifice the comprehensive and permanent interest of the State, to the particular and separate views of the counties or districts in which they reside."[15] Madison famously theorized that larger districts would help diffuse local passions, and a national legislature would be sufficiently large to protect any one group from attaining sufficient power to violate minority rights. Just before attending the constitutional convention in Philadelphia, he wrote about the importance of "a process of elections as will most certainly extract from the mass of the society the purest and noblest characters which it contains; such as will at once feel most strongly the proper motives to pursue the end of their appointment, and be most capable to devise the proper means of attaining it."[16] Moving

to larger districts across multiple counties, he hypothesized, would prevent local demagogues or generous bar-keeps from gaining too much power; only those with sufficient public reputation would win.[17] These debates over the character of political representation were central to the creation of the federal constitution.

Antifederalists responded with a pessimistic interpretation of the federalists' ideas. According to Patrick Henry:

> If your elections be by districts instead of counties, the people will not be acquainted with the candidates. They must therefore be directed in the elections by those who know them. So that instead of a confidential connection between the electors and the elected, they will be absolutely unacquainted with each other. A common man must ask a man of influence how he is to proceed, and for whom he must vote. The elected, therefore, will be careless of the interest of the electors. It will be a common job to extort the suffrages of the common people for the most influential characters. The same men may be repeatedly elected by these means. This, Sir, instead of promoting the freedom of elections, leads us to an Aristocracy.[18]

Thus, at the outset of the new federal government, there were competing visions of how the new system would operate. Madison predicted well-known, "noble characters" would enjoy the favor of the people, while Henry suspected that larger districts would only transfer power to a privileged elite upon whom most voters would depend for information about the candidates. As it turned out, the experience of western Virginia during the first decade of federal elections largely vindicated Henry's grim prediction.

The First Federal Elections

On November 19, 1788, the Virginia General Assembly passed "An Act for the Election of Representatives pursuant to the Constitution of Government of the United States." Although some states chose their representatives through "at large" state-wide elections, Virginia decided to create ten districts in which voters would select a single representative.[19] As Madison had hoped, districts were quite large, especially in western Virginia. The third district included the counties of Augusta, Botetourt, Greenbrier, Montgomery, Pendleton, Rockbridge, Russell, and Washington (see Figure 1).[20] Voter qualifications were the same as those for state elections to the General Assembly; male freeholders had to be over age twenty-one and own either fifty acres of unimproved land or both twenty-five acres and a

house, although there is some evidence that property requirements were only loosely enforced.[21] Voting procedures also mirrored those used in state races.

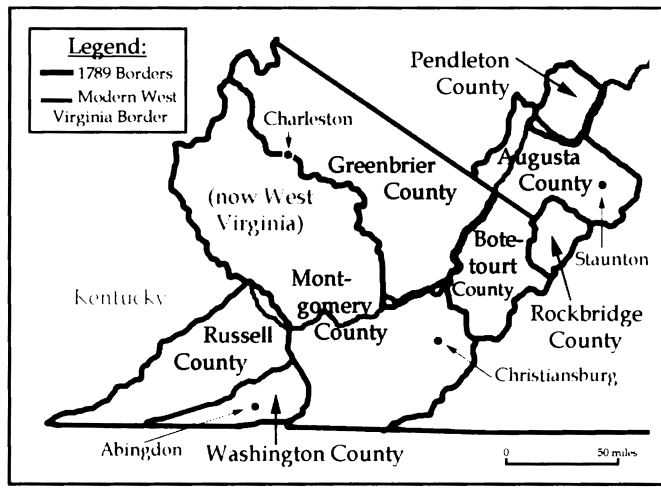


Figure 1: Western Virginia's Congressional District in 1789

The first federal election in Montgomery County took place on January 7, 1789, when the voters convened to choose a presidential elector. Although today the presidential ballot shows the name of the presidential candidates, originally voters announced their preference for a particular elector to attend the Electoral College. In the 1789 election, however, everyone understood that the Electoral College would choose George Washington as president. The western district for choosing a presidential elector was larger than the western congressional district. The presidential elector district included all the counties in the third congressional district, plus Rockingham and Shenandoah counties and all the counties in the district of Kentucky (which did not become a state until 1792). Only two candidates ran for elector, not only foretelling the inevitable outcome of the presidential race, but also reflecting the enormous difficulty and importance of coordinating a successful campaign. Zachariah Johnston apparently was up to the task. Voting totals survive from only nine counties, but Johnston earned every vote in seven of those and almost half of the votes in Botetourt County (see Figure 2). Only in Montgomery County was Johnston's opponent, Thomas Madison, able to prevail decisively. The unanimity in most counties suggests that Madison did not coordinate his campaign, whereas Johnston clearly did. Johnston's support was especially strong in his native Augusta County.

	Candidate	
County	**Zachariah Johnston**	**Thomas Madison**
Augusta	353	___
Botetourt	47	63
Greebrier	70	___
Montgomery	___	57
Pendleton	101	___
Rockbridge	75	___
Russell	47	___
Shenandoah	166	___
Washington	123	___

Figure 2: Results of the 1789 election for a Presidential Elector from Western Virginia[22]

Less than a month after choosing a presidential elector, voters in Montgomery County cast votes for their inaugural congressional representative. The election pitted Andrew Moore of Rockbridge County against George Hancock of Botetourt County. The race itself seems to have been uneventful, but the weather on poll day was horrendous. At James Madison's residence in Orange County, the temperature at sunrise was two degrees Fahrenheit, with ten inches of snow on the ground from a storm two days prior.[23] Though the election was supposed to occur solely on February 2, several county sheriffs extended voting in response to the dreadful travel conditions. In Montgomery County, the clerk of court wrote that the election was extended "on the account of the high Watters and the Extremity of the Weather."[24] The next day was more pleasant, with temperatures reaching into the fifties.[25]

Voters in Montgomery County had sided with the antifederalists during the ratification debates, but Moore and Hancock were both proponents of the new federal constitution. Nothing is known of the substance of the race, though the candidates' agreement over the Constitution probably limited the sparring that was ubiquitous elsewhere in the country. Without a documentary record, we can only surmise that the candidates discussed the proposals for a federal Bill of Rights to be added to the Constitution.[26]

Nonetheless, this election did leave one piece of evidence. Buried in an old deed book is the Montgomery County poll list, which lists the name

of each voter and the candidate for whom he cast his vote. Although election officials were supposed to create these records for each election, this 1789 poll list is the only surviving list from an eighteenth-century congressional election in western Virginia.[27] By comparing this list to the local tax records, we can assess whether there were patterns in how individuals voted.[28]

Unsurprisingly, men who voted were relatively affluent. Twenty-eight percent of voters owned slaves, compared to only 7 percent of non-voters. Similarly, 82 percent of voters owned at least three horses, compared to only 52 percent of non-voters.[29] Many persons on the tax list were probably ineligible to vote because of not owning enough land, so these comparisons tell us little about whether, among the pool of eligible voters, wealthier individuals were more likely to vote. Nevertheless, those who did vote were fairly well-off.

Interestingly, there seems not to have been any correlation between a voter's wealth and his preference between the two candidates. Nor did the location of an individual's home within the county seem to make much difference.[30] In fact, the only apparent predictor of a person's vote was whether he voted on the first day. On February 2, 1789, George Hancock received 120 votes, while Andrew Moore garnered only 12. The next day, however, voters were evenly divided, with each candidate receiving 13 votes.

There is no direct evidence regarding why polling diverged so sharply on the two days, but organizational efforts by each candidate probably played an important role. In particular, Hancock's agents might have exerted more pressure on voters the first day, whereas Moore's agents could have been absent. Or maybe the snowy conditions kept Moore's whiskey barrel from arriving on time. The data do not illuminate any pattern in the geographic origin of voters on the second day, which indicates it is unlikely that Moore recruited particular individuals to attend the election. But whatever the reason, the evidence for Montgomery County's first congressional election illustrates that elections and voting patterns could be highly erratic.

The 1792 Interim Election

The federal constitution mandated that an "actual Enumeration [of the people] shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress" and that "Representatives...shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers." Since no census had yet been taken, the framers specified that "until such enumeration shall be made" Virginia "shall be

entitled to chuse" ten representatives.[31] The first two congressional elections were decided based on this allocation.[32]

When the census results were published in late 1791, Virginia's legislature realized that the commonwealth's allocated number of representatives would increase significantly. Even though Congress had yet to vote on an apportionment bill, the Virginia legislature passed on December 21, 1791, "[a]n act for the election of additional Representatives to the present Congress." The bill called for elections on February 14, 1792, with the western district to choose one additional congressman. Elected representatives were to serve only one year, until the next biennial election.[33]

Francis Preston won the contest for the interim seat, though little is known of the election.[34] In an adjacent district to the east, candidate John Breckinridge wrote to his friend Archibald Stuart: "I run the Gauntlet in this District as a Candidate for Congress. You may judge of my anxiety in the business by referring to the date of this letter! This is the date of Election, & I [am] snugly by a good fire at Home."[35] Indeed, few in the west seemed to have cared about the contest. Of ten counties in the district, only the sheriffs in Botetourt, Montgomery, Russell, and Wythe counties made the journey necessary to report vote totals.[36] Though unknown at the time, the entire election actually was moot because Congress made reapportionment effective starting at the next biennial election in 1793.

One factor contributing to Francis Preston's success in the interim election was his name recognition. In addition to being Colonel William Preston's son, Francis may also have been assisted by his brother, John Preston, who was simultaneously courting votes in the same counties in preparation for a state senatorial race in April. On February 11, 1792, just three days before Francis's congressional election, John Preston wrote to James Smith: "You were before now well apprised of my intentions & I now wish you would make them as public as possible & strongly recommend me to your good honest German friends in Botetourt. I also would ask another singular favour of you, that is, should leisure permit you would write in my name to four or five of the most respectable dutchmen of your county soliciting their Interest on this occasion."[37] It is doubtful that Smith had time or initiative to solicit votes before Francis's congressional election, but John's efforts may have helped rally support for his brother on election day itself. Interestingly, John's opponent was Daniel Trigg, a native of Montgomery County and relative of Abram Trigg, who soon became Francis Preston's political adversary.[38]

John Preston won the election by a considerable margin, but he still fretted that the necessary steps might not be taken to certify his victory. "The elections are finished & I hold a majority of at least 400," he wrote to his brother Francis, "but still it rest[s] with the Sheriffs to compleat the business. I have written & sent Jamy[39] to Col. Patton's, requesting him to fix on the place for the Sheriffs to meet–I wish you would insist on the Greenbriar sheriff to attend either in person or by his deputy.... It will be a mortification now if it should fall through."[40] Given the non-attendance by many of the sheriffs in the 1792 provisional election for Congress, John was not being paranoid. Nevertheless, his election was eventually certified, and he took his seat in the Virginia senate that fall.

Meanwhile, Francis Preston began preparing for the upcoming congressional election to be held in March of 1793. He wrote to John in September: "I've no news to give you but that Abram Trigg has disposed of [his official position at the] Clerks Office to Chs Taylor for £86 and I expect now certainly to have him an Opponent in my Election to Congress. I fear no great dread at his popular potencey–However the larger the District the better for me [and I] should therefore have no objections for Botetourt to be a part."[41] Feeling pressure from his opponent, Francis set out to organize a winning campaign.

Running For Congress

In western Virginia, the most important aspect of a congressional campaign was recruiting supporters to serve as agents on election day. As Madison and the other founders had intended, congressional elections spanned many counties, and each candidate could only appear at one courthouse. Therefore, candidates recruited agents—also called "next friends"[42]—to campaign on their behalf in other counties. When James Madison was unable to attend his own election in 1791, for instance, he wrote to his father enclosing letters written to "a friend in each County" who might know of his activities in Congress and the reasons he could not attend the election in person.[43] These agents were particularly important in western Virginia, which lacked a regional newspaper to disseminate information about the individuals vying for office.[44] Moreover, well-chosen agents could use their own reputations to persuade voters.

Agents and other allies, however, also provided social, and even physical, pressure to vote for a particular candidate. As evidenced by the riotous events of 1755 and the wintry conditions in 1789, the most recurrent feature of western elections was their unpredictability. Reflecting on his own

electoral prospects in 1792, Arthur Campbell wrote: "So much uncertainty appears in this business, from the season of the year that it may turn on the votes of a fiew zealous persons, and those in the vicinity of the courthouse."[45] By physically securing the courthouse, agents could drive away voters who supported the other candidates. Agents also pressured voters by offering them free alcohol on behalf of their candidates. The combination of free alcohol and pugnacious supporters often made for a raucous environment. In 1791, a Frenchman traveling through the Shenandoah Valley commented:

> Your poll days are events of debauchery and brawling, and the candidates openly offer intoxication to anyone who will give them his vote. The taverns are filled by the contending parties. The citizens line themselves up under the banners of the opposing candidates, and the polling station is often surrounded by men armed with batons who drive away and intimidate the voters of the other candidate. This event is not so much about the people that judge but the factions that fight.[46]

As corrupt as this purportedly democratic process was, candidates had little choice but to participate, lest their own supporters be persuaded by the batons or tin cups of the opponent.

Given that agents were needed at each courthouse in the congressional district, having a large political network was essential for success. Such networks were often based on kinship, business, or prior political office holding. Gail Terry argues that "family connections continued to contribute to the definition of one's place in the social and political order, and family honor figured in the published debates and influenced the behavior of individual family members."[47] Indeed, well over half of Virginia's early congressmen had close relatives who were elected to Congress.[48] Business and professional networks were also important. In the 1793 congressional election, for example, Preston apparently gained the support of almost all the fellow lawyers within his district.[49]

The need for election-day agents also kept aspiring candidates and elected representatives engaged with prominent men throughout their districts. These connections promoted friendships and helped congressmen and their constituents receive valuable information. Congressman Andrew Moore, for example, regularly reported the latest national news to local leaders in Virginia's western counties.[50] Other forms of civil participation also provided opportunities for regional networking. In October 1792, the

General Assembly appointed Francis Preston as a trustee of the newly created Wythe Academy, along with prominent locals John Adams, William Calfee, Walter Crockett, Jesse Evans, George Hancock, James McCampbell, James McGavock, Robert Sayers, Byrd Smith, Alexander Smyth, Jehu Stephens, Reverend John Stanger, William Tate, and Preston's brother John.[51] Some of these men later served as Preston's agents on poll day.

Just before the 1793 election, Francis Preston called on state representative Alexander Smyth of Wythe County. Smyth recalled the encounter in a letter to Preston two years later, expressing mortification at what he viewed as attempted bribery:

> [Y]ou came to my house in company with Major Jesse Evans, and requested my attendance in Grayson on the day of election. I made some difficulty; whereupon you asked, "is it impossible to induce you to go?" I signified it was not impossible. You then asked, "what will induce you to go? *name it.*" Some indifferent conversation followed, and I mentioned to your sending me the news of Philadelphia when you should go to Congress. To this you replied, "*The Encyclopedia would be the best news*;" I felt mortified; said no more; did not go to Grayson; voted at Wythe courthouse; but made no exertion.[52]

Since Smyth was actively campaigning against Preston when he wrote this letter, his accusations may have been exaggerated. Although little is known of these electioneering practices, they were probably more common and accepted than Smyth let on.

Electioneering was famously opposed by most leading politicians, but, as one historian notes, "many of the very men who most adamantly condemned the courting of votes were among the most skillful at it."[53] As one method of subtle campaigning, candidates often appeared at court days preceding the election to give a short speech in favor of a resolution.[54] These speeches, if resonant with the attendees, could give credence to the candidate's status as a local leader. Perhaps this is the form of campaigning that Trigg employed when Francis Preston complained that "Trigg is industriously engaged in promoting his popularity, and speaks as if certain of his success in the Ensuing Election for Congress."[55]

Beyond electioneering, Francis Preston also lobbied his friends in the Virginia legislature to draw congressional districts favorable to his electoral chances. Alexander Smyth reported one such lobbying effort several years later:

> In 1792, some time after the election, at which I had the honor of being chosen a delegate for Wythe county, you and I happened together at Wythe courthouse, and I then informed you I meant to befriend you in the election for Congress, which was to come on in the year following. Our conversation turned on the business of the ensuing session of Assembly, and particularly laying off the Congressional districts. You expressed a desire that this district should be *as large* as possible, and particularly that it might include *Greenbrier* and *Botetourt*. My opinion given you was favorable as to the addition of Greenbrier (being a frontier county and on the western waters) but unfavorable as to the addition of Botetourt.[56]

Preston also sent requests for a larger district to his brother John, a newly elected state senator: "Pray struggle for Greenbrier to be in the District, in which Event I would feel myself Secure, the larger the District the better.... As Soon as the Congressional Districts are formed advise me of it."[57] Greenbrier County voters had supported the Constitution and therefore were perhaps more likely to favor Preston, a political moderate, over his antifederalist opponent, Abram Trigg. The General Assembly eventually created a district comprised of the western counties not part of Kentucky: Grayson, Greenbrier, Kanawha, Lee, Montgomery, Russell, Washington, and Wythe counties (see Figure 3).[58]

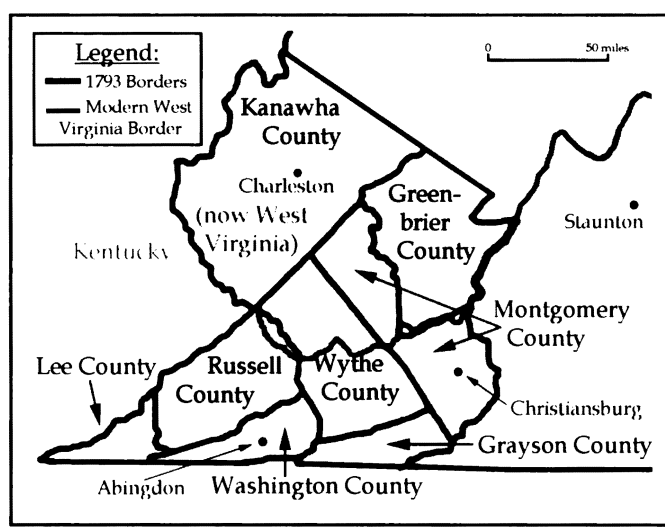


Figure 3: Francis Preston's Congressional District

Election day was set for March 18, 1793. Francis Preston anticipated that his opponent, Abram Trigg, would be particularly strong in Montgomery County.[59] For this crucial county, Preston chose his brother William, who commanded a local outpost of Federal troops, to serve as his agent at the courthouse on poll day.[60] The soldiers' behavior on election day soon ignited a protracted battle over the legitimacy of the election.

The Disputed Election of 1793

Reconstructing the basic details of what happened on March 18, 1793 is difficult enough, but assigning fault is nearly impossible. Trigg's petition to the United States House of Representatives alleged that William Preston positioned his soldiers "before that door of the Court house into which voters usually passed...during which time, they obstructed and hindered sundry voters who were going into the said Court house to give their votes for, and in favor of your petitioner."[61] Trigg stated that Preston had placed "a strong man...there for the purpose, to throw out of the Court house such persons as rendered themselves obnoxious to him, by voting in favor of [Trigg]." Trigg also alleged that the votes cast by the soldiers were invalid.[62]

Subsequent investigations included several depositions, although only fragments of the record have survived.[63] In one of the depositions, James Charlton stated that he observed the fracas through a nearby window:

> I was in the Courthouse when Capt Prestons Company came before the door the time as I believe they gave their votes I saw them beat the Country people back two or three times and there was some pretty hard struggling between them. I expected a Combat would have followed. The Soldiers came in to vote by certain numbers and while they were voting no other person did vote.... From the Conduct of the Soldiers I Conceive some of the Country people were prevented from giving in their Votes. Some came in as I think after the Soldiers, and Sam[l] Langdon informed me that he had fifteen...men to vote for Col Trigg but they got scared by the Conduct of the Soldiers and went home without voting.[64]

On cross examination, however, Francis Preston pressed Charlton on the facts, asking whether "[t]hose Country people that were beat back" by the soldiers had already voted. Charlton conceded that he did not know. When asked whether the soldiers who voted departed the courthouse immediately after voting, Charlton confessed that he "started from home about that time or shortly after." He admitted that several of the townspeople came to the

election "lively," but he "remember[ed] no particular matter more than usual in Elections."[65] And asked whether Captain Preston's company had firearms, Charleton stated that he "did not see them have any fire arms, nor did [he] see them strike any body."[66] Sergeant Chambers of the federal troop outpost testified that he paraded the troops "to, and Around the Court House, and Manouvered them as usual," but he did "not know that it was to the displeasure or disquietment of the Voters."[67]

Since William Preston's troops were stationed at the courthouse, it is not surprising that they were present on election day.[68] The Committee on Elections later found that one of the soldiers "struck and knocked down a magistrate who was attending at the said election," and that the election itself "terminated in a violent affray" between the soldiers and the country people.[69] Pro-administration Congressman Thomas Scott of Pennsylvania, however, countered that William Preston's "behaviour at the election was that of a sage: instead of the fire of youth, he had discovered all the moderation that could have been expected from the character of a philosopher."[70] Samuel Smith of Maryland called the committee report misleading. The magistrate who had been knocked down "was not there in his official capacity," Smith stated. "He was there drunk, sir; and he gave the first blow, sir, to the man who knocked him down."[71]

Controversy surrounding the affray spread quickly. Shortly after the election, prominent Tennessean James Robertson wrote to John Preston: "It appears Mr. Trigg means disputing on the Illegality of Mr. Prestons Election on acc[t] of keeping the Election open a second day at Russel Court House."[72] Such extensions, however, were common, even if extralegal.[73] More pressing were allegations of voter intimidation in Montgomery County. In April, Francis wrote to his brother William: "I understand Trigg means to contest my Election, on the riot at Montgomery–I apprehend some little danger on this head if the riot was intended but this I am satisfied was not the case."[74] Nonetheless, he asked his brother to begin collecting affidavits from his most respectable soldiers. A month later, Virginia Governor Henry Lee wrote to William stating that President Washington had called for an official investigation.[75]

Francis Preston seems to have taken the accusations very seriously as a threat to both his position and his reputation. He wrote to William about the upcoming investigation:

> [T]he president...has directed the Executive to have an enquiry into the affair, by Depositions, to know how and where you are to be tried, for

> interferring with Civil priviledges by military force, as very properly they ought was the statement in that letter true for had you with your men so far infringed the priviledges of the people as to prevent a free Election, your own sense would dictate heavy punishments for such Offenses; & I am very happy to see the promptitude of the Executive of this State as well as the Executive of United States in redressing greivances of this important nature, but I am doubly happy to observe the Security that the property & persons of every individual is guarded with that neither can be injured without first an enquiry into the truth of a charge before a prosecution is entered.[76]

Francis consoled his brother and predicted a favorable outcome. Nonetheless, he warned William, "let not these Opinions of mine lull you into an indifference on the subject, be active, be indefatigable in placing yourself in the most acceptable point of view."[77]

Francis stayed vigilant throughout the investigation and communicated instructions to his agents when he was unable to attend proceedings himself.[78] As the affair continued, however, he grew more frustrated and angry. "Col Abram Trigg has taken up the prosecution of this business in hopes I expect that it will eventually injure my Election," he wrote to his brother John. "I wish you were in again for that infernal party are now so pregnant with prejudice that they are carrying every thing before them–By a record enclosed...you will see more of their hellish proceedings."[79] He expressed similar sentiments in a letter to William, stating that Trigg's supporters had proved "their infernal dispositions to persecute you–I hope yet the Day will come when we can retaliate on them."[80] In fact, Preston did retaliate against a Trigg supporter, Joseph Cloyd, by writing to the governor, privy council, and several William and Mary professors in opposition to Cloyd's candidacy to become the county lawyer for Montgomery County.[81]

The Aftermath

Considerable uncertainty regarding the election results overshadowed Preston's first term in Congress.[82] In December 1793, the House of Representatives received Trigg's petition, which the House referred to the Committee on Elections.[83] The following April, the committee reported its findings:

> The committee, on full consideration of all the evidence in relation to Montgomery county,...are of opinion that, notwithstanding the soldiers were not disfranchised of the right of voting, merely as such, yet their

> conduct, as well as that of their commander, was inconsistent with that freedom and fairness which ought to prevail at elections; and that, although it does not appear, from any other than hearsay testimony, that any voter was actually prevented from voting, yet there is every reasonable ground to believe that some were, and that the election was unduly and unfairly biassed by the turbulent and menacing conduct of the military.[84]

The committee concluded its report by noting the dangerous precedent of military intimidation, stating that "the inestimable privilege of free suffrage ought never to be violated by any military interposition." As such, the committee declared that "the sitting member may have obtained a majority by improper influence, and that the petitioner ought to have a chance of obtaining a seat on equal terms."[85] It recommended the House deny Preston's credentials.[86]

The House, however, did not accept the committee's recommendation, and most representatives responded negatively to the committee report. Interestingly, their criticisms were not confined to the committee's factual findings. Several representatives complained that the report did not consider the election's fairness in light of prevailing regional practices. Samuel Smith of Maryland decried elections in the South as being "nothing but a nursery of superlative mischief."[87] Thus, according to Smith, Preston's election did not warrant greater scorn than any other southern election. He even went so far as to say that he had "never known an election in the Southern States where there was so little mischief."[88] Anti-administration Representative Alexander Gillon chided fellow South Carolinian William Loughton Smith, who chaired the Committee on Elections, for criticizing the events surrounding Francis Preston's election. After all, Gillon stated, "there was a riot at [Smith's] own election, and in his own favor; and still worse, this riot was in a Church: the riot was raised by a Magistrate, who, with his own hand, dragged one of the opposite party out of the Church."[89] And if the other Congressmen wanted evidence of this claim, Gillon stated, "I myself was present, and can be a witness."[90] At the end of the debate, the House's journal records that "[t]he Petition of Mr. Trigg, and the report of the Committee upon it, were rejected, without division."[91]

The reception of the committee report in the House of Representatives lacked clear partisan divisions. Federalists probably preferred Preston to his antifederalist opponent. And Republicans were likely indifferent since Preston and Trigg both supported Republican policies.[92] In the words of one scholar, the two men "had no serious disagreements in politics."[93]

More importantly, the floor debate illustrates the House's recognition and tacit acceptance of highly suspect election practices in certain regions. "If the Committee are to break up every election where persons were seen drunk," Samuel Smith stated, "they will have a great deal of work upon hand." Smith then described his perception of a typical southern election: "A man of influence came to the place of election at the head of two or three hundred of his friends; and to be sure they would not, if they could help it, suffer anybody on the other side to give a vote, as long as they were there."[94] Anti-administration representatives were predictably averse to the idea of imposing national standards for evaluating elections. They were also happy to expose the hypocrisy of William Loughton Smith, a staunch supporter of the Washington administration, in criticizing the same antics that had aided his own election.

Continuing Electoral Competition

Although the House upheld the election, Francis Preston's electoral struggles were far from over. In early 1795, just weeks before the next election, Alexander Smyth circulated a series of inflammatory letters attacking Preston's politics and character.[95] Smyth highlighted Preston's disproportionate wealth, stating that "republicans will agree that the property of a representative ought not to be equal to the property of *one hundred* of his constituents, taken on an average."[96] He also attacked the local consolidation of power in the Preston family and even criticized the late William Preston's conduct before the Revolutionary War.[97] But Smyth's democratic impulses went only so far. He lambasted how the federal soldiers in Montgomery County were permitted to vote in the 1793 election, writing: "I fear that the soldiery of the western army, composed of the most worthless and least informed of our citizens, 'swept to the war the lumber of the land,' may not possess all the good sense and virtue you pretend to expect."[98]

In his pamphlet, Smyth probably deployed what he thought were the most effective attacks against Preston. Interestingly, his discussion of the 1793 election focused on the fact that the soldiers had been able to vote. He did not mention the melee that had arisen in Montgomery County and that had consumed much of Preston's attention in the following year. While readers should be hesitant to draw too much from this silence, it adds credence to the idea that voter intimidation, and even violence, were commonplace in eighteenth-century elections. Smyth probably would have placed more of his attention on the 1793 scuffles if he thought the affair would resonate with voters.

Although Preston ultimately won reelection against Trigg, their bitter rivalry continued unabated.[99] Animosity peaked when Smyth allegedly wrote a pamphlet attacking John Preston. The latter became so infuriated that he "threatened to horse whip [Smyth] for it which would have been immediately executed had we not been in the Lobby of the House of Delegates which I did not wish to disturb."[100] Instead, the two men arranged a duel. John Preston recounted: "My friends W^m^ Lewis of Augusta, & his Col Trigg took the pistols, (of which he had choice,...) they were charge cock'd & put into our hands & we ordered to face & fire."[101] Neither man's shot touched the other, and they agreed that their honor had been vindicated. John Preston later wrote, "I hear no more of fighting since the safest mode of warfare is the press."[102]

As the 1797 congressional election approached, Francis Preston once again organized his regional supporters. "I have determined to leave this before Congress rises," he stated to his brother John, "that I may be at home against the Election for I hear Col Trigg opposes me again, if so I know my presence will be necessary, indeed I do not know whether it will be sufficient, as I expect he will be industrious and perhaps under handed to take my friends by surprize."[103] Preston wrote that he would campaign beforehand at court days in Montgomery and Wythe counties, though he had not decided which courthouse he would attend on poll day.[104]

Predictably, the election campaign ignited a new round of attacks on Preston's character. Smyth accused him of political cronyism during a recent appointment for justice of the peace in Wythe County. Preston expressed little concern: "I think [Smyth's pamphlet] will not have Effect if we are to Judge from his last attempt and particularly as I am told he has brought our fathers reputation in question, this will lend to irritate his old friends and finally be an injury to his reputation."[105] Nonetheless, Preston responded with his own circular letter:

> I have not a doubt but the circulation of Smyth's pamphlet is intended as much to influence the election as a defence of his character; for I have always entertained the idea, that the gratification of his malice is a primary consideration with him, even at the expence of his reputation; and his withholding the publication until just before the election is satisfactory proof of it.[106]

Preston bemoaned "the torrent of slander that has been poured forth at every election by base and unprincipled men" but expressed faith in the "good

sense of the people" to look beyond these slanders.[107] "I know [the people] will despise this base attempt to influence their judgments," he wrote, "as much as they did the degrading insinuation in a former letter, that *riches* had more weight at an election than information."[108]

In spite of his outward optimism, Preston privately worried about losing, and he particularly feared the stigma of rejection. He confided to his brother John:

> I hope we shall be able to muster strong enough to defeat him once more, I am however only anxious because there has been such a Contest between us & therefore would feel mortified at being refused, although I know it would be singularily to my pecuniary advantage, but of these things I need not speak to you, for you have been long enough in the habit of Contested Elections to have experienced all the feelings attendant on such a situation.[109]

Writing again to John the day after the election, Preston's mood was somber: "I am satisfied almost I must loose the Election." He reported that in Greenbrier County he held "but a Majority of 98, this I am sure will not do & I am preparing my mind to meet the mortification & believe it will not set as severe as is expected."[110] Indeed, Abram Trigg finally had defeated Preston.[111]

Conclusion

In Francis Preston's congressional district, the similarity of the candidates' views on national affairs offered little chance for policy-oriented campaigning. Voters may have been skeptical of Preston in March of 1793, but his subsequent voting record in Congress was hardly objectionable. And when Abram Trigg finally unseated Preston in 1797, Richard Beeman reports, he pursued "the same policies as his predecessor."[112] Indeed, any candidate running as a pro-administration Federalist would have stood no chance to win in an area where a majority of representatives to the constitutional ratification convention voted against ratification.

The absence of genuine policy differences, however, hardly deprived federal elections in western Virginia of significant drama, including duels, brawls, and legal challenges. Instead of generating spirited, issue-oriented debates, the first decade of federal elections in western Virginia exhibited many of the pitfalls that Patrick Henry had predicted during ratification. Large congressional districts, especially in the sparsely-populated western counties,

made polling agents critical to electoral success. A significant component of Francis Preston's organizational efforts was recruiting these agents from among his friends, family, and politically connected acquaintances. And by all accounts, these agents took drastic steps to ensure that voters cast their votes for the right candidate. William Preston's election-day antics on behalf of his brother and Alexander Smyth's literature campaign exemplify two of the roles that agents played in eighteenth-century elections.

The experience of Montgomery County during the first decade of federal elections also demonstrates the extent to which polling agents could become embroiled in electoral squabbles far beyond the day of the election. In the absence of genuine policy differences to distinguish the candidates, federal campaigns often became deeply personal, defined by individual and familial rivalries as well as the candidates' fears of rejection. Alexander Smyth's political diatribes against Francis Preston were principally attacks on his wealth and family history. John Preston defended his family's honor by challenging Smyth to a duel. Candidates sometimes expended far more effort attacking their opponent's agents rather than the opponent himself. For instance, Preston waged a significant campaign against one of Trigg's agents, Joseph Cloyd, who was trying to become the attorney for Montgomery County. Trigg's supporters made similar efforts against William Preston.

Perhaps what is most remarkable about the role of polling agents in the first federal elections, however, is that their co-opting and intimidating of voters had minimal negative repercussions for their respective candidates. Preston's disputed election in 1793 came before Congress only because it involved an outpost of federal soldiers. And Congress ultimately upheld his victory, in part because the raucous events of March 18 typified southern elections. If voters had opposed efforts to intimidate and co-opt their votes, the tradition of violence and revelry on polling days probably would have died out once candidates realized that engaging in such tactics would have limited their chances for serving more than one term in office. But in Montgomery County, where the record is remarkably well-preserved, there is no indication that Trigg benefited in later elections from William Preston's actions in 1793. Rather, voters expected and tacitly accepted the raucous nature of eighteenth-century elections.

Appendix A
1789 Montgomery County Congressional Poll List

The following poll list for the 1789 congressional election in Montgomery County appears in Book B of Montgomery County Deeds and Wills, page 139. Original spellings, which are often erroneous, are preserved. The list has been reordered alphabetically. Alternative spellings from the tax records appear in parentheses. Other alternative spellings appear in brackets.

Asterisks indicate individuals for whom no tax record was found.[113]

Votes from February 2, 1789:

Andrew Moore Voters

Daniel Colins*
Duncan Gullion (Gullian)
James McGavock
Francis Preston*[114]
Thomas Copenefer (Copenheefer)
Henry Helvie (Helvey)
John McNilt*
John Preston

George Hancock Voters

George Adams
Thomas Alfred (Alford)
Chales (Charles) Baker
William Bartlet (Berlet)
Andrew Brown
Robert Buckhanan
William Calfee Jr. (Calfey)
George Carter
Stophel Catring (Stophell Kettering)
Ruebin Cooley*
John Craig
James Crockett
Richard Christial (Crystal)
Michel Cutney* [Courtney; Cotney]
Robert Davies (Davis)
George Davis Sr.
Joseph Davison (Davidson)
John Draper Jr.
Joseph Eaton
John Ewing
Joseph Fannen* [Fanning; Fannon]
John Adams
Philip Arambester (Armbrister)
Daniel Bangrer*
William Brabston
John Brown
William Calfee (Calfey)
James Campbell
Robert Carter*
Thadeus (Thaddeas) Cooley
Robert Cowden
Andrew Crocket (Crockett)
Joseph Crocket (Crockett)
William Christal (Crystal)
James Davies
George Davis Jr.
John Davis*
Francis Day
Charles Dyer (Dier)
George Ewing Jr.
Samuel Ewing
William Findley

James Foster*
John Gibbs (Gibb)
Abram Godavin*
John Grills
Henry Grubb
Adam Hance
Lissey Heldrith*
Henry Honacre
Joseph Honacre (Honaker)
John Honey (Hunny)
John Hust
George Keigley (Kegley)
Peter Kinder
Michail [Lee?]*
James Loader* [Soader?]
John Mairs (Mears)
John Masner (Masoner)
James McDonald
Robert Miller
James Montgomery
John Montgomery
William Morgan
Roger Oats
William Phips (Phipps)
Meredy (Meriday) Rains
Joseph Ramsey
Michael Robnett (Robinett)
Julious Rutherford (Retherford)
William Rutherford Jr. (Retherford)
John T. Sayers
Burkheart Seaple* [Sipple]
Isack Simpson*
John Sowder*
Jessee (Jesse) Stephens
Charles Symmerman (Simmerman)
Samuel Thompson
Daniel Trigg
George Wampler (Wampbler)
John Whitsel (Whitsell)
Thomas Foster
Michael Gibbs (Gibb)
Robert Graham
Stofel Gru*
James Hacheson (Hutcheson)
William Harrold*
John Henley
Henry Honacre*
George Honch (Houck)
Daniel Howe
John Ingles
John Kur (Kerr) [Carr]
William King
Mathew (Matthew) Lindsey
Robert Major (Majors)
Joseph Mairs (Mears)
George May (Moy)
Adam Miller*
Henry Mitchel (Mitchell)
James Montgomery Jr.
Joseph Montgomery*
Gideon Moss
James Patrick
Peter Pinkley*
William Rains
Robert Read
Abselom Reatherford
William Rutherford (Retherford)
Stephen Sanders
Robert Sayers
Randolph Sergate
David Slone (Sloane) [Stone?]
Andrew Steel
Stofel Strugher*
Stophel Symmermon (Simmerman)
Abram Trigg
Michael Walters
John Wampler (Wampbler)
Boston Wygal (Wigal)

Votes from February 3, 1789:

Andrew Moore Voters

Peter Bishop
(Breckenridge)
William Foster
John Goff
William Long
James Newel (Newell)
Robert Steel
(Simmerman)
William Ward
Robert Brackenridge
Philip Fry (Phry)
Samuel Ingram
James Murphy
David Sayers
Earheart Symermon

George Hancock Voters

Cornelious (Cornelius) Brown
Joseph Cloyd
James Finley
Joseph Kent
Adam Seik (Seek) [Sick; Six]
Bird Smith
John Winter
Charles Carter
George Draper
John Hutzil (Hustsell) [Hutsel]
John King
Henry Patton
James Smith

Totals

Hancock: 133 votes **Moore: 21 votes**

Endnotes

1. Francis Preston, son of William and Susanna (Smith) Preston, was born August 2, 1765, in Botetourt County, Va. He attended the College of William and Mary and practiced law in Montgomery County. John Frederick Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield in Virginia* (Louisville: Filson Club, 1982), 52-55.
2. Abram Trigg, son of William and Mary Trigg, was born about 1750. He was a lawyer, clerk of the court, and justice of the peace, in Montgomery County. Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, vol. 1 (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1980), 274-76. See also David Maldwyn Ellis, "Abram Trigg, Congressman" (Master's thesis, Virginia Tech 1971).
3. Abram Trigg, "To the Honorable the Speaker and the other Members of the House of Representatives of the United States," [copy], Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Ky.
4. M. St. Claire Clarke and David A. Hall, *Cases of Contested Elections in Congress from the Year 1789 to 1834* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 79.

5. An early dictionary recorded the following: "*Viva voce.* Lat.—'By the living voice.'—By oral testimony as opposed to written evidence. Electors are said to vote *viva voce* when they *call out* the names of their candidates, instead of *silently* depositing them on a ticket in the ballot-box." David Evans MacDonnel, *A Dictionary of Select and Popular Quotations, Which are in Daily Use* (Philadelphia: A. Finley, 1818), 318.
6. Kanawha County was adjacent to Montgomery County until the latter split in 1806 to form Giles County.
7. George W. Atkinson, *History of Kanawha County, from its Organization in 1789 until the Present Time* (Charleston, W.Va.: West Virginia Journal, 1876), 172.
8. Atkinson, *History of Kanawha County.*
9. The Virginia law of 1788 stated: "Any Sheriff or Deputy-sheriff...making any erasure or alteration in the poll-books or refusing to suffer any Candidate or Elector at his own expense to take a Copy of the Poll-books shall forfeit and pay two hundred pounds." Gordon DenBoer et al., eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788-1790*, 4 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976-1989), 2:295.
10. Robert J. Dinkin, *Voting in Revolutionary America: A Study of Elections in the Original Thirteen States, 1776-1789* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 101.
11. Richard R. Beeman, *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 165.
12. Robert E. Brown and B. Katherine Brown, *Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1964), 153-54; Albert H. Tillson Jr., *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740-1789* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 39-40.
13. Beeman, *The Varieties of Political Experience*, 165.
14. Jack N. Rakove, *James Madison and the Creation of the American Republic* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 15.
15. James Madison, essay 46, Jacob E. Cooke, ed., *The Federalist* (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 318.
16. James Madison, "Vices of the Political System of the United States," in Robert A. Rutland et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 9:357.
17. As Jack Rakove has noted, Madison wanted "to find ways to dissipate the populist pressures of the people and improve the quality of lawmaking by reforming the character of the lawmakers." Jack Rakove, *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1996), 218.
18. Virginia Ratification Debates, June 12, 1788, in John P. Kaminski et al., eds., *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, 23 vols. to date (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 1976-2009), 10:1217.
19. Virginia, South Carolina, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and New York used districts to elect representatives. Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware, and New Jersey had state-wide (or "at large") elections for their representatives, as did the two states which had only one representative (Delaware and Rhode Island). Maryland and Georgia adopted hybrid systems, with district-level nominations but state-wide voting. R. B. Bernstein, "A New Matrix for National Politics: The First Federal Elections, 1788-1790," in Kenneth R. Bowling and Donald R. Kennon, eds., *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999), 123-24.
20. DenBoer et al., eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections*, 2:293.
21. DenBoer et al, eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections*, 2:284. In a draft petition to the Virginia legislature on behalf of the citizens of newly-created Wythe County, Arthur Campbell reported: "It has been the usage in the County of Montgomery of which until lately we formed a principal part, to admit all those that bore arms in the defence of the State, to

the right of suffrage; with this expectation a large number of freemen attended the late election of Delegates for this County; but on application was refused our votes, by telling us it was law, that only freeholders could vote, although we have reason to believe it was only to answer the purpose of one of the Candidates." Petition of a Number of the Inhabitants of Wythe County, [undated; perhaps circa 1793], Arthur Campbell Papers, FHS.

22. There were not any returns for Rockingham and the District of Kentucky, which were included in the Electoral College district but not the congressional district. DenBoer et al., eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections*, 2:307.
23. Richard E. Labunski, *James Madison and the Struggle for the Bill of Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 173.
24. Montgomery County Deeds & Wills, Book B, p. 142, Montgomery County Circuit Court, Christiansburg, Va.
25. Labunski, *James Madison and the Struggle for the Bill of Rights*, 173.
26. Labunski, *James Madison and the Struggle for the Bill of Rights*, 158-65.
27. Based on his search of county records, Risjord states (incorrectly) that a poll list from a state-level election in Botetourt County was "the only poll list found for a county west of the Blue Ridge." Norman K. Risjord, "How the 'Common Man' Voted in Jefferson's Virginia," in John B. Boles, ed., *America: The Middle Period; Essays in Honor of Bernard Mayo* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1973), 52.
28. Out of 154 voters listed on the poll list, 127 corresponding names can be identified on the 1789 tax list for Montgomery County. See Appendix A. The tax list transcript appears in Netti Schreiner-Yantis, *Montgomery County, Virginia—Circa 1790: A comprehensive study, including the 1789 tax lists abstracts of over 800 land surveys & data concerning migration* (Springfield, Va.: 1972).
29. These calculations are based on comparison of the poll list (Appendix A) to the tax records cited in the previous note.
30. The tax list included three districts, and although voters in District B were more likely to vote, they did not show any greater attachment to either candidate.
31. Constitution of the United States of America, Article I, Section 2, Clause 3.
32. In 1791, the first census was complete, but Congress still had not passed an act establishing how many representatives would be allotted to each state. When Congress finally passed an act in March 1792, the President vetoed it, in part because the ratio of representatives to constituents was too high in some districts. See Harold C. Syrett et al., eds., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 27 vols. (New York, 1961-1987), 11:227-28.
33. William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 18 vols. (Philadelphia: William Brown, 1823), 13:251.
34. Arthur Campbell, a long-time civic leader in Washington County, seems to have offered himself as a candidate. A couple months before the interim election, Campbell wrote: "Mr. F[rancis] Preston and myself have declared ourselves in the Western Counties, and we are told Mr. [Zachariah] Johns[t]on will offer also. If he does not my election will be sure; otherwis[e] I am not so certain." Arthur Campbell to John Steele, January 13, [1792], Arthur Campbell Papers, FHS. For more information on Campbell, see Peter J. Kastor, "'Equitable Right and Privileges': The Divided Loyalties in Washington County, Virginia, during the Franklin Separatist Crisis," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 105:2 (Spring 1997): 193-226; James William Hagy, "Arthur Campbell and the West, 1743-1811," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 90:4 (Oct. 1982): 456-71.
35. Quoted in Lowell H. Harrison, "A Virginian Moves to Kentucky, 1793," *William and Mary Quarterly* 15:2 (April 1958): 209.

36. William P. Palmer and Sherwin McRae, eds., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts*, 11 vols. (Richmond: R.F. Walker, 1875-1893), 5:450.
37. John Preston to James Smith, February 11, 1792, [typed copy of privately owned letter], Davie Collection, Preston Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va. [Hereinafter VHS].
38. Risjord states that Daniel Trigg was a nephew of Abram Trigg. Risjord, "How the 'Common Man' Voted in Jefferson's Virginia," 54. Abram Trigg, however, also had a brother named Daniel, and this author has not attempted to verify which Daniel was running for state senate against John Preston. Before the election, there was still confusion about who was running. One of Preston's friends wrote: "I expect that you will have a very great Majority of the Votes In Botetourt for the Senate. Hancock I expect will be against you & perhaps Lockhart, the Latter is by no means formadable." John Smith to John Preston, March 3, 1792, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS. George Hancock, however, ran for a seat in the House of Delegates.
39. Jamy was the nickname of James Preston, the younger brother of Francis, John, and William Preston.
40. John Preston to Francis Preston, May 5, 1792, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
41. Francis Preston to John Preston, September 9, 1792, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS. The bracketed words have been added for clarity.
42. The term "next friend" was used in Abram Trigg's petition to Congress. Abram Trigg, "To the Honorable the Speaker and the other Members of the House of Representatives of the United States," [copy], Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
43. James Madison to James Madison Sr., August 14, 1790, in Rutland et al., eds., *Papers of James Madison*, 13:292.
44. For information about the importance of newspapers in other locations, see Andrew W. Robertson, "Voting Rights and Voting Acts: Electioneering Ritual, 1790-1820," in Jeffrey L. Pasley, Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds., *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 67.
45. Arthur Campbell to John Steele, January 13, [1792], Arthur Campbell Papers, FHS.
46. Ferdinand-Marie Bayard, *Voyage dans l'intérieur des États-Unis, a Bath, Winchester, dans la vallée de Shenandoah, pendant l'Été de 1791* (Paris: Chez Cocheris, 1797), 134. The passage above is a translation from the original French.
47. Gail S. Terry, "An Old Family Confronts the New Politics: The Preston-Trigg Congressional Contests of the 1790s," in Michael J. Puglisi, ed., *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 228.
48. Daniel P. Jordan, *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 99.
49. Alexander Smyth later stated: "After the election, Col. Trigg applied to me concerning an interference therein by a company of soldiers commanded by your brother, Capt. William Preston, and rendezvoused at Montgomery courthouse. He urged that all the Lawyers at the bar, myself excepted, were connected to you, that he considered his rights and those of the people injured, and that it was my duty to give him counsel and assistance." Alexander Smyth to Francis Preston, March 10, 1795, [published pamphlet], Campbell-Preston-Floyd Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter referred to as LOC), 10.
50. For example, see Andrew Moore to Arthur Campbell, March 12, 1790, Arthur Campbell Papers, FHS.
51. Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers in the Town of Evansham*, vol. 4 (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 1998), 29.
52. Alexander Smyth to Francis Preston, March 10, 1795, [published pamphlet], Campbell-Preston-Floyd Papers, LOC, 10.

53. Jordan, *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia*, 104.
54. Jordan, *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia*, 95.
55. Francis Preston to John Preston, October 24, 1792, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
56. Alexander Smyth to Francis Preston, March 10, 1795, [published pamphlet], Campbell-Preston-Floyd Papers, LOC, 9.
57. Francis Preston to John Preston, October 24, 1792, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
58. "An act for arranging the counties of this Commonwealth into districts to choose Representatives to Congress," December 26, 1792, in Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 13:331.
59. Both candidates were natives of Montgomery County, though Preston had since moved to Abingdon. See notes 2 and 3.
60. Trigg's petition to Congress identified William as Francis's agent, or "next friend." Abram Trigg, "To the Honorable the Speaker and the other Members of the House of Representatives of the United States," [copy], Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
61. The same language as appeared in Trigg's petition was repeated in a letter from James McCorkle, Daniel Howe, and James Craig to George Washington, April 29, 1794, [copy], Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
62. Interestingly, Trigg also alleged malfeasance related to the vote count in Washington County: "That in the said County of Washington thirty two voters were added to the poll of the said Francis Preston, on Friday the 19th day of March, without any legally existing cause for a continuation." Later, however, Preston stated that "As to the charges [in Russell and Washington Counties]...I believe [Trigg] has entirely abandoned them.... At Washington...a violent rain Commenced at 12 OClock & continued pretty late in the Evening that the polls were contd by Consent [&] proclamation was made at the adjournment and also in the morning again, not a man proved to have voted from the Territory." Francis Preston to John Preston, April 6, 1794, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
63. A fragmentary document, written in Francis Preston's handwriting, gives a partial list of the involved parties: "[B]efore two Justice of the peace of Montgomery County the Depositions of Sundry Persons inhabitants of the said County and particularly of William Godby, Jeremiah Patrick Senr, James Smyth, Gordan Cloyd, Benjamin S. Cecil, Samuel Mitchell, John Ingles, Bird Smith, Joshua Saffle, William Lewis, Samuel Pepper, James Pepper, Samuel Cecil, William Day, John Stobaugh, Andrew Stobaugh, Jacob Wysor and Samuel Caddall, for ascertaining the circumstances attending the Conduct of Capt William Preston and the Company of Federal Troops in the Election." "Fragmentary Letter to John Preston and Fragmentary Notice of Depositions," Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS. This list is repeated in a letter from Joseph Cloyd, James McCorkle, Daniel Howe, and James Craig to William Preston, June 6, 1793, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
64. Deposition of James Charlton, June 26, 1793, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
65. Deposition of James Charlton, June 26, 1793, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
66. Deposition of James Charlton, June 26, 1793, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
67. Deposition of Sergeant Chambers, February 24, 1794, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
68. The Montgomery County court minutes for January 1, 1793, state: "Ordered that Capt. William Preston have leave to make use of the courthouse & jail for the use of United States troops." Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, vol. 1 (Abingdon, Va.: L.P. Summers, 1929), 836.
69. Clarke and Hall, *Cases of Contested Elections in Congress*, 79.
70. *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States, Third Congress* (Washingon: Gales and Seaton, 1849), 609.
71. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 612.
72. James Robertson to John Preston, April 4, 1793, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.

73. Richard R. Beeman, *The Old Dominion and the New Nation, 1788-1801* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 34-35.
74. Francis Preston to William Preston, April 11, 1793, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
75. Henry Lee to William Preston, May 14, 1793, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
76. Francis Preston to William Preston, June 22, 1793, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
77. Francis Preston to William Preston, June 22, 1793, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
78. For example, Francis wrote out a list of questions John should ask the federal troops at their depositions. See Francis Preston to John Preston, June 22, 1793, oversize box 13, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
79. Francis Preston to John Preston, December 1793, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
80. Francis Preston to William Preston, January 1, 1794, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
81. Francis Preston to John Preston, December 1793, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS. Abram Trigg's primary agents in the effort against Francis and William Preston were Montgomery County locals Joseph Cloyd, James McCorkle, Daniel Howe, and James Craig. These agents helped conduct depositions on Trigg's behalf. Francis Preston to Joseph Cloyd, James McCorkle, Daniel Howe, and James Craig, June 8, 1793, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
82. For more information on Francis Preston's first term in Congress, see his circular letter of March 24, 1794, in Noble E. Cunningham Jr., ed., *Circular Letters of Congressmen to Their Constituents, 1789-1829*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 1:22. Around the same time, Preston privately expressed trepidation about the course of the French Revolution: "I fear much the enthusiasm of the French for Liberty will mislead them & leave them possessed of licentiousness & Anarchy." Francis Preston to John Preston, January 13, 1794, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
83. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 149.
84. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 599.
85. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 599.
86. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 599.
87. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 612.
88. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 612.
89. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 613.
90. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 613.
91. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 613.
92. Many scholars have commented on early party formation. See, for example, James Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).
93. Edmund S. Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York: Norton, 1988), 189.
94. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 612.
95. An earlier letter by Smyth has not been found. A month before Smyth's letter of March 10, Preston wrote: "I wrote to you by the post yesterday and informed you I intend to send out my answer to Smyths letter by a private opportunity in a few Days." Francis Preston to John Preston, February 10, 1795, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
96. Alexander Smyth to Francis Preston, March 10, 1795, [published pamphlet], Campbell-Preston-Floyd Papers, LOC, 2.
97. Alexander Smyth to Francis Preston, March 10, 1795, [published pamphlet], Campbell-Preston-Floyd Papers, LOC, 6. Smyth's criticisms primarily were directed at William Preston's land deals in Kentucky. See Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk*, 84-85.
98. Alexander Smyth to Francis Preston, March 10, 1795, [published pamphlet], Campbell-Preston-Floyd Papers, LOC, 8.

99. The precise results of the election are unknown. After the election, Preston reported that Trigg had a majority of 28 votes in Russell County and 64 votes in Wythe County. In Washington County, he reportedly had a majority of 393—a colossal margin by contemporary standards. Preston, however, worried about winning Montgomery County, stating that "if Greenbriar does not nearly equal Montgomery [Trigg] will be elected." Francis Preston to John Preston, March 18, 1795, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS. Preston's margin of victory in Washington County was probably due to the fact that he had recently moved there and that he had married a relative of Arthur Campbell, a respected leader and someone with whom he had recently reconciled a longstanding dispute. Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 52-53.
100. John Preston to William Preston, May 23, 1795, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
101. John Preston to William Preston, May 23, 1795, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
102. John Preston to William Preston, May 23, 1795, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
103. Francis Preston to John Preston, February 1, 1797, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
104. Francis Preston to John Preston, February 1, 1797, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
105. Francis Preston to John Preston, February 12, 1797, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
106. Francis Preston, February 13, 1797, "To the People of the Congressional District composed of the Counties of Whythe, Washington, Montgomery, Greenbrier, Kanhawa, Grayson, Russell, and Lee," [printed pamphlet], Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
107. Francis Preston, February 13, 1797, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
108. Francis Preston, February 13, 1797, Joyes Collection, Preston Papers, FHS.
109. Francis Preston to John Preston, February 1, 1797, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
110. Francis Preston to John Preston, March 21, 1797, Davie Collection, Preston Papers, VHS.
111. For information about Trigg's tenure in Congress, see Ellis, "Abram Trigg, Congressman," 36.
112. Beeman, *The Old Dominion and the New Nation*, 112.
113. This includes individuals with names that appeared at least twice in the tax records, thus preventing identification.
114. Rather than containing a separate listing for Francis Preston, the tax records list "William Preston's heirs."

Brief Note

A Letter to the Editor of *The Smithfield Review* Concerning William Preston and Greenfield

January 13, 2011

Sir:

More than a decade before Colonel William Preston built Smithfield, he built a home called Greenfield in nearby Botetourt County, Virginia. The main house at Greenfield was lost to fire in 1959, but its outbuildings (kitchen and slave quarters) remain in good condition. They are located within a county industrial park, the Botetourt Center at Greenfield, off busy U.S. 220 near I-81 between Daleville and Fincastle.

In recognition of William Preston's important historic roles as a leading figure in early Botetourt County government, as a key player in relations with Indian tribes on the frontier, and in the Revolutionary War, and in response to a request from the Fincastle Resolutions Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Botetourt County Board of Supervisors has agreed to build an impressive stone monument to honor Col. Preston and his descendants near the site of his Greenfield home as part of an envisioned visitor center complex there. County action on the project will begin when the Roanoke-based SAR chapter contributes to the county the $40,000 it has offered to raise toward construction of the quarter-million-dollar project.

The local SAR chapter's own members have responded generously by donating and pledging about three quarters of the needed amount as of January 2011. They would appreciate help, however, and invite others to join them as they strive to reach their fundraising goal this year.

Among those in strong support of the Preston Memorial Project are Botetourt County Administrator Gerald A. Burgess, Botetourt County Supervisor Terry L. Austin, Virginia Department of Historic Resources Architectural Historian Michael J. Pulice, and the team at Hill Studio in Roanoke that created the handsome "Colonel William Preston Memorial" design of a concrete and stone compass rose surrounded by boulders from the site with bronze plaques. The names of major donors to the project will be engraved on the plaques.

If readers of the Smithfield Review would like to make a contribution to this important Preston memorial initiative, please send a check payable to Fincastle Resolutions Chapter SAR, memo Preston Memorial Fund, to F. Fulton Galer, SAR Chapter Treasurer, P.O. Box 8996, Roanoke, VA 24014. The name of any individual donor contributing at least $3,000 will be inscribed on the monument plaque. If Preston family members'contributions as a group total $3,000 or more, the name "Members of the Preston Family" will be engraved on the monument plaque. Your readers' consideration is appreciated.

Rupert Cutler
Roanoke, VA

Brief Note

The Siting of Smithfield in Relation to the Fincastle/Botetourt County Line

Jim Glanville

The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of rapid political development in western Virginia. Between 1745 and 1800 no fewer than 20 counties were established west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. One of the biggest steps in this process of county formation came in 1772 with the division of the then extremely large Botetourt County into a newly created Fincastle County and a much smaller, residual Botetourt County.

The counties of western Virginia as they existed immediately after the Botetourt-Fincastle division made on 1 December 1772 are shown in Figure

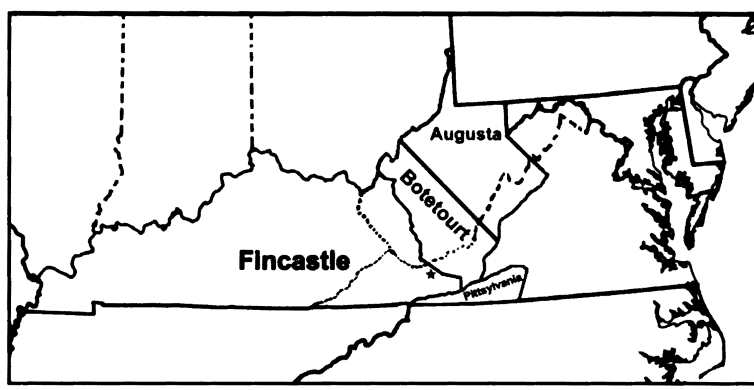


Figure 1.[1] The boundaries of the four principal counties of western Virginia as they were drawn on 1 December 1772, immediately after Fincastle County had been carved from Botetourt County, leaving behind a much smaller Botetourt. Some present-day state boundaries are shown dotted for reference. Fincastle County is shaded gray. The star near the eastern end of Fincastle County shows the approximate location of the Smithfield Plantation.

1. The region around the Smithfield Plantation (marked by the star) in the present-day town of Blacksburg is shown enlarged in Figures 2 and 3.

William Waller Hening's *Statutes at Large* records the language of the act dividing Botetourt County as authorized by the Virginia Assembly. The act describes the route of a line from the Ohio River in the north to the

crest of the Blue Ridge in the south. The description of the line, with some annotations added by me in brackets, reads:

> [The numbered locations are shown in Figure 3] ... That from and after the first day of December next [1772], the said counties [Botetourt and Fincastle], that is to say, all that part of the said county, within a line, to run up [meaning upstream and hence southward] the east side of New River to the mouth of Culbertson's creek [location 1], thence a direct line to the Catawba road, where it crosses the dividing ridge, between the north fork of Roanoke and the waters of New River [location 2], thence with the top of the ridge to the bent [meaning present Bent Mountain, location 3] where it turns eastwardly, thence a south course, crossing Little River, to the top of the Blue Ridge of mountains [location 4], shall be established as one distinct county, and called and known by the name of Fincastle; and all that other part thereof, which lies to the east and north east of the said line, shall be one other distinct county, and retain the name of Botetourt.[2]

Because of my earlier study of the Fincastle Resolutions[3] I was interested in the general county boundaries in western Virginia circa 1774, although I did not concern myself with the precise location of the 1772 dividing line between Botetourt and Fincastle. However, in July 2010 there came an announcement that the Newberry Library in Chicago had published an online atlas of historical county boundaries:[4] "The Newberry Library is pleased to announce the completion and release of its *Digital Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, a dataset that covers every day-to-day change in the size, shape, location, name, organization, and attachment of each U.S. county and state from the creation of the first county in 1634 through 2000." The *Atlas* was 30 years in the making, with the Newberry Library clearly having devoted many resources and much energy to its production. Reuse by others of the county maps is authorized under a Creative Commons license.

Once I learned about the atlas I promptly downloaded and studied the pdf file of Virginia county boundaries and particularly the maps of Fincastle and Botetourt. The key map relevant to the siting of the Smithfield Plantation is version 2 of Botetourt County, which is presented on page 91 of Newberry's downloadable file. It shows the outline of Botetourt County after its loss of Fincastle County in 1772, and hence the dividing line. A small section from that map centered on Smithfield is shown in Figure 2 (and as-revised by me in Figure 3).

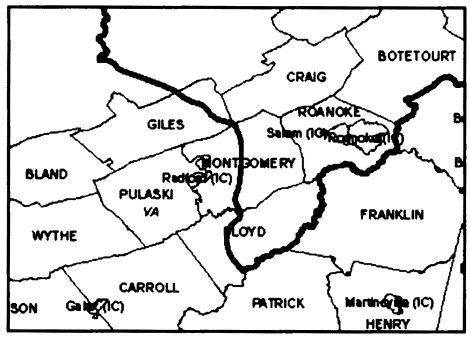


Figure 2. A portion of the version 2 map of Botetourt County as published on page 91 of the Atlas of Historical County Boundaries, Virginia Historical Counties. Used here under a Creative Commons license. The scale of both maps is approximately 70 miles east to west and 50 miles north to south.

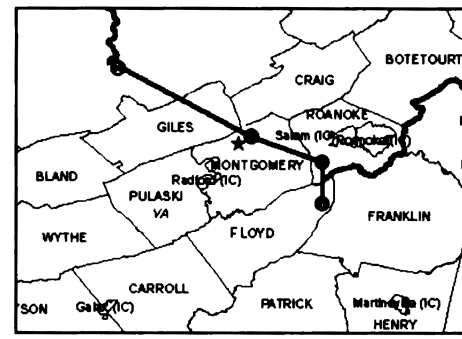


Figure 3. The map from Figure 2 revised and redrawn by the author from Crumps Bottom (location 1) to the watershed crossing (location 2) to Bent Mountain (location 3) to the top of the Blue Ridge (location 4). The star shows the approximate location of the Smithfield Plantation. Used here under a Creative Commons license.

When I examined the mapped route of the dividing line in present-day Montgomery County, it did not seem to me to be correct. Consequently, I reviewed the language of the act in Hening's *Statutes* (as quoted above) and sought the opinions of others. The main question that arose was "Where is Culbertson's Creek?" This is a tricky question because the present-day Culbertson's Creek in Summers County, West Virginia, is not the creek referred to in the act.

A private communication to well-known western Virginia historian Mary Kegley quickly produced the information that David Johnston's *Middle New River Settlements*[5] speaks of "... Culbertson's-Crump's Bottom now in Summers County, WVa. ... ." Additionally, a request for help posted to the Library of Virginia history list server produced a suggestion from Karen Stuart to search the US Geological Survey's Geographic Names Information System database.[6] That database immediately yielded Crumps Bottom and the further information that the Bottom is described in Wikipedia. Wikipedia explained that Andrew Culbertson was the first English settler in the present Summers County in 1753 and that he eventually built there a lavish plantation home. The answer to the question above is that what in 1772 was called Culbertson's Creek is today known as Crumps Bottom and is located on what is now called Indian Creek.

In Figure 3 Crumps Bottom is at location 1. From there, the dividing line runs to location 2, which is on the north side of Blacksburg (Figures 4 and 5), where the "Catawba Road" (today's Harding Avenue) crossed the ridge dividing the Roanoke and New River watersheds.[7] From location 2 the county line ran to "the bent" at location 3, which is identified as Bent Mountain by Miller.[8] Location 4 is where the south-running line reached the top of the Blue Ridge after crossing the Little River in present-day Floyd County. As can be seen, the county outline of the Newberry map does not link up at location 4; if the interpretation given here is correct, the Newberry map will require slight additional revision.

The suggestion has been respectfully submitted to the Newberry Library that they reconsider the location of the boundary line on version 2 of their Botetourt County historical county boundaries map.

Commentary

The creation of the new Fincastle County in 1772 clearly much benefited William Preston, who took up many of the newly-instituted county offices such as sheriff, surveyor, and lieutenant.[9]

After the new Fincastle County was created, Preston quickly purchased several lots of land to assemble the Smithfield plantation property. He may have lived there at times during 1772 and 1773—when the Smithfield house was being built.[10] His wife Susanna and the children moved to Smithfield in the spring of 1774. Their relocation was just 35 miles southwest from Preston's former home at Greenfield in Botetourt County, to their new home only 2¼ miles beyond the new county line on a tract of cleared land called Draper's Meadows. Preston knew these meadows well. He had surveyed the land and laid off the subdivisions there almost twenty years earlier in 1754, the year before his uncle James Patton was killed by Indians on the meadows.[11]

It is obvious that William Preston's political influence in Williamsburg immediately prior to 1772 was quite sufficient to make as convenient as possible his move from Greenfield to Smithfield. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the drawing of the dividing line was engineered by Preston for his own private advantage.

Figure 4. A photograph taken at location 2. This is on the north side of the Town of Blacksburg looking north up Harding Avenue (the former Catawba Road). The car is just crossing the dividing ridge that separates the Roanoke River watershed from the New River watershed. The map coordinates of this location are 37.24052° N of the equator and 80.400284° W of Greenwich.

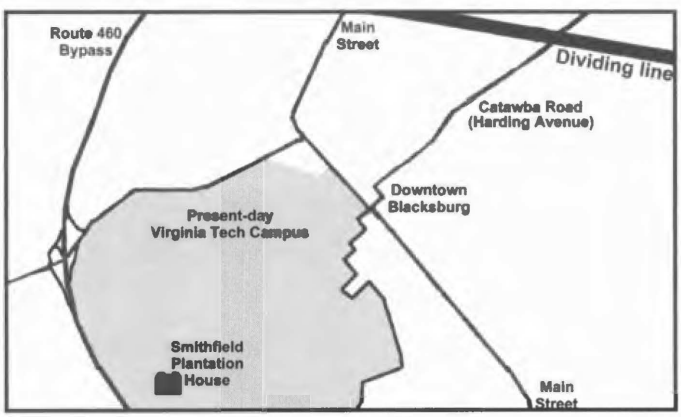


Figure 5. Schematic map showing the relation of the Smithfield Plantation house to the 1772 boundary line that divided Fincastle County from Botetourt County. The boundary is the thick line in the upper right. The plantation house is located on the present-day Virginia Tech campus. The measured distance from where the Catawba Road crosses the ridge to the plantation house is 2.3 miles.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Mary Kegley and Ryan Mays for corrections and helpful suggestions on several drafts of this article. Thanks to Hugh Campbell for helpful discussions. Appreciation is expressed to the Newberry Library for producing this valuable and remarkably comprehensive atlas and making its reproduction possible under a Creative Commons license. This note is intended as a supplement to, not a criticism of, the work of the Newberry Library.

Endnotes

1. This map here in figure 1 is revised and improved from the one I drew last year (see reference in Endnote 3) using newly available information from the Newberry Atlas (see reference in Endnote 4).
2. William Waller Hening, "An act for dividing the county of Botetourt into two distinct counties," in *The Statutes at Large: being a collection of all the laws of Virginia*, volume VIII, 1764-1773 (Charlottesville: Jamestown Foundation and the University of Virginia, 1969, [1823]), 600-601.
3. Jim Glanville, "The Fincastle Resolutions," *The Smithfield Review*, 14 (2010): 69-119. Figure 1 in this previous article is shown revised and corrected in Figure 1 of the present article.
4. John H. Long, ed., *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*. The Newberry Library — Dr.William M. Scholl Center for American History and Culture. The historical Virginia County boundaries are online at: http://historical-county.newberry.org/website/Virginia/viewer.htm and specifically the downloadable file Va_Historical_Counties.pdf. Maps and a modified map from this publication reused here under the terms of a Creative Commons license. See the website at *http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/us/*. In addition to version 2 of the Botetourt County map on page 91, mentioned in the text, other outline maps for western Virginia counties on 31 December 1772 are Augusta (version 3, 53), Fincastle (version 1, 229), and Pittsylvania (version 1, 482).
5. David E. Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory.* (Huntington, W. Va.: Self published by the author, 1902). Online at *http://books.google.com/books?id=1SYSAAAAYAAJ.*
6. Online at *http://geonames.usgs.gov/domestic/.*
7. The path of the Catawba Road into present-day Blacksburg is shown and discussed in a recent book by Mary Kegley: *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road, 1745-1796.* (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 2008), 7-8. Based on a purpose-made map of Blacksburg showing the path of the eastern continental divide through the town (Town of Blacksburg, GIS Division, map prepared for the author, 2008; author's personal collection), location 2 is at the present-day junction of Harding Avenue and East Roanoke Street.
8. James Henry Miller, *History of Summers County From the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time.* (Hinton: Self published by the author, 1908), 10. Online at *http://books.google.com/books?id=vz8VAAAAYAAJ.*
9. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots.* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1976).
10. Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters: The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745-1800*, Volume 1. (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1980). See 183-184 and 245-249.
11. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, 249.

Index to Volume XV

Clara B. Cox

C

I

J

K

L

M

N

T

X

Y

Z

The Smithfield Review
Volume XV, 2011

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

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

The Smithfield Review is published annually by the Montgomery County Branch, Preservation Virginia, Blacksburg, Virginia.

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

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

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

In this issue —

[Buckingham] admitted being "shocked and disgusted by the ruffianly and blood-thirsty spirit which seemed to guide the pens of the editors of these two papers; nor could I wonder at the unwillingness of men of worth and honour to enter into the stormy sea of political life, and undergo the ordeal of a popular election in the country while they are so certain of being assailed with the most unmeasured vituperation, and made the victim of the most foul aspersions by their political opponents." — **page 5**

As a Continental marine lieutenant during the Revolutionary War, William Radford was among our country's first marines, one of thousands of young men who went to sea during the war and helped play a strategic role by causing part of His Majesty's Navy to focus on the West Indies, moving some of the threat away from America's Atlantic coast. — **page 23**

When Patton finally did return, rather than confess to any misdoing, he engaged in a furious argument with Lutwidge. Apparently, Lutwidge did not have entirely clean hands, because though he at first pressed Patton to make good on what he owed, Lutwidge fairly quickly backed off when Patton threatened to "blow the whistle" . . . . From other sources we know that Lutwidge was a man quick to turn to litigation to harry his debtors, and did not hesitate to have them thrown in jail. That Lutwidge did not seek judgements against Patton suggests that Patton either knew of, or guessed at, something Lutwidge wanted to hide. — **page 52**

Virginia adopted voice voting long before the American Revolution. Not only were candidates able to hear each vote as it was announced, they also had the right to request, at their own expense, a copy of the poll list on which all the votes were recorded. The process provided transparency, obviating any fear that a magistrate or sheriff would miscount the vote. But it also came with consequences, such as the nearly ubiquitous attempts to "persuade" voters through physical intimidation and alcoholic enticements. — **page 66**

The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of rapid political development in western Virginia. Between 1745 and 1800 no fewer than 20 counties were established west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. — **page 95**