The Smithfield Review

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

Volume 17, 2013

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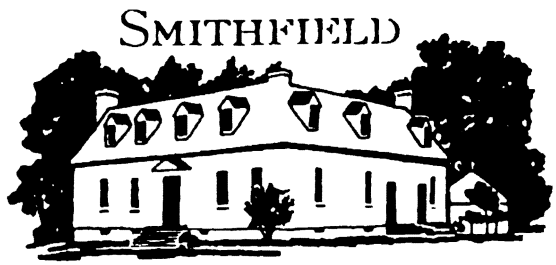

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Smithfield is an important historic property adjacent to the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. The manor house, constructed around 1774 on the frontier, is a premier example of early American architecture and is one of few such regional structures of that period to survive. It was the last home of Colonel William Preston, a noted surveyor and developer of western lands, who served as an important colonial and Revolutionary War leader. Preston named the 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

After the 1607 settlement at Jamestown, it took almost 150 years for the earliest wave of colonial settlers to reach the Allegheny Ridge—or eastern divide—where streams and rivers begin their westward flow toward the Mississippi River. As this large migration evolved, Native Americans, or Indians, were pushed farther and farther to the west. Our first article conveys the impact that this migration had on the Indian way of life, as described in a diary. This presentation, "A Future French King Visits the Overhill Cherokee in 1797," was written by Sharon B. Watkins, a retired history professor from Western Illinois University. The article is the second part of her study of the lengthy and descriptive diary of young Prince Louis Philippe as he and his two brothers explored the American frontier during the first decade of the newly formed United States.

Our second article describes the long migratory journey of a German family, whose members were among the first wave of immigrants to cross the eastern divide and settle along the western waters. Life was difficult, hazards were numerous, and interactions with various Indian tribes were often dangerous. "The Early Bingamans in the New River Area" was written by Sheila M. Bingaman, a descendant of this early family. These first two articles allow us to visualize some of the consequences for individuals on both sides of this huge clash of cultures as people from the Eastern hemisphere began to colonize territory that eventually became the United States.

The earliest settlers were followed by a host of land speculators, all competing for large portions of fertile land vacated by the Native Americans as they were pushed ever westward. Land ownership by the Europeans required surveys and deeds. Consequently, ambitious, well-educated young men could gain both status and wealth by securing the job of county surveyor, as each new county was born. Jim Glanville, a retired chemistry professor, describes how William Preston did just that in Fincastle County in 1772—and again in Montgomery County in 1776. In those times, some of the early Virginia counties extended as far west as the Mississippi River and included all of what is now West Virginia and Kentucky. The title of this article is "William Preston, the Surveyor, and the Great Virginia Land Grab."

By the turn of the century in 1800, the frontier had moved far to the west of the Allegheny Ridge. Local settlements in Montgomery County became

more stable, and both large and small plantations developed. The completion of the railroad from Lynchburg to Bristol in the early 1850s provided new markets for local products. Consequently, enterprising landowners needed additional workers to meet the new demand for their products, and this often led to the purchase of a significant number slaves. As a result of this and other factors, the slave population grew during the first 60 years of the 1800s. Within a few months after the 1860 election, state's rights, slavery, and secession issues had generated considerable debate and political activity within Montgomery County. Dan Thorp, a history professor at Virginia Tech, describes the impact that these pre-war issues had on the county's citizens and slaves. It is likely that the story told in "'Learn your wives and daughters how to use the gun and pistol': The Secession Crisis in Montgomery County, Virginia," is similar to those in other locations throughout the Upper South during the early months of 1861.

Our Brief Notes section illustrates how relatively new computer research can unearth long forgotten, or undiscovered, stories from the past. An obscure article, published more than a hundred years ago by historian Charles Francis Adams and titled "From Thoreau to Confucius, via Abingdon Virginia," was discovered by Jim Glanville as he surfed the Internet searching for information about Southwest Virginia.

Michael K. Shaffer of Kennesaw State University presents an interesting book review of *Skirmish at Pearisburg* (Lynchburg, Va.: Blackwell Press, 2012) by George A. McLean, Jr.

The editors again acknowledge our anonymous group of reviewers. Their help is essential and greatly appreciated. We also express gratitude to Peter Wallenstein, Christy Mackie, Rachael Garrity, and Barbara Corbett for their special assistance in producing this volume. Over the years, the Department of History at Virginia Tech has been extremely helpful to the *Smithfield Review* in many ways, and that was especially so this year. We thank you.

A Future French King Visits the Overhill Cherokee in 1797

The Travel Diary of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans

Sharon B. Watkins

In the spring of 1797 Louis Philippe, then Duke of Orleans and later the last French king (reigning 1830–1848), undertook a four-month-long tour through the backcountry of Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and New York. The prince, age 24, was accompanied by his two younger brothers, the Dukes of Montpensier and Beaujolais, and a middle-aged manservant known only as Beaudoin. Louis Philippe planned to keep an extensive journal of his travels, using simple blank notebooks. He made extensive entries during the months of April and May 1797; he filled one notebook traveling in Virginia and much of the second one while visiting with the Overhill Cherokee and exploring Native American sites in eastern Tennessee. A study of the first notebook appeared in volume 16 of the *Smithfield Review*.[1] This continuation explores Louis Philippe's entries covering his visit to Native Americans and eastern Tennessee between April 29 and May 6, 1797. The arrival of the royal brothers was announced by the local newspaper, and they received a courteous welcome from soldiers, Cherokees, and civilians alike. Louis Philippe was filled with curiosity about Native Americans and spent virtually all of his time with them and the soldiers who enforced terms of the peace treaties of the 1790s.

A Brief History of the Overhill Cherokee until 1797

The Overhill Cherokee of eastern Tennessee lived in a cluster of towns along the Little Tennessee River in the vicinity of Vonore, south of Knoxville. As northern or Upper Cherokee, their dealings with Europeans for the previous two centuries had centered on British settlers and colonial officials in Virginia and its capital, Jamestown and then Williamsburg. The Virginians dubbed them "Overhill" because the highest Appalachian ridges separated the two groups, while the Holston and Clinch (Pellissippi) River valleys facilitated travel between them. In contrast, the Middle and Lower Cherokee who lived farther south found it easier to deal primarily with the British in the Carolinas. The different colonial personnel and policies the

three Cherokee subgroups encountered sometimes led to divisions of opinion among their nation as a whole.[2] The Overhills spoke an Iroquoian language and became dominant in the area as the strength of earlier Mississipian cultures (mostly Muskogean-speaking) declined. This process occurred "as early as the sixteenth century" or as late as the "late seventeenth century."[3] By the mid-eighteenth century, competition between Britain and France for control of the interior of eastern North America accelerated. Their struggle led to the French and Indian War (in Europe the Seven Years War) and compelled Native Americans to support one European power or the other and form active military alliances (1754–1763).

Simultaneously, unauthorized incursions of British colonists into Indian tribal lands increased and precipitated strained relations and localized violence. After one particularly violent exchange of white attack upon Cherokees and their counterattack involving two colonies, South Carolina officials launched regular British soldiers to wreak destruction in Lower and Middle Cherokee lands. To avoid similar disasters, the Overhill Cherokee sent a diplomatic delegation to Virginia and in 1761 negotiated a treaty of peace on the Long (Big) Island of the Holston River, near Kingsport, Tennessee. The treaty confirmed the Overhills as British allies and assured protection of their lands. Three chiefs traveled from Virginia to London in 1762 to reconfirm their allegiance and to strengthen their claims for fair treatment in the European treaty that ended the war and left France with no holdings in continental North America (Treaty of Paris of 1763).[4] After that war the British imperial government did attempt to secure peace with Native Americans by protecting their lands from white settlers, whose westward movement accelerated with the removal of French obstacles. The Proclamation Line of 1763 generally limited white settlement to areas east of the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. However, British efforts to restrict the colonists' migration into Indian lands quickly backfired and fueled the colonists' resistance to Britain and hastened their conversion into American revolutionary patriots.

The eruption of the Revolutionary War again forced Native Americans to choose sides in a conflict between opposing groups of whites. This decision painfully split the Cherokee people. A majority of the Overhill towns favored the Americans if they could not remain neutral, but other Overhill communities moved south to join Chief Dragging Canoe, an ally of the British. This great war chief led them and most of the Lower and Middle Cherokee to support the British in the hope of stopping the white American movement onto Indian lands. After the Second Treaty of Paris (1783) ended the war for the British, Dragging Canoe and his followers

continued combat in an extended conflict known as the Chickamauga War (1783–1794).[5]

During the Revolutionary War and after, Overhill Cherokee towns fell prey to attack from both sides, particularly from American militiamen and irregulars. They witnessed the rise and fall of the proposed state of Franklin, whose leaders attempted to compel large concessions of Indian land. In 1791 Cherokee representatives from both factions met white negotiators at a fort on the Holston River and this time dealt directly with agents of the United States government. The resulting treaty proclaimed peace once again, recognized Cherokee claims to vast tracts of land, forbade whites to settle there, and established a boundary commission composed of equal numbers of federal and Cherokee members to define precisely the extent of Cherokee land. The Cherokees allowed the U.S. Army to build three forts in the area and to enforce treaty terms and the boundary commission's findings. It was clear many Overhills regarded the Army presence as a guarantee against white attacks. Select forts were to serve as centers for the Washington administration's "civilizing" plan to elevate the Indians from their supposed state of hunters, gatherers, and warriors to that of farmers, artisans, and merchants. The federal government agreed to provide appropriate tools, supplies, training, and a licensed trading post to support the program. The Chickamauga groups soon disavowed the treaty because of continued white encroachment in the Carolinas and northern Georgia; warfare continued for three more years.

The Overhill Cherokee resolutely remained at peace even when whites attacked their towns.[6] They were already skilled farmers and had incorporated numerous European elements into their livelihood, including apple and peach orchards, green beans and other garden vegetables, and domesticated livestock. As Louis Philippe and his companions arrived in spring 1797, the boundary commission was finally delineating the boundaries of Cherokee land and condemning to demolition white homes illegally built within them. The Army had begun implementing the civilizing program at Tellico Fort (also called Tellico Blockhouse), conveniently close to Overhill settlements near the junction of the Little Tennessee and Holston (Tennessee) Rivers. The French visitors spent several days as guests with the officers and Indians at Tellico.

The local Overhill people had managed to survive the worst ravages of repeated warfare and to retain a sizeable territory. Nevertheless, their loss of population (especially male) and of homes and arable fields had been severe. Under multiple long-term stresses, the Overhills' traditional governmental and cultural institutions were threatened with collapse. The

necessity of negotiating or fighting repeatedly with white governments had virtually ended their age-old method of governing through local officials and consensus-building, which had allowed individual towns considerable autonomy. A much more centralized government had emerged "to respond more effectively to the pressures of whites demanding land and to the frequent fighting."[7] European and American governments wanted to deal with one or two very powerful leaders who could bind all Cherokees by their word. This demand hastened the primacy of a few chiefs for peace and a few for warfare. Louis Philippe met and dined with Little Turkey, the first man acknowledged by both his people and the federal government as Principal Chief of the Cherokee nation (from 1794 to his death in 1801).

The basic social and cultural institutions of family and clan were also severely disrupted by contact with European and American culture. Traditional gender roles and relationships were undermined. Every Cherokee was by birth a member of one of seven clans; every town contained members of every clan. Marriages joined members of different clans. Society was organized according to matrilineal descent, which proved very difficult for Europeans to understand or to respect. Under this system, all children inherited their clan affiliation from their mother and belonged to her and lived in her home. She and her maternal relatives raised them and taught them their roles in society, which derived from her clan and not from their father's. The mother's brothers and uncles mentored her sons and prepared them for their mature place in society. Women owned their own homes, gardens, and personal property including livestock. Each woman also received a share from the town's communal fields and tribal hunts.

Cherokee marriage expectations were quite different from those of Europeans or white Americans raised in a Christian culture. There was no requirement for Cherokee marriage to last until the death of one partner; it could be easily terminated by either partner and both were free to take other partners. However, traditional Cherokee marriage and family practices had been challenged by the appearance of numerous white men who wished to join the tribe and marry Cherokee women. On the frontier, white men greatly outnumbered white women and they were increasingly welcomed by the Cherokees as a strategy to help overcome the substantial loss of their men and boys in decades of warfare. The biracial children of such a marriage were automatically full members of the Cherokee nation, since nationality was derived from their mother. Conversely, Cherokee men seldom married outside their tribe, because this would leave their children without a clan and outside the Cherokee nation.

Not surprisingly, the white men wanted a European-style family in which the husbands / fathers held virtually all power. They insisted on acting as head of the household, personally controlling their own children, and giving their children their own surname rather than their wife's clan name. A Cherokee woman married to a white man frequently became subordinate to him, was cut off from the support of her clan relatives, and lost her property to his control. The white husband demanded the woman abstain from sexual relations with all other men and stay with him for life, while he frequently reserved the right (at least in practice) to stray beyond the marriage bond. The children of mixed blood households frequently emerged as leaders of their communities regardless of clan proprieties, because they were often bilingual, sometimes literate, and generally able to negotiate the non-Indian world better than full-blooded Indians.[8]

Cherokee men were equally challenged by the alternate model presented by white men joining their tribe and pressured by the disappearance of their primary traditional roles. Cherokee society had trained all physically able men to serve as warriors whenever called upon; for many men military activities and hunting (to provide food and furs for trade goods) had consumed most of their time and afforded them honor and status. But after the treaties of the 1790s, warfare and raiding ceased. U.S. soldiers took over the roles of protecting the Overhill towns and patrolling tribal lands to keep out intruders. Overharvesting of wild animals and growing dependence on domesticated livestock for food further removed the men from their traditional roles. They still did most of the heavy work involved in farming, but otherwise found themselves bereft of their normal activities and the fellowship with other men gained in hunting and military training. The civilization program at the fort and the examples of successful whites in the Native community increased the tension between the old and new ways. It was truly a people in the crisis of a great transition that Louis Philippe arrived to visit and observe.

The Observer and His Methods

The future French king's observations were those of a pragmatic, prosaic, and well-educated European. He was heavily influenced by the European *philosophes* and their rationalistic, materialistic outlook on life. He was much closer to Deism in religion than he was to traditional French Catholicism (Gallicanism); yet he did value the social structure provided by much of Catholic culture. He was interested in geology, geography, history, languages, architecture, and what today one might call sociology or anthropology. He had served as an infantry officer in active combat in

1791–1792 and was comfortable in the world of military men. He had little specific knowledge about Native Americans or about United States history since independence.

Apart from his own direct observations and experiences, Louis Philippe relied primarily upon white American men for information about the Cherokee and other Native Americans. These included the commanding officer of Tellico Blockhouse (Lieutenant George Strother), the official federal agent to the Cherokee (Silas Dinsmoor), unlicensed traders he encountered traversing Virginia, and a variety of soldiers and civilians in eastern Tennessee. One unique individual visiting at the fort introduced him to the complexities of biracial families and differences between various Indian nations; this was Major George Colbert, the son of a Franco-Scotts father and Chickasaw mother. Colbert lived as a Chickasaw in northern Georgia, had brought home a wealthy bride from among the Cherokee, and had served valiantly in the United States Army in fighting against Chickamauga Cherokee and Creeks. He and his wife had lost much of their property during the warfare and were denied compensation by the federal government; ironically he was rewarded by promotion to the rank of brevet major—without pay. When Louis Philippe met Colbert, the major was travelling home after personally petitioning federal officials in Philadelphia. Many Cherokee men resented him and so he sought hospitality among white soldiers as he traveled.[9]

Indians, Americans, and Europeans

The prince began the record of his visit with general considerations before meeting any of the Overhills, incorporating some material gathered from Strother, Dinsmoor, and others in a rambling evening conversation. He revealed a sympathetic or at least objective attitude toward Native Americans by declaring he would use the word "Indian" ("*indien*") in referring to Cherokee and other indigenous people. "I prefer that word to *sauvage* (savage), much used among us, because I do not find that these people merit that epithet in any way."[10] Lacking the modern precision of definitions concerning ethnicity, he employed the broad categories of Indians, Europeans, and Americans (meaning all white Americans) with little regard to the many subsets of each category. He was fascinated with the differences among these groups; he frequently attributed considerable importance to larger forces, such as climate and geography, to explain particular attributes of various human societies. He never referred to the workings of God, gods, Providence, or supernatural forces at all.

For example, he described Cherokee skin color as "yellow-black" rather than the stereotypical "red" and debated whether Indians' complexions became darker the farther south they lived. This raised the question of their geographical origins. He noted that Cherokee oral tradition explained that "they are natives of a distant land west of the Mississippi and much farther south than their present home. Winters were much shorter and warmer there than here. I am told they claim to have crossed the Mississippi and ravished this region from another tribe which they drove out."[11] He had been told that these oral traditions were "too recently developed to allow of certain knowledge," as demonstrated by the absence of any mention of whites arriving in their territory. This statement seems paradoxical, since a traditional origin story could have become fixed in oral form before the first appearance of whites. Nevertheless, the suggestion that the Cherokee people might have originated in Central or South America contradicts the long-dominant theory of scholars that the Cherokee must have originated in the northeastern United States, where other tribes spoke Iroquoian languages, and then migrated south. The theory of southern origins for the Cherokee has gained some adherents in recent decades.[12]

Returning to physical descriptors of the Indians, Louis Philippe seemed to accept the American soldiers' contention that they possessed agility but not great muscular strength. It was not poor diet, he thought, but the "humidity, the variable climate, and the summer heat" of the southeastern states that limited their strength.[13] As proof that Cherokees enjoyed adequate diets, he noted reports that after battles the corpses of Americans deteriorated much faster than Indian corpses. He did concede that probably "the Americans' immoderate consumption of whiskey accelerates putrefaction." Everywhere he visited, the French prince was appalled by the large amounts of "hard" alcohol and distilled spirits Americans of all classes routinely drank. Louis Philippe enjoyed beer, wine, and an occasional brandy, so he had no moral or religious objection to alcohol. Yet particularly in the backcountry he commented on routine excessive drinking. He realized that Native Americans easily fell prey to alcohol and believed they would consume far more if opportunity offered. He strongly approved the federal policy that forts and licensed traders should offer Indians whiskey only very rarely and in minuscule amounts.[14] He accepted Strother's and Dinsmoor's assertions that some Overhill men journeyed as far away as Spanish territory (Florida or New Orleans) to trade for additional amounts of whiskey.

Reverting to the theme of the Indians' physical powers, the duke cast doubt upon the soldiers' contention that Indians were "famous hikers" who could cover many miles quickly on foot, especially in military campaigns.

He asserted that white Americans "never walk if they can ride" and this "supposed superiority of the Indians is only by comparison to the Americans." "Our better European marching men" could outdo both Americans and Indians when it came to tramping cross country. European men were, on the whole, "more vigorous, active, and enterprising" than white Americans, although not stronger in a muscular sense. He estimated that Indians and Americans had approximately the same longevity and seemed to suffer the same illnesses, which the Indians still treated with their own methods and plant remedies.[15]

Government and Laws

Observing a number of "chiefs" near Tellico and hearing about others, Louis Philippe attempted to summarize the Cherokees' form of government. He noted that a council of chiefs made laws, took administrative actions, and decided upon questions of war and peace. There seemed to be no fixed number of chiefs for the nation as a whole and "the council sees to its own successors and usually chooses them from the same families, unless the sons of chiefs are dim-witted, or otherwise unqualified." In a society lacking writing, laws lasted only so long as someone remembered to enforce them. Ownership of land, he said, was vested in common among all Indians. Individuals could own moveable property, including, to his surprise, Negro slaves.[16] He correctly reported that the local leader Little Turkey (whom he called Little Turkey Cock) was the principal chief for all Cherokees, although the war chief John Watts was very influential among the Chickamauga. The prince shared an evening meal and conversed with Little Turkey, who did not know English. Louis Philippe blamed the awkwardness of interpretation for his feeling he had learned little from the exchange.[17]

Matrilineal Descent and Gender Roles

One aspect of Cherokee life which Louis Philippe found fascinating but ultimately baffling revolved around male/female relationships and gender roles in work and society. In short, he proved unable to free himself from his own preconceptions, which had been formed by royal French Roman Catholic culture and its strong medieval influences. In his world view males dominated most aspects of marriage, property, political leadership, and work outside the house. French men (theoretically) protected women, who were presumed weaker and dependent. He realized that in his own country, this outlook was changing; the French Republic had passed laws allowing divorce fairly easily. Louis Philippe strongly opposed this change, convinced marriage should couple two partners exclusively and last a

lifetime. However he knew that realistically his society permitted men, but not women, multiple sexual partners. When he encountered the Overhills' matrilineal society where women had far more rights and different roles than in Europe, his objectivity and sympathy toward Native Americans failed.

Reading his comments on Overhill women and men, one would have difficulty recognizing the society that many Americans described as female-dominated. At first he did not realize that family relations emphasized the female line, and he never grasped the ramifications of matrilineal descent or the importance of clan affiliations. His earliest observations on marriage among the Cherokee reveal his assumption of the Christian European pattern. He stated that a man "may take as many wives as he can feed" and then "turn them away like servants,"[18] as though the rejected wives would lack status and property. He did add that a woman was likewise free to end a marriage; however, he attributed that freedom to the husband's contemptuous refusal to quarrel over a woman rather than to the woman's equal right to withdraw from a relationship. After a day's observation of Indian women near the fort, he asserted that "all Cherokee women are public women in the full meaning of the phrase: dollars never fail to melt their hearts. . . . This polygamy invariably renders the women contemptible in men's eyes and deprives them of all influence. That is an awkward forecast for Frenchwomen; new divorce laws have made their marriage an Indian concubinage."[19]

His mind seemed much more focused on the disruptions in French society than the devastating wars suffered by the Overhills, which had left a surplus of women who may have lost their sons, property, and kinsmen. He did not go on to suggest that Fort Tellico's concentration of soldiers with money and time to spare created a strong local demand for casual female companionship. He later learned that "the family is reckoned around women rather than around men as in our society" and reported "there are many white men living among the Indians," who were incorporated into the community by virtue of marrying Indian women and serving as warriors when needed. He understood that local Indians considered biracial children Cherokee, as national affiliation followed the mother, but that whites called them half-breeds.[20] While Louis Philippe noted that some of these mixed-race children became leaders of their people, he did not refer to the negative influence in Cherokee society when white husbands and fathers replicated European family patterns.

Not surprisingly perhaps, the Frenchman did not comprehend that Cherokee men who began to treat women as white men did were casting aside their own family, clan, and culture. He clearly remained puzzled why the Overhill men did not behave like European men, particularly why

they did not control the women better and do most agricultural work. He repeatedly labeled the men "lazy" because they followed the traditional gender division of labor into separate spheres. He was unaware that men did the heavy work in spring planting and autumn harvest, neither of which he witnessed, and belatedly realized that no one plowed in Cherokee fields. Other heavy work Louis Philippe may have expected to see, such as construction, was usually done communally and quickly rather than by small groups of specialized workmen. It is true that the men had no military responsibilities since the end of the wars and this helped explain why the prince so often noted groups of men sitting, talking, and smoking, while women continued with the tasks in their sphere of activity.

The prince did describe ways in which the army garrison intruded into male/female relationships. He concluded that the atmosphere of peace, the good food, and "the availability of women makes it [Fort Tellico] very pleasant for the soldiers."[21] Even more vivid examples of soldiers' flirting with the Overhill women occurred when an officer guided the Frenchmen in visits to several Cherokee houses. Louis Philippe wrote that

> Our guide entered every house and when the husbands or fathers were distracted, made no effort to disguise his *little games* [original emphasis] with the wives or daughters; and they were so little embarrassed that one of them who was lying on a bed put her hand on his trousers before my very eyes and said scornfully, *Ah, sick.* Some of these Indian women are quite lovely, and I was struck by their flirtatious ways; they are very different from their neighbors and no French woman could teach them a thing. . . . I even saw a few women who had painted their faces with vermillion [dye], using it very artfully and pleasingly.[22]

The prince's assumption that Indian men were allowing themselves to be duped or defied by women doing something improper is evident. He assumed the Indian men present were "husbands or fathers" and the women were "wives or daughters." The homes may have in fact belonged to the women he observed, and the men might have been brothers or uncles. It was the place of mothers or clan matriarchs, not husbands or fathers, to teach women proper behavior. The public demeanor of the white "neighbors," many of whom were Protestants with conservative views on female behavior, doubtless was markedly different. By European standards the Indian men were allowing inappropriate and disorderly conduct by women.[23]

Many Cherokee men, especially their leaders, spent much of the day at Tellico Blockhouse and its attached trading post. The army operated a free ferry between the Indian town and the fort, facilitating such visits. They frequented Lt. Strother's office whenever his door was open. They entered calmly, shook hands with everyone present, and proceeded "to sit down and smoke tranquilly . . . all day long" unless the commander needed to concentrate on paperwork. The picture presented is of complete amity and contentment. The Frenchmen were impressed that when their own party entered Strother's office, the Indians quickly perceived that they were not Americans and inquired if they were Spanish. The prince was unsure whether his brothers' accented English or his own "swarthy complexion, untrimmed beard, and unpowdered hair" suggested a Spanish origin. The Cherokee men nodded knowingly when Strother introduced them as "Krenché," their word for French.[24]

Louis Philippe observed the attire and ornamentation worn by both women and men. His comments on their clothing indicated that woven fabric had generally supplanted skins and furs for everyday clothing. He was intrigued by the widespread use by both sexes of vividly colored blankets draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm, which thus remained free. The women with babies added a basket-like extra fold in the back to carry an infant. All women secured their hair by a headband above the ears; some wore braids, a few had ear rings, and none a nose ring. Male attire also was composed of "European" materials. Most wore a breechcloth and a long shirt or tunic, with its hem extending below the breechcloth and a belt at the waist; both of these clothing articles were previously unknown to the young Frenchman. No one he saw had adopted trousers or breeches (knee pants). Frequently the men draped themselves in a colorful wool blanket. Those who could afford finer fabrics wore long elegant outer garments similar to "dressing gowns." The prince particularly admired the fashion sense of a man wearing a long silk gown and cape, "which hung with classic elegance and charm."[25] The majority of men had retained their traditional hairstyles, with heads almost completely shaven and the remaining hair usually long and braided, with feathers, dyed leather thongs, or colored glass bits intertwined. He commented on the skillful use of small amounts of vermillion dye by both sexes. It was often just a touch imaginatively applied ("where you would least expect to find it"). But he thought "quite frightful" the appearance of those who had dyed all their hair blood red. A few men sported hats; if any wore a turban style of headdress he did not specify it. Unlike the women, men commonly wore

very long heavy ornaments suspended from ear slits, and several also had triangular ornaments dangling from their nose.[26] He recorded with approval that, according to the soldiers, the Indians washed their inner garments quite often and bathed themselves on a regular basis.

The Indian Ball Game

As a special courtesy to the visitors from abroad, and with the enticement of six gallons of whiskey for the winners, the tribal leaders agreed to arrange a traditional ball game for the next afternoon. Many players were fatigued from a round of matches played in honor of the boundary commissioners recently, so each team had only a dozen players. Louis Philippe was enthralled by the game nevertheless, and explained it in detail. He carefully transliterated the Cherokee name for their version of Indian ball play as *Hannatsoké* and explained the layout of the long rectangular playing field with a goal line at each end. Each Overhill player used two small rackets; he compared them to French tennis rackets, only much more narrow, with wider webbing of strings and a scooped shape. He explained how each man manipulated the rackets to catch, pass, and carry the ball as he streaked toward his goal.

Two usual elements were missing from this hastily arranged game. In full traditional form, the match opened with a preliminary ceremony involving warlike chanting between much larger teams; the war cry, the scalping cry, and the death cry would be defiantly hurled forth. Excited spectators would place heavy bets upon their favorites and then urge them on fanatically until one team reached the agreed upon number of goals needed for victory. Minus the ceremonial elements, the playing was still exciting. Clad in nothing but breechcloths color-coded for their team, the men engaged vigorously from the moment of the opening toss of the ball at center court.

> The game sparks race after race [toward the goal] and shows off the savages' agility. It is highly suspenseful. . . . If the player who has snared the ball is slow in passing it, he stands a good chance of losing it, and no holds are barred in taking it away from him. They buffet one another mercilessly and produce horrible spills. Some have seen men killed on the spot. What is most admirable is that neither during the game nor afterward is there ever the least argument [among players]. During play no one says a word; the chiefs and spectators keep score, and as soon as the game ends the losers disappear, the winners carry off the prizes, and in a moment the battlefield is deserted.[27]

In his zeal for the unfamiliar and warlike game, Louis Philippe forgot his vow to refrain from use of the word "savage," which here may have seemed appropriate to the nature of the game. The whites withdrew to the fort on the ferry and soon heard celebratory sounds of "good cheer and shouts inspired by the whiskey." The next day all was calm, although some of the fort's Indian visitors indicated via sign language that they had imbibed a bit too much the previous night.[28]

Hospitality among the Overhill People

For the remainder of his long life, Louis Philippe regarded the American Indians whom he had visited as the most hospitable people that he ever met. Any Cherokees he encountered in the act of eating, smoking, or drinking immediately stopped and offered newcomers a share of whatever they had, from the same vessel. There was never the least hesitation, whether from two men eating milk and cornbread, from a family at dinner with strawberries and beans, or from a group of men smoking. "Hospitality is the rule among all Indians. All their guests make free with anything in sight, and they imagine that matters are the same with us, so that without actually stealing, they help themselves to whatever lies loose." The Overhill men never hesitated to pick up the Frenchmen's pipes and tobacco and begin smoking them. Anyone's possessions were "always available to all without offer or permission."[29] He learned to shake hands firmly with every man, take a puff from every pipe offered, and to pass his own pipe around to every other man present first before he settled down to smoke. He thoroughly enjoyed the local smoking mixture called *taluma,* made by drying and shredding the leaves and berries of the small variety of sumac and adding perhaps a pinch of tobacco or dried willow bark.

Seeing his appreciation of their smoking mixture and pipes, a group of men presented him with two pipes. One was shaped like a tomahawk and the other of a style made from a soft stone whose bowls were always carefully carved, sometimes with scenes of "every imaginable depravity." They also endowed him with an honorary Cherokee name, *Atota*, meaning "father." Perhaps Atota seemed appropriate to them because of his high rank in his own society or because the young foreigner seemed unusually earnest for his 24 years. In turn, he paid generously for a fine tobacco pouch formed from a mink skin, a supply of *taluma*, and an embroidered belt.

Lt. Strother further explained that this almost universal hospitality among Indians made it feasible for Overhill men to travel far afield. Some had gone as far as Spanish territory (New Orleans or Florida), one possible

reason some Indians first thought the Orléans brothers were Spanish. Strother asserted that travelers simply "saddle and bridle a horse, roll their blanket, and leave," confident of finding food and shelter freely offered along the road. The newly dubbed Atota sighed, "Truly nothing is freer or happier than these Indians." Louis Philippe managed to retain some of his Indian souvenirs his entire life and happily displayed them to palace visitors after he became king in 1830.[30]

Architecture and Religion

The future king observed firsthand both private houses and public buildings, where he found a number of elements already familiar to him. He described the houses of less affluent Overhill people as looking "much like all the houses of the poor around here," that is, like the cabins of many whites. The Indian dwellings were "a bit squatter and a bit smaller" and instead of employing large logs, used thinner branches and filled in "the chinks with a mastic made of earth and sand, as our peasants do." The roofing style was also familiar, as Cherokee builders covered the roof with strips of bark held down by pieces of wood and rock, just as one found on wooden houses in France and Switzerland. The doorway was very narrow and just tall enough to allow adults passage without stooping. There was a fireplace at one end and a bench-like platform for bedding against the longest uninterrupted side of the house.[31]

Louis Philippe had not been at ease in the denser forests of the Appalachian Mountains and so admired the well-chosen sites and the valley views offered by these homes. He praised the sparkling river, the banks with flowering trees and vines, a lovely expanse of "entirely treeless plains that could be mowed just as they are," and a distant horizon of blue mountains. The complete effect resembled "the aspect of one of our English gardens."[32] A few pages later, he ruefully recorded that, according to Strother, the open pasture-like vistas he so admired were devastated croplands not replanted since the last war. He inspected gardens and fields planted Indian style with corn, potatoes, and tobacco. Young plants growing from individually dug holes or hills were kept clear of grass and weeds, but wild vegetation was otherwise allowed to flourish. He had never seen this no-till system in operation and wrote that "This is certainly a less exhaustive method than most; but seeing the fields that result, one would not believe that they had been cultivated at all."[33]

Tôkona (Toqua) and Its Town House

Much of one day was devoted to visiting the small town of Tôkona (as he rendered it), some three miles into the surrounding forest. It is assumed that this almost deserted village was Toqua, ravaged by warfare in 1788. Again, Louis Philippe appreciated the attractive setting, and the Duke of Montpensier, his artistic brother, sketched the vista offered by the village and its town house (or council house).[34] About a dozen typical homes were "laid out with some symmetry at measured distances" to form a parallelogram around the town house. The prince left a thoughtful description of the council house, and his work has proven quite valuable to modern researchers, particularly because a TVA project has completely flooded this area. His depiction is valued as one of the most extensive and nuanced contemporary descriptions of an eighteenth-century Cherokee town house.

> The town house is a special sort of building. It is a circular wooden structure but entirely thatched, so to speak, covered all over by reeds and corn husks. It looks much like the [rotating] flour mills in our grain-growing regions. The only difference is that the Indian town houses (at least the ones I saw) are much broader at the base and therefore seem lower, though I believe the height is about the same. The exterior walls are very low and the roof begins about three feet off the ground. The entrance is to the south; it is a narrow, low corridor, constructed like the rest of the building but with a hollowed-out half tree trunk for a roof. This corridor is at most five feet high and we had to stoop to enter. It is no more than six or seven feet long. It ends before a reed screen, and we had to take a few steps to the right to enter the main room. As there is no window or opening except that entrance, the interior is very shadowy and cool. It was impossible to see anything when we first entered, and for some minutes we were in complete gloom. Gradually our eyes adapted and we saw that we were in a hexagonal room. At its center is the hearth where they lay a fire in winter. Each face of the hexagon (always excepting those that serve as doorway or hide the main entrance) is a little alcove with a reed bench. On the three pillars facing the inner entrance hang the three ceremonial shields of the three Cherokee tribes. The serpent, the tortoise, and the lizard are their emblems. Each of these animals, distinctly recognizable, is painted in black, on an octagonal shield, white with a black border dotted with white. These shields are wooden and are hung from the posts just below the roof, as the shields of medieval knights in tournaments are depicted. When the Indians foregather in their town houses they usually take their places in the proper tribal nook. These compartments are about four feet deep and

> their height at the wall about seven feet. I estimate the diameter of the hexagon at about 30 feet. There is no carpet or anything like one; the earth is simply tamped and leveled. The Indians never tear down a town house, but when it collapses from sheer decrepitude or for other reasons, they bury it under earth and mud and build one just like it in another spot. The artificial hill from which we first saw Tôkona was so made. The middle of its summit had settled a bit, and it looks just like a truncated cone. To one side are a few trees, and it was from there that Montpensier sketched the village.[35]

Because of the uniqueness of the town house, Louis Philippe believed the building "must be consecrated to some form of worship. I could infer no other reason for the Indians' reverence and the care with which they buried the debris" of each old council house and built the new one nearby. However, all the Indians to whom this was mentioned "insisted that they had no formal religion" and that town houses were for community gatherings, dances, and offering hospitality to travelers. Whites had earlier assured him that "none of these Indians profess any formal religious creed. Nonetheless, they believe that there is *The Great Man Above* [original emphasis], who made everything here below, but they are too lazy to pursue that idea further and too refractory to be strict about ceremonies or religious duties." He later learned that singing, dancing, and even athletic contests (such as races) might mark marriages and other special occasions. The Indians did have some rituals and practices not revealed to whites.

The town house impressed him so deeply that he seemed to doubt these earlier summations did justice to Indian beliefs; at Toqua he personally talked with Native Americans about spiritual matters "unknown to us."[36] The Overhills had not yet officially welcomed Christian missionaries and teachers into their midst and may well have guarded knowledge of their own religious belief and rituals. The Frenchman did witness one dance, done in single file with toes pointing first in, then out; it reminded him of some old-fashioned French country dances. Overall, however, his diary made no comment on now well-known spiritual ceremonies such as ritual use of the purgative white drink (also called black drink) or the annual green corn celebration.

Military Activity, War, and Consequences

A healthy Bourbon prince grew up with the understanding that he would have some role in his nation's military affairs. Before being forced into exile, Louis Philippe had served as a youthful infantry officer (ultimately a colonel) in active combat during the attempted invasion of France by

Austria and Prussia in 1791–1793. He was at ease with military men and interested in matters of fortification and combat. He was intrigued to learn that very simple earthen and wood stockade blockhouses like Tellico were as effective against Indian attack as a "true fortress" was. He criticized the sites of two riverside forts (old Fort Loudon and the proposed Fort Wilkinson), both of which he believed could be commanded by higher ground. He was interested in details of the other two forts planned in Cherokee territory nearby, the proposed Fort Granger and Fort Southwest Point (called Fort Hamtramck in its planning stage).[37]

He repeated what he learned from U. S. officers about Indian war chiefs and their style of fighting. The Cherokees' greatest warrior was John Watts, son of an English army officer and a Cherokee woman; he became a major leader of the Chickamauga forces after Dragging Canoe became ill. The Frenchman believed Watts, as a half-breed, was "a bit more intelligent" than other war chiefs. Unlike most warriors, Watts refused to massacre women and children in order to terrorize whites into withdrawal from an area. In general, however, Louis Philippe observed that Cherokee "ways in war are fierce; they rarely take prisoners." Any valuable prisoners were dragged from place to place until ransomed or tortured to death in distressing ways.[38] While he "shuddered" at Indian military tactics, he suggested that the ends justified the means. "However frightful and revolting these methods, we can understand what has driven the Indians to such cruelty. . . . We must be fair: the whites' systematic spoliation of the Indians has not even slowed. All the Indians' neighbors are greedy for their Tennessee territories. The last treaty has aroused serious discontent among the whites, who would like a war with the Indians so a new treaty can strip them of the coveted lands."[39] A few months earlier, some greedy whites had "assassinated" two Indian leaders, but failed to provoke the Indians to widespread violence.

The Frenchman reported a devastating loss of life among the Cherokee during the recent years of warfare. "Some tell me that the Cherokee were so depleted by the last war that they would have trouble raising 500 warriors." Since Indian populations were usually counted in terms of men able to bear arms, this meant a frightful loss of overall population. Others convinced him that the Cherokee might field approximately 1,200 to 1,500 soldiers. Those higher figures still meant they had become very weak in relation to nations with whom they once competed on an equal or superior basis; the same informants calculated the Creeks could raise 8,000 to 9,000 warriors and the Choctaws 10,000 to 11,000.[40] Such catastrophic loss of life must have left the Overhill towns, as well as all Cherokee bands, fearing for their survival as a people and accelerated many of the changes to their traditional way of life.

Prehistoric and Historical Sites and Puzzles

On May 3 the royal visitors departed the Overhill towns and Tellico blockhouse, riding toward Knoxville and ultimately Nashville and Kentucky. On route, they paused at other sites connected to Native Americans of the past or present. They soon encountered Major George Colbert, who had begun the next stage on his journey to his Georgia home. They agreed to travel together as far as Nashville, where Colbert would turn southward; along the way, he shared stories of his experience as a U.S. Indian ally and military officer and his knowledge of the wilderness through which they rode.

They approached the confluence of the Little Tennessee River and the Holston River, where an island and the low shoreline gave evidence of Indian inhabitants. Mississippians had lived there centuries ago (the probable site of Satapo) and later Cherokees had moved in at Citico; this Cherokee town had been ruined by American revolutionaries angered by the locals' earlier affinity for the British. Once again, the prince's description is of some historical interest, as the entire area and its archeological possibilities were flooded by the completion of Tellico Dam in 1979.[41] He expressed surprise at the greater size of the Holston River and wondered why it, rather than the smaller river, was not called the Tennessee for its full length. He surmised that giving a European rather than a Native name to the larger stream perhaps strengthened whites' claims to the areas it watered.[42]

After riding another 20 miles north and west, they slept at an inn on the eastern bank of the Clinch River just north (upstream) of its confluence with the Tennessee River. Louis Philippe noted that "A little farther down, about 300 yards, at the confluence of the Clinch and the Tennessee, is a garrison manned only two months ago. This place is ordinarily called South West Point, but they are now building a fort here to be called Fort Hamtramck, after a Canadian who has long been in the service of the United States."[43] This specific statement greatly assisted modern efforts to pinpoint the site of this fortification, officially named Fort Southwest Point in 1798. The fort's military function ceased in 1811, and its exact location had become unknown by the late twentieth century, when the city of Kingston began restoration efforts.[44] The fort was built pursuant to the Treaty of Holston and was situated at the head of the main road west toward Nashville (the Avery Trace). Over the years its soldiers aided pioneers and ejected would-be settlers from Cherokee land. Coincidentally, an early advocate of a major fort on this sharp elevated point was Colonel Arthur Campbell, whom the Frenchmen had visited in Virginia.[45]

U.S. Army Captain John Wade received them warmly when they visited the fort. He provided them a personal tour of the construction area

and information on the fort and its surrounding region. For two months, he said, the soldiers had been

> building the fort on a spot marked by the ruins of ancient dwellings. Their traces are few, however; only a few rises and a few excavations can be seen. But a plan is evident, and with much more design than in the Indian projects seen these days. They claim to be following a distinct line of circumvallation between the two rivers, and they say that the rows of adjacent holes within that line were houses and the space between the rows a street. Most striking is a little mound at the highest point. They are leveling it for the construction of the fort. Inside they found about fifteen skeletons, of which one had a heavy stone on his head and another on his feet. . . . Discussing these points, Captain Wade added a bit of general knowledge, that in 1532 a Spaniard called, if I remember rightly, Don Antonio Pembucci, had come down from Virginia through Tennessee to where New Orleans is today; and Wade feels that the traces now uncovered are the remains of some settlement established by his followers and later destroyed by the Indians. This is all hard to untangle. God knows where and when I shall have time to mull it over.[46]

This passage sheds interesting light on the pre-British phase of the southeastern states and raises historical questions. First, one should note that the original French could render the date "around 1532" (*environ en 1532*) and that "ruins of ancient buildings" could be "the remains of some old houses" rather than "ancient" in the usual sense. Examining some of the bones, the visitor found them to be white and still sturdy, unlike the disintegrating bones he had observed in a 900-year-old Norwegian burial. He concluded that the bones were not particularly old. On the other hand, he doubted the Cherokee typically placed large stones at the head and foot of important burials, implying that other Indians or Europeans may have left the skeletons.

Louis Philippe did not comment directly on Wade's suggestion of Spaniards in the area two and a half centuries earlier. He did record his frustration at his own inability to clarify the confused picture presented by the findings on the hill and Wade's analysis. Almost two more centuries passed before greater understanding emerged. Researchers from the University of Tennessee and the state Division of Archeology worked there between 1973 and 1986. They found foundations for 15 fort structures and definite evidence of prehistoric human occupation of the mound, including the grave of a baby, hearths, storage pits, and food remains. These items

yielded a date of about 1360 CE, pointing to occupation by people of the Mississippian culture. There was no sign that Spaniards ever resided there.[47]

Many later writers found references to Spaniards in Tennessee in the early sixteenth century as puzzling as Louis Philippe did. The editors of his diary footnoted this passage and stated "This seems to be an error, at least in dating. There were no Spaniards in Tennessee at the time. Doubtless the Duc d'Orléans is retailing [*sic*] one of the many legends that proliferated among the Indians about the presence of a white in their territory."[48] Shortly after this dismissive notation appeared, opinion began to change as researchers in a variety of fields turned new attention and methodology to the Spanish phase of influence in the southeastern states. The date given by Wade (about 1532) is reasonably close to the year (1540) of Hernando de Soto's extensive exploration of areas north and west of Florida. Soto made a huge sweep while searching for Native American kingdoms equal in exploitable wealth to the Aztecs and Incas and for a sea beyond the Mississippi River. Soto died (1542) without achieving his goals, and his subordinates finally ended their long trek at the mouth of the Mississippi, near the site of New Orleans.

Today there is a body of firm evidence showing that in 1540 Soto and his soldiers appeared in the Tennessee River Valley where Knoxville and nearby communities lie.[49] They travelled from North Carolina probably via the valley of the French Broad River, which empties into the Holston northeast of its confluence with the Little Tennessee; this approach from upstream on the Holston could be construed as "from Virginia." The Spaniards visited towns and consumed the food supplies of Native Americans in the Knoxville area for several weeks in the summer of 1540. Most of the inhabitants then were associated with the principality of Coosa (Coça), and finally Soto led the main body of his troops southward in search of the Coosans' powerful chief city.

It seems remarkable that Capt. Wade in 1797 connected accounts of the Soto expedition specifically with the prehistorical Indian sites around Knoxville. He or a fellow officer might have read Richard Hakluyt's 1609 English translation of a contemporary account of Soto's travels. Conscientious officers stationed in the southern backcountry might have been interested in learning about the history and legends of the area where they were stationed.[50] However, the sixteenth century accounts of Soto's invasive actions only vaguely describe landmarks and distances; they also utilize the Spanish or Portuguese spellings of place-names heard in Indian languages no longer used in 1797. Making a connection would have been difficult.

The newer Indian residents of the area, the Cherokees, may have provided officers the missing link. If early Cherokees had directly observed

or encountered the Spaniards and preserved oral accounts of their incursion, some Overhills might have been able to identify specific sites and supply older names for areas they had occupied after Mississippian peoples declined. According to Cherokee historian Robert J. Conley, Soto's "Spaniards may have actually stopped at perhaps three different Cherokee towns," where they took food but did little additional damage. He adds that Cherokee men routinely hunting or patrolling would likely have encountered somewhere the huge swath of destruction left on the landscape by over 500 heavily-armed Spaniards accompanied by hundreds of large animals and enslaved porters.[51] The local Cherokee leaders in the late 1790s obviously cultivated friendly relations with army officers in their area; perhaps they had passed on to soldiers their orally transmitted information about the frightening visit of a large Spanish expedition many years previously.

Unfortunately Wade did not disclose the source of his information, so one is left to speculate. Nevertheless, it now seems clear that the Indians had not simply manufactured a story and Louis Philippe had not fallen for a tall tale. Instead, he left a useful and enticing historical clue for future readers. The one discordant element in his account is the name he supplied for the Spanish leader, Don Antonio Pembucci. He added that he might not be remembering the name correctly, "*si je ne me trompe*" ("if I do not deceive myself"). He may have written this entry several days after visiting the fort; he noted that he and his brothers updated their diaries at an inn in Nashville, where the crowd of people staying at the inn to attend court sessions made writing difficult. Neither the name Pembucci nor variants of it match with a known participant of Soto's long trek. Nor does any of the information suggest the Juan Pardo expedition, which brought Spaniards into the area again in 1567. It seems that Louis Philippe did record the wrong name and, as he intimated in his diary, he never found the time to sort through his notes and make corrections.[52]

Having provided the travelers food for thought, Capt. Wade also provided food for the road from the fort's bakery and supply room. The freshly baked wheat bread was a treat after so much cornbread, but the dried beef "would hardly tempt a dog." Louis Philippe was eager to push onward across "the Wilderness, also called the Desert," toward Nashville and beyond. Thanking the captain for his hospitality, the four Frenchmen and Major Colbert proceeded to the ferry across the Clinch and then rode briskly westward. Although the prince did not allude to the reason for his sense of urgency, other sources make it clear that the young men were lagging far behind their original timetable, spending more of their money than anticipated, and expecting to find at later locations correspondence

and letters of credit posted to them. They also planned to rendezvous with friends near Pittsburgh at an enclave created by French ex-patriots and their American supporters. [53]

Conclusions

The process of examining the travel diary of Louis Philippe can remind readers how valuable each newly discovered piece of our historical puzzle is and how transient is the hold of prevailing historical opinion, which can be revised by the weight of previously unknown evidence. The 1976 reemergence of this slim journal written by a young member of the French royal family provided both small and large additions to our fund of historical information. Although written in 1797, it provided fresh evidence because it remained unread in its family archive until exposed to the scrutiny of knowledgeable readers.

In part the diary's value lies in what it reveals of the author himself, the young man in political exile in the U.S. who reigned decades later as the last king in France. He was extremely curious about many sorts of things, was careful about details, and pragmatic in many of his judgments. As a Frenchman born a decade after his country (and family) had lost all its holdings on the continent of North America, he lacked detailed knowledge and understanding of the people and events he observed. Yet by the same token, he was able to exercise a kind of objectivity and distancing which other Europeans, English people for example, frequently lacked.

Overall, he was sympathetic toward Native Americans even though it is clear he never fully understood the workings of matrilineal descent, clan structure, and other traditional aspects of Cherokee culture and society. He had supported the first moderate stages of the French Revolution but opposed many of its later actions, such as laws making divorce easily attainable. He held firmly to previous western European and Christian views of marriage for a lifetime and appropriate roles for men and women; he criticized both male and female Overhills for departing so far from this norm. He did realize and articulate fundamental challenges facing the Overhills, and by extension most Native Americans. He recorded estimated population figures indicating a demographic crisis, the influx of white men and their children into leadership positions, and the newly introduced federal civilizing plan aimed at saving the Cherokees by transforming their traditional ways into those of white Americans. He predicted that despite government treaties and programs to protect the Indians, an uncontrollable flood of white settlers westward would very soon dispossess them of their lands and homes and leave them impoverished on the wayside.

His wide-ranging interests and passion for detail led to informative (and often engaging) descriptions of the Overhills' personal attire and ornamentation, their homes and fields, their town houses and smoking habits, their concepts and practice of hospitality. Scholars in several fields have used his contemporary evidence to revise or add to our knowledge of Cherokee people about 1800. His geographical precision helped in the recovery and restoration of a fort whose location had been lost to modern searchers.

Some of his information from 1797 was startling to its initial twentieth century readers. His almost 200-year-old record of a traditional account of a Cherokee homeland west of the Mississippi River and far south in warmer lands ran counter to almost universal scholarly opinion. Louis Philippe's diary unexpectedly reveals an otherwise little known army captain who was overseeing construction of a new fort and simultaneously conducting a fairly sophisticated archeological investigation. He preserved Capt. Wade's story, deemed quite improbable until the 1990s, of Spanish explorers and soldiers marching through eastern Tennessee long before English-speaking people appeared there. On the whole, the future French king left future readers an interesting and sometimes curiously modern account of the Overhill Cherokees and their eastern Tennessee homeland.

Endnotes

1. Sharon B. Watkins, "A Future French King Visits the Virginia Backcountry in 1797: The Travel Diary of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans," *Smithfield Review* 16 (2012), 1–26.
2. Other Overhill villages were once located along the Hiwasee River just north of Chattanooga, Tennessee; they are not addressed here. For background information, this article relies upon Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Duane H. King, ed., *The Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake, The Story of a Soldier, Adventurer, and Emissary to the Cherokees, 1756–1765* (Cherokee, N.C.: Museum of the Cherokee Indian Press, 2007), and "Overhill Cherokee," Caroll Van West, ed., *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture* (Nashville; Tennessee Historical Society, 1998), 713–714.
3. "Overhill Cherokee," *Tennessee Encyclopedia,* 713.
4. King, *Memoirs,* xvii–xxii. The travelers were Outacite, Austenaco, and Cunne Shote.
5. Conley, *Cherokee Nation,* 64–79. Younger leaders of the Chickamauga included a famous warrior of mixed blood, John Watts, whom Louis Philippe later described in his journal; see below, page 17.
6. Conley, *Cherokee Nation,* 76.
7. Conley, *Cherokee Nation*, 54.
8. "Overhill Cherokee," *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, 713; King, *Memoirs*, 35; Conley, *Cherokee Nation*, 54.
9. When Louis Philippe's party left Tellico, Major Colbert rode with the Frenchmen as far as Nashville. He induced them to camp outside several nights and they shared their food with him; these days and nights together provided Louis Philippe many opportunities to discuss issues with Colbert.
10. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 67; all entries concerning the visit with the Cherokee and in the Knoxville area are dated between April 29 and May 4. Only twice in the diary did he slip and employ the term "savages."

11. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 69–70.
12. Conley, *Cherokee Nation*, 2–6, gives an overview of different origin stories and theories held by various Cherokees. Conley suggests that the northern origins theory may be unduly influenced by stories from the Delaware Indians and the idea of the "land bridge" across the Bering Straits and a resulting assumption that all population groups in North America must have moved north to south. The theory supporting South American origin cites material from the Nighthawk Keetoowah Cherokees of Oklahoma and cultural evidence such as a style of basket-weaving apparently unique among North American Natives. (Conley is an enrolled member of the Western Band, and the Cherokee Nation shares the copyright on his book.)
13. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 70.
14. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 70, 71.
15. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 72.
16. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 73, 75.
17. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 77.
18. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 71–72.
19. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 72.
20. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 76–77.
21. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 82–83.
22. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 84–85.
23. During the French Revolution, even the most radical revolutionaries resorted to special laws preventing women from voting, taking part in street demonstrations, speaking in public, or behaving in "disorderly" ways. Challenging male authority and concepts of order was seen as undermining the foundations of society. Ancient Romans (among others) had held similar views, as apparently did Louis Philippe.
24. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 82.
25. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 95–96. For more comments, see William Sturtevant, "Louis Phillipe on Cherokee Architecture and Clothing in 1797," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 3 (Fall 1978), 188–212.
26. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 96.
27. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 93–94.
28. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 94; *Journal*, 113, shows the French word *sauvages*.
29. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 90.
30. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 90–91; Lewis Cass, *France: Its King Court and Government, By an American* (New York and London: Wiley and Putnam, 1840), 112. The reluctance of Chickasaw Major Colbert to seek the hospitality of the Cherokees suggested that this traditional folkway was also under stress.
31. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 83–84.
32. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 84.
33. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 88.
34. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 85, 87. Montpensier later produced a larger painting in his studio; all his original work has been lost, but the essence of it was captured in a lithographic copy his elder brother had made after Montpensier's death. A copy of the lithograph is shown in *Diary*, 87.
35. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 85–88. See also Sturtevant, "Louis Phillipe on Cherokee Architecture and Clothing," and Richard Polhemus, *The Toqua Site* (Knoxville: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1987), 1.
36. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 88, 71.
37. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 79, 81. He noted that old Fort Loudon had been a stockade style fort and it fell to a siege; he attributed its fall, however, to its faulty siting and susceptibility to a siege, not frontal attack.
38. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 73–74, 77, 81. He cited the practice of driving slivers of pine deep into the flesh of prisoners and then igniting the highly flammable wood.
39. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 74. The editor's footnote on this page is unduly vague and confusing in its reference to events in 1777.

40. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 74–75. By the time he became French king, Louis Philippe had grown opposed to deliberate destruction of human life save for the necessity of self-defense. He worked hard to keep France out of major warfare and was roundly criticized by opponents for placing peace and prosperity above military glory.
41. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 96–97, May 3.
42. John Burch, "Citico Archaeological Sites," *The Encyclopedia of Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 298; Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 98, May 3. The diary editors in a footnote suggest Louis Philippe probably used "*The American Pocket Atlas* of Matthew Carrey, published in Philadelphia in 1796" as he travelled the land and waters of eastern Tennessee. However, King Louis Philippe's contemporaries attested to his pleasure in showing American visitors to his palace his much-folded, annotated "Bradley maps." These maps were prepared by the U. S. Post Office second-in-command, Abraham Bradley. Cass, *France*, 112.
43. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 101, on May 5.
44. The restored fort's staff state that the rediscovery and publication of Louis Philippe's travel journal helped locate its foundation, gave a precise date of its initial construction, and removed confusion with another site of an older blockhouse farther upstream. See *http://southwestpoint.com/history.htm;* accessed April 4, 2012.
45. Watkins, "A Future French King Visits the Virginia Backcountry," 17–19.
46. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 101–102; whether the visit to the fort occurred on May 4 or 5 is unclear.
47. The full account is found in Samuel Smith, ed., *Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site, Kingston, Tennessee: A Multidisciplinary Interpretation* (Nashville: Tennessee Division of Archaeology, 1993).
48. Louis Philippe, *Journal*, 153, endnote 31; *Diary*, 102, endnote 31.
49. From 1980 a group of scholars of various disciplines has worked to discover the actual physical route Soto and his men followed. The method primarily involved coordinating descriptions from Spanish colonial documents with archaeological and anthropological discoveries involving the late prehistoric period in Native American life in the southern states. The name of Prof. Charles Hudson is, above all others, associated with this development. By the late 1990s there was growing confidence that the main long-distance routes had been mapped, although changes over short distances could still be expected as both archaeology and archives uncovered additional materials to consider. That Soto spent some days in the area around Knoxville seems well documented. For a concise explanation, summary, and maps, see Charles Hudson, "The Historical Significance of the Soto Route," in Patricia Galloway, ed., *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 313–326.
50. Richard Hackluyt, tr., *A Narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto into Florida published at Evora in 1557 [by] a Gentleman of Elvas,* translated from the Portuguese (London: 1609), and reprinted several times in following decades.
51. Conley, *Cherokee Nation*, 18–19.
52. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 100–102, 109. The entry about Fort Southwest Point is not specifically dated in the *Diary*, but occurred after events described as "on the fourth." In the entry dated "the ninth" Louis Philippe stated they spent two full days in Nashville "to rest our horses and bring our diaries up to date, which was not easy among such a mob" of people at the inn. There was no reason for the name Hernando de Soto to resonate with a Frenchman in the way it might with a Spaniard or an American, of course.
53. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 102–103, May 5-6; Guy Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), 296–297.

The Early Bingamans in the New River Area

Sheila M. Bingaman

This article examines the pre-Revolutionary War pioneer story in the New River area by using the story of the Bingaman family. It is not a story of riches and privilege. Like most pioneer stories, it is one of simple farmers and tradesmen looking for a better life for themselves and their children. It is a story of great loss in the Shawnee raids of 1755, when three family members were killed and another two taken prisoner. It is also a story of migration, moving from colony to colony or state to state every generation. Finally, it is a story of triumph, with the family not only surviving but also prospering in the New World.

Much of the Bingaman story in the New River Valley has been forgotten or misinterpreted. Most notoriously, a Bingaman woman is popularly portrayed as threatening the life of Mary Draper Ingles in the "Long Way Home" drama. This article will examine the facts and some tall tales to try to get to the true Bingaman story and, by extension, to the story of many unheralded pioneer families.

Bingamans in Pennsylvania

The earliest reference to a Bingaman[1] in North America names three Bingamans (John, Peter, and Hans) in Pennsylvania in the early 1730s. While we do not know their relationships, we can speculate that they were members of the same (perhaps extended) family because of the uniqueness of their name and the fact that they all appear on the scene in the same place and about the same time. We do know that these early Bingamans were from Germany – probably from near Bingen am Rhein in the Palatinate area of Southern Germany and of the Protestant faith.

In the early 1700s, the area that we call Germany today was a series of small, independent principalities. The Nine Years' War (1688–1697) was particularly devastating in the Palatinate where many towns and villages were destroyed. Johann Wilhelm [John William] was the Elector of the Palatinate at the end of the Nine Years' War. At his instigation, the French inserted a clause into the Peace of Ryswick (1697) that restored the Palatinate to Roman Catholicism even though the majority of the people were of the Protestant faith.

According to Hajo Holborn in his *History of Modern Germany*: "it turned the Palatinate, ...recently a model of toleration, into a center of acrimonious denominational conflict and oppression."[2] At the same time, William Penn was actively promoting settlement in Pennsylvania by non-Quakers to supplement the relatively small Quaker population. Penn in his *Frame of Government* (1682) for the fledgling Pennsylvania colony promised absolute freedom of worship and the traditional rights of Englishmen including trial by jury.[3]

It is possible that the Bingamans, like many from Southern Germany, came to North America seeking the religious and/or political freedom promised by Penn. Their strong participation in a Protestant congregation in Pennsylvania (the New Goshenhoppen congregation) tends to support this view. Another possibility is that the Bingamans came to the New World looking for land to settle; records reveal that various Bingamans owned land first in Pennsylvania, then in Virginia, and other locations. This quest for plentiful, cheap land was a strong drive for many immigrants and may have been the motivator behind the Bingamans' continued migration within the New World.

As a result of Pennsylvania's liberal policies toward religious freedom and grants of land to immigrants, so many Germans arrived in the colony that Benjamin Franklin in his "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc." (1751) complained:

> Why should the Palatine Boors be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together establish their Language and Manners to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion?[4]

Facts about the Bingamans in Pennsylvania are relatively few, but we do know that they were land owners and members of the reformed church. The first reference to a John Bingaman is a land grant in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, of 100 acres on February 5, 1733.[5] John paid £15 10s "current money" with an annual rent of one half penny Sterling per acre. This land is shown as vacated by February 5, 1750, and turned over to Christopher Yeakle. Historian and genealogist Israel Daniel Rupp shows Johan (the German form of John) and Peter Bingaman as owning land and paying quit-rents in Philadelphia County prior to 1734. John is listed as owning 200 acres of land in Hanover Township [6] and Peter as owning 100 acres in Oley Township.[7] Hans Bingaman from Philadelphia County is listed as being

naturalized by a vote of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1734–1735.[8]

John Bingaman appears several times in the records of the New Goshenhoppen Reformed Congregation in Upper Hanover Township near Philadelphia. Though this church today is part of the United Church of Christ denomination, which is a union of the Congregational churches and the German Reformed church, in the 18th century it was a German Reformed Congregation and aligned with the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. The alignment of reformed southern German Protestants and Presbyterians was natural at the time. While many modern-day Americans think of the Presbyterian Church as Scottish in origin, it actually began in Switzerland with Frenchman John Calvin (1509–1564). John Knox (1514–1572), the father of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, was a student of Calvin. Knox's followers founded many reformed congregations in America and the modern-day U.S. Presbyterian denomination. The New Goshenhoppen church history, from the church's website, states:

> The majority of the early settlers in the Goshenhoppen region came from Germany and were members of either of the two state-protected Protestant Churches — The Lutheran or the German Reformed. There were two German Reformed Churches established in the Goshenhoppen region — The Old Goshenhoppen German Reformed Church in Woxall and the New Goshenhoppen German Reformed Church in Upper Hanover.[9]

John appeared to be a person of consequence within the New Goshenhoppen community in the 1730s. He was elected as one of the four elders of the New Goshenhoppen congregation on April 25, 1736[10] and was listed as a head of family in the congregation in the 1736 to 1739 roster. John and his wife, whose name is not given, are listed as witnesses to baptisms performed in the church in 1731, 1732, and 1740. Their son, Heinrich (Henry) was baptized on May 20, 1733, along with six other children. The Rev. George Weiss admitted Heinrich and Gertraudt Bingaman to the communion of the New Goshenhoppen Church sometime in the period of 1748 to 1761.[11] There is no record of baptisms or confirmations for any other Bingaman children at New Goshenhoppen.

Some authors[12] have asserted that John was a member of the Ephrata Cloister in Pennsylvania. While it may be possible that the Bingamans joined the Ephrata Cloister (also referred to as Dunkers), there is no direct evidence. Peter Miller, the minster at New Goshenhoppen from 1731 to 1734, became an Ephrata monk in 1735. Rev. William John Hinke, in his history of the

Goshenhoppen congregations, wrote that Miller's conversion caused a schism within his congregation with many of the families going over to the Ephrata Church.[13] Further, Henry Zinn, who was killed with the Bingamans in the Shawnee Raids, had been a member of the Ephrata cloisters.[14] However, no Bingamans appear on the roster of deaths of members of the Ephrata Cloisters,[15] and there is no mention of any Bingaman in the *Chronicon Ephratense* (the Ephrata Cloister's chronicle) except in connection with Zinn's death. If John and his family did join the Ephrata community, their conversion must have been short-lived because by April of 1736, John was back in the New Goshenhoppen congregation and elected an elder.

A will for Peter Bingaman was registered in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1757 and one for Peter, Jr. in 1763.[16] The importance of the early Bingamans to this area is best illustrated by the Bingaman Street Bridge over the Schuylkill River in present-day Reading, Pennsylvania.[17]

No references to Hans Bingaman after he was naturalized circa 1734 can be found. A fourth Bingaman, J. Jost, appears upon the scene in the 1750s. J. Jost was listed as arriving at Philadelphia on the ship *Edinburgh* on September 30, 1754.[18] The passengers on this ship were listed as from the Palatinate and Wirtemberg [*sic*], Germany, with Roman Catholic and Mennonite passengers noted. Since J. Jost was not identified as either of these, we can assume that he was of the Protestant faith as were the Bingamans who had preceded him to the colonies. Some genealogists[19] confuse John and J. Jost, but it is clear from the early Pennsylvania records that John was in the colonies at least 20 years before J. Jost arrived. Indeed, by 1754, John and his family had moved to the New River Valley in Virginia.

Coming to Virginia

By the early 1750s, John and his wife had four sons, Christian, Henry, John Jr., and Adam,[20] and perhaps one daughter, Katherine. The original 100-acre land grant in Philadelphia County was shown as vacated by February 5, 1750. Whether John and his family were motivated by the anti-German sentiment such as expressed by Franklin or the need to find more land for their growing family, they moved from near Philadelphia along the Shenandoah Valley to the New River Valley of Virginia in the late 1740s or early 1750s. This migration followed a pattern of many pioneer families who moved each generation or so into new territories where land was cheap and plentiful. The Bingamans continued to follow this pattern for another 100 years moving every generation progressively to Kentucky, Indiana, Iowa, and other points west.

The earliest reference to John Bingaman in Virginia dates from August 20, 1752, when he was appointed an administrator for the will of

Jacob Goldman.[21] A second, rather interesting reference to John follows in November of 1752:

> Certified in a fight that Saml Newgally bit off part of one of John Bingaman's ears. [22]

This curious reference can be explained by looking at the penal practices at the time. Ear nailing was a punishment for various crimes from treason to fortune-telling in colonial Virginia. Convicted felons would be put in the pillory and their ears nailed to the wood on either side of the head hole.[23] When they were released, part of the ear was often torn off. As a relative newcomer to the area, John may have wanted his new neighbors to know that he was not a criminal, hence the certified statement.

In 1753, John Bingaman bought two parcels of land in present-day Wythe County near present-day Austinville from Edmund Pendleton of Caroline County, Virginia.[24] The first was 460 acres on a branch of Woods River (New River), and the second, 184 acres on the south side of Woods River. In 1754, John purchased an additional 100 acres on the New River near Buffalo Pound from Humphrey Baker.[25] According to Mary Kegley in *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, this site was used to operate a ferry across the New River.[26] The ferry later became Peppers Ferry and is still celebrated locally in the name of Peppers Ferry Road. This land was sold in 1762 by John, Jr. and his wife, Elizabeth.[27]

The French and Indian War

Shortly after arriving in the New River Valley, the Bingamans must have realized that they had moved to a violent part of the colonial frontier. The raids by the Shawnee Indians and Drapers Meadow Massacre in July of 1755 were part of a much larger war. The French and Indian War (known in Europe as the Seven Years' War)[28] was a conflict between British and French forces in North America. The "Indian" portion of the name is misleading since Native Americans fought on both sides of the conflict. The war started in the spring of 1754 when the French routed a Virginia militia force under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington at Fort Necessity, Pennsylvania. The war ended with the Treaty of Paris of 1763 when the French ceded their territory east of the Mississippi River (including Canada) in North America to the British.[29]

The effect of this war on the New River area of the Virginia frontier was devastating. The war in North America was largely fought along the frontier separating New France from the coastal British settlements in an area

stretching from Virginia to Nova Scotia. Indian tribes on both sides of the conflict were encouraged to attack settlements and kill or capture the settlers.

The Preston Register[30] is a list of persons killed, wounded, or taken prisoner in the French and Indian War in Augusta County, Virginia. Compiled by William Preston of Smithfield Plantation, it lists more than 300 names of persons killed, captured, or wounded in the Indian raids. The first entry is for October of 1754 and the last is for May of 1758. For July 3, 1755, Preston lists 26 persons:

Table 1: Preston Register for July 3, 1755

Name	Location	Status
James McFarland	New River	Killed
John Bingeman	New River	Killed
Mrs. Bingeman	New River	Killed
Adam Bingeman	New River	Killed
John Cook	New River	Killed
Henry Zin	New River	Killed
A young child	New River	Killed
Nathaniel Welshire	New River	Wounded
Dutch Jacob and	New River	Wounded
His Wife	New River	Prisoner Escaped
Frederick Stern	New River	Wounded
Mrs. Bingeman Jr.	New River	Wounded
Mrs. Davis	New River	Wounded
Isaac Freeland, his Wife and 5 Children	New River	Prisoner
Bingeman's Son and Daughter and a stranger	New River	Prisoners

Of the 23 people named for this date, six were Bingamans, with three family members killed, one wounded, and two captured.[31]

The Register continues with a more famous listing for July 30 when Colonel James Patton was killed and Mary Draper Ingles [English][32] was

taken prisoner. While tragic, it should be noted that on this date, a lesser number of people, ten, were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner.

The first published report of the 1755 Shawnee Raids in the New River Valley was a brief note in the *Virginia Gazette:*

> By an Express this Morning from Augusta County, we have the melancholy Account of the Murder of Col. James Patton, who was killed by a Party of Indians, the last Day of July, on the Head Branches of Roanoke, and eight more Men, Women, and Children. Col Patton was going out with Ammunition &c. for the Use of the Frontier Inhabitants, and stopping at a Plantation on the Road to refresh himself, the Convoy being about five Miles before, he was beset by 16 Indians, who killed, and stripped him, and then made off with his Horse &c.[33]

The only person named in this report was Col. Patton. No mention is made of the July 3 raids.

The Bingamans and the Indians

While three Bingaman family members were killed in the Shawnee Raids, several old stories feature a Bingaman (not consistently the same Bingaman) single-handedly vanquishing multiple Indians and saving the day. The locations and times of the events are not positively identified and facts are not well documented. While entertaining, these stories take on a bit of the "tall tales" that are, to this day, popular in the Southern Appalachian Mountains.

The first story can be found in Peyton's *History of Augusta County:*

> Bingamon [*sic*] and the Indians
>
> In 1758, near the present village of Petersburg, Hardy County, lived a giant by the name of Bingamon, whose house was broken open by the Indians at night. Before Bingamon was aware of the danger, the savages were in the house. Bingamon got his parents, wife and children, beneath a bed, and then prepared for action. The hired man was called down but refused to come. The room was dark, and having discharged his rifle, he clubbed it and beat about at random. He fought with desperation, killing seven men. The eighth rushed from the house, and escaped, telling his tribe he had met a "perfect devil." In the morning Bingamon could scarcely be prevented from killing his cowardly hired man. Bingamon was greatly distinguished for his firmness and strength.[34]

An intriguing account can also be found in the *Draper Manuscripts*:

Narrative of John Bingaman

This new highway on the south fork of the south branch. The time 1763.

The Indian came into the house in the mourn. One came in first and attempted to shoot him but shot over him and shot his wife in one of her breasts. He jumped up caught his rifle and shot the Indian down. Four more came in succession whom he knocked down as fast as they came. The fifth with his tomahawk in his hand walked in and would have killed him but for a young woman who by this time had jumped out of bed. She caught the Indian in her arms and held him fast. She fall back (still holding on to him and he lay on her) and held him on her as she laying on her back while he killed him with tomahawk. The seventh Indian ran off. B caught up one of the Indians guns and shot at him but missed. His wife recovered of her wounds. Bingaman was made a captain. He now made a scout to the westward both higher not the upstream in ____ both shot and missed. B in turning around fell ____. Indian made at him throwed his tomahawk and missed him. B caught the tomahawk throwed at the Indian missed. While the Indian was stooping to pick up the tomahawk B struck him in side knocked him down and he caught up the tomahawk. B defeated the Indians.[35]

A final story is related by Charles Crush in *The Montgomery County Story*. This story is from a secondary source (an unpublished Shell family history) and cannot be further authenticated:

Henry Bingamin came from Pennsylvania and settled near Peppers Ferry where he encountered many hardships from the Indians. These savages made a raid in this section, coming from Illinois. At this time several members of his family were killed while his wife was taken prisoner with Mrs. Ingles and others and carried back to Illinois. Henry Bingamin's two sons, John and Christian and one daughter escaped. Christian Bingamin crossed the river and took refuge in a house on the old Taylor farm later owned by Mr. Yancy. Christian Bingamin barred the door to the house, thinking himself safe. After a short time five Indians came to the building and broke in but were killed by Bingamin. The first he shot, and then killed the other four with the stock and barrel of his gun. Two other Indians came up who had been in pursuit of two white men whom they killed but seeing the fate which their comrades had met they fled in great haste. A young white maid jumped out of the door over the dead Indians and waded New River in her night clothes

> in order to represent the state of affairs concerning Mr. Bingamin and the Indians on the other side of the river.[36]

The common thread in these stories is that Bingaman men were a force to be feared. The facts are that Christian Bingaman was a lieutenant in the British colonial forces in the French and Indian War and his brother, John, also served, but his rank is unknown.[37] Later the Bingamans turned against the British rule and became American patriots. Henry Bingaman and his sons, Henry Jr. and John, were members of Daniel Trigg's Company and Captain Taylor's Company during the Revolutionary War.[38]

The "Old Dutch Woman" and Mary Draper Ingles

Now we turn to one of the more interesting, if even less factual, Bingaman stories. The story of Mary Draper Ingles and her flight from captivity by Shawnee Indians is well-known. Some sources name a "Mrs. Bingaman"[39] as her companion, "the Old Dutch Woman,"[40] but the facts do not support the idea that a Bingaman accompanied Mary Draper Ingles on her historic trek. The origin of these stories may be the Shell family history quoted by Crush (see the previous section).

As noted in the Preston Register, above, a Bingaman daughter was captured by the Shawnee on July 3, 1755. Kegley, in his *Virginia Frontier,* states that Katherine Bingaman was captured in the 1755 raids and ransomed by William Byrd in 1760, long after Mrs. Ingles had returned home.[41] According to John Hale, a descendant of Mary Draper Ingles, the Old Dutch Woman was "captured in Western Pennsylvania, somewhere in the region of Fort Duquesne [present day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania],"[42] and she later returned to Pennsylvania.[43] Hale goes on to say:

> I regret that not even her name has been preserved. In the traditions of the Ingles family she is known and remembered only as "the old Dutch woman."[44]

Since the New River Valley in 1755 had only a handful of European families, the Bingamans were probably known to the Ingles family. The Harmons, at whose cabin Mary Draper Ingles first appeared after her escape, must have known the Bingamans as well. According to Hale:

> Harmon and his sons had been neighbors of Mrs. Ingles at Draper's Meadows, before her capture, and before they came down here to make this new clearing and settlement. As neighbors on a frontier, where neighbors are scarce, they had known each other well.[45]

Finally, the Bingamans left the area long before the first accounts of Mrs. Ingles' story were written, so there would have been no fear of reprisals for naming one of their family members as the prospective cannibal, the Old Dutch Woman.

John Bingaman's Estate and Stills

After the death of John and his wife in the Shawnee raids, their son, John Jr., was the executor[46] of his father's estate. The estate appraisers, Jacob Miler, Hance Margret, and Francis Kirtley, inventoried the elder John's personal property. This inventory, which they submitted to the Court of Augusta County on August 21, 1756, provides interesting insight into the personal lives of the early pioneers:[47]

Table 2: Inventory of John Bingaman's Personal Property

Item	Value	Item	Value
4 head of cattle	£4 10s	Citel (kettle)	16s
1 gray horse	£7	Sickle & lock	6s 6d
1 bay horse	£4	Spinning wheel	8s
1 roan mare and colt	£10	Old Lumber	18s
4 small (?) steers	£3 5s	Old Lumber	6s
1 still	£15	Old clothes	15s 6d
1 brass still	£5 10s	Bedding	£1 13s
Wagon and gears	£11	Flax and ---	£1 1s
2 sawls (saws)	£1 5s	Bels (bells), colers (collars)	
1 hanssaw (handsaw) ax	6s	sith (scythe) chean (chain)	12s
1 gun	8s	Bible	£1
Old pewter and knives	£2	Money seals botel (?) gilt pot	10s
Lumber	10s	Cash	£28 2s 10d
1 pot and frying pan	10s	Mattock	3s
1 hakel (flax comb) <> Pan		1 pot and pan	6s

The importance to a pioneer of the stills listed in John's estate should not be underestimated. Whiskey was a popular drink, and farmers often supplemented their incomes by distilling their grain crops into whiskey. Farmers living in the mountains also distilled whiskey because whiskey was easier and less expensive to transport to the larger markets of the Piedmont Region than the more cumbersome grain. In addition, cash was always in

short supply on the frontier, so whiskey served as a form of currency. Even though the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 was more than 300 miles away in western Pennsylvania, it further illustrates the importance of these stills. It was an attempt by fellow frontiersmen to overthrow an excise tax on corn liquor.[48] Indeed, whiskey-distilling, both legal and otherwise, continues in some portions of the southern Appalachian Mountains to this day.

John owned not one but two stills. The first of these stills, valued at £15, was the most expensive item on the inventory. The brass still listed next was valued at £5. While there are no records that John was running a tavern along with a ferry, the value of these stills suggests this as a possibility. Alternately, John could have been operating a business to distill grain crops for his neighbors.

It is interesting to note what was considered important and its value in this inventory. While it is difficult to make a realistic comparison of colonial pounds to dollars today, specific items can be compared.[49] For example, the first line is four head of cattle with a total value of £4 10s (averaging a little over a £1). Today cattle in their prime fetch $800 to $1500 or at the current exchange rate of $1.61 (as of October 1, 2012) to the pound – approximately £500 to £950. The horses were more valuable with the grey horse valued at £7; the bay horse at £4 and the roan mare and colt at £10. With the advent of other modes of transportation, the value of the horses has not kept up with cattle. Today a (non-thoroughbred) riding horse costs from a few hundred dollars to a few thousand dollars.

A number of smaller value items such as a Bible, spinning wheel, bedding, old clothes, flax for making clothing, and cooking utensils on the inventory would have made life easier for the family. Two saws, a handsaw, and a mattock (similar to a pick ax) are also listed and would have been valuable to a pioneer family in clearing the land.

Finally, the amount of cash on hand (£28 2s 10d) was surprising given that it represented more than one-fourth of John's personal property. The total value of John's personal property was £101 47s 6d. In addition to this personal property, John and his wife owned more than 750 acres of land, including prime river-front property and a ferry. Again, while a direct comparison is difficult, it is obvious that the Bingamans were a prosperous frontier family.

John, Jr. did not settle his father's estate until 1763 after selling several parcels of land belonging to his father in 1762. In 1763 he settled debts for £124 17s 8d to Patton's executors (£90 in principal and the rest in interest) and £40 1s 3d to "Willy." The payment to Patton's executors was presumably to settle a land debt. John, Jr. also records significant payments to his brothers (£29 16s 7d to Henry and £24 15s to Christian) to settle their

portion of the inheritance. An additional heir is Jacob Shull or Shell who was paid £17 10s.[50] While Shull's relationship to the Bingaman family is unknown, it is interesting to note that Jacob was added to the tithables at the same time as the three Bingaman brothers and a J. Schell is listed as a head of family in the same Pennsylvania church that John and his wife attended. In addition, as noted above, a Shell/Shull family history may be the origin of the "Old Dutch Woman" stories.

The Brothers

John, Sr. and his wife had at least four sons and one daughter. One son, Adam, was killed in the 1755 Shawnee raids along with his mother and father. Katherine Bingaman, probably their daughter, was captured in these raids but later ransomed. Another son was captured but his fate is unknown. He may be one of the surviving sons or an additional child.

The three surviving sons Christian, Henry, and John, Jr. were added to the tithables list in Augusta County in 1756.[51] In Colonial Virginia this was a list of free white men aged 16 and over and slaves and free people of color of both sexes. It was used to assess a poll tax on each "productive" person. Free white women were not included in the list.

As noted earlier, the first brother, Christian, was a lieutenant in the French and Indian War. In 1764, he married Charity Hollowell, and with her moved to the Natchez, Mississippi area. This area had been ceded to the British by the French in the Treaty of Paris (1763) that ended the French and Indian War. Christian and Charity had several children, including sons named Adam and Christian, Jr. and a daughter named Catherine. Christian, Sr. died in 1778 in West Feliciana in the present-day state of Louisiana, just down stream on the Mississippi from Natchez.[52]

The second brother, John, Jr., was the executor of his father's estate. When John, Jr. sold his father's property in 1762, he and his wife, Elizabeth, were living in Broomfield Parish of Culpeper County, Virginia, not far from Staunton.[53] No further mention of John, Jr. or his wife can be found in the historical records in Virginia.

The final brother, Henry, who had been baptized at the New Goshenhoppen Church in Pennsylvania, stayed the longest in the New River Valley. The Kegleys wrote a biographical sketch of Henry Bingaman in *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*:[54] In 1786, Henry married Mary Wylie. Henry and his sons, Henry, Jr. and John, were listed as members of Daniel Trigg's Company and later Captain Taylor's Company of Militia during the Revolutionary War.

Henry owned land on Plum Creek near the New River. An old cabin still standing near Highway 11, just outside current-day Radford, Virginia, is called the Bingaman cabin by the current land owners. The cabin stands on or near a 40-acre mill site that Henry and Mary sold to William Pepper in 1797.[55] Henry and his family moved via the Cumberland Gap to Garrard County, Kentucky, about 50 miles south of Lexington. Here Henry died in 1807. [56]

Conclusion

In this article we have looked at a simple pioneer story. The Bingamans lived in the New River Valley for fewer than 50 years. With remarkably little exception, they left no lasting reminders of their presence. Their "claim to fame" was that three family members were killed and two more captured in Indian raids. Today, the Bingamans are best known for their infamous but mistaken role in the Mary Draper Ingles "The Long Way Home" story. The men left a collective impression of strength and bravery, fighting whatever enemy presented itself, whether Native American, French, or British.

The more important and long-lasting Bingaman contributions to the New River Valley were that they settled the land, briefly ran an important ferry and later a mill, made whiskey, married, had children, and fought in two wars. Like many pioneer families they moved on to cheaper land west of the Appalachians as their families grew. The descendants of John Bingaman and his son, Henry, moved to Indiana, then Illinois and Iowa and other points west. A Bingaman descendant is U.S. Senator Jeff Bingaman (Democrat, New Mexico, 1983–2013). The author of this article is the elder John's five times great-granddaughter.

Endnotes

1. The name "Bingaman" has been spelled various ways including Bingemon, Bingemann, Bingerman and Bingamann. I have consistently used the modern spelling of Bingaman unless used in a quote where I retained the spelling of the original author.
2. Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany,1648–1840* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 96–100 esp. 100.
3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 15th ed., s.v. "William Penn."
4. Benjamin Franklin, "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc.," in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), IV, 234.
5. Pennsylvania State Archives, *Original Warrants, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania*, B, 19. The land survey is in *Survey Book A*, 200.
6. I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776* (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1985), 473.
7. Rupp, *Collection*, 475.
8. Rupp, *Collection*, 436.

9. New Goshenhoppen United Church of Christ, "About Us," accessed on July 10, 2012, *http://newgoshucc.org/AboutUs/aboutus.html.*
10. Rev. William John Hinke, *History of the Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (1727–1819)* (Lancaster, Pa.: New Era Printing Company, 1920), 117.
11. The Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses, *Pennsylvania German Church Records* (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983), 4–15 and 41.
12. See Patricia Givens Johnson, *The New River Early Settlement* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1983), 108.
13. See Hinke, *History,* 87–95, for a discussion of Miller's conversion and its effects on the New Goshenhoppen congregation.
14. J. Max Hark, trans., *Chronicon Ephratense* (Lancaster, Pa.: S.J. Zahn & Co., 1889), 188–189: "A young Brother in the Settlement, Henry Zinn by name, also longed at last for such a life of license; he begged the Brethren to accompany him thither, and promised in return to love them all his lifelong. He and the whole family of Bingeman were there killed by the Indians."
15. Julius Sachse, "The Registers of the Ephrata Community," accessed July 10, 2012, *http://www.cob-net.org/text/gencloister01.html.*
16. *Index of Berks County, Pennsylvania, Wills and Administration Records, 1752-1850,* 18, accessed July 10, 2012, *www.Ancestry.com.*
17. Morton L. Montgomery, compiler, *History of Reading, Pennsylvania and the Anniversary Proceedings for the Sesqui-Centennial June 5–12, 1898* (Reading, Pa.: Times Book Print, 1898), 22.
18. Rupp, *Collection,* 330.
19. Most of the listings (accessed on September 30, 2012) for early Bingamans on Ancestry.com and similar websites incorrectly assume that John and J. Jost are the same person.
20. *Augusta County Court Records Order Book V* (July 15, 1756), 193 lists three Bingamans as being added to the tithables list in 1756: Christian, John, and Henry. Since Christian and Henry were heirs to John, Sr. in his estate which was administered by John, Jr., it is logical to assume that they were brothers. Adam was killed in the Shawnee raids of 1755. Augusta County Court Records are available at the County Court House in Staunton, Va.
21. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), I, 53.
22. *Augusta County Court Records Order Book III* (November 18, 1752), 377.
23. James A. Cox, "Bilboes, Brands, and Branks: Colonial Crime and Punishments," *Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* (Summer 2003), accessed July 10, 2012, *www.history.org/Foundation/journal.* "The pillory was employed for treason, sedition, arson, blasphemy, witchcraft, perjury, wife beating, cheating, forgery, coin clipping, dice cogging, slandering, conjuring, fortune-telling, and drunkenness, among other offenses. One man was set in the pillory for delivering false dinner invitations; another for being the author of a rough practical joke; another for selling a harmful quack medicine. All sharpers, beggars, vagabonds, and shiftless persons were in danger of being pilloried."
24. Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters* (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1980), *I,* 193 and *III,* Part 1, 223.
25. *Augusta County Deed Book VI,* 232–234. There are two documents back-to-back in this volume that deal with the transfer of 100 acres on "Woods" River from Humphrey Baker to John Bingaman, Sr. The first is a lease for 5s dated May 9, 1754. The second is sale of the same land for £100 and is dated May 10, 1754. Both documents were recorded on May 16, 1754.
26. Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers, II,* 320.
27. Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers, III,* Part 1, 225.
28. French Canadians refer to this war as *La guerre de la Conquête* (translated The War of Conquest) since its treaty ceded French-speaking Canada to the British Empire.
29. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 15th ed., s.v. "French and Indian War."

30. "Preston Register," *Draper Manuscript Collection,* Series 1QQ83. State Historical Sociey of Wisconsin The original handwritten register is first followed by a typed transcription.
31. Lewis Preston Summers in his *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County 1777–1870* (Richmond, Va.: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903), 59 incorrectly transcribes the entry for the "Bingeman's son and daughter" to be "Bridgeman's son and daughter."
32. The Preston Registers lists Mrs. English [sic] and her 2 children as being taken prisoner on July 30, 1755. Only Mrs. English [Ingles] is listed as escaped.
33. Virginia Gazette (August 8, 1755), 3.
34. J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia,* 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1998), 117.
35. "The narrative of John Bingaman (1763)," *Draper Manuscript Collection, Series 1ZZ36.* Historical Society of Wisconsin. The handwriting on this account is often illegible. My thanks to the reviewers of this article for their assistance in deciphering some of the more difficult passages. To aid readability, I have added punctuation that was absent in the original. From the original it appears that the place and date given could be where the narrative was given to the recorder or where the events occurred.
36. Charles W. Crush, compiler, *The Montgomery County Story, 1776–1957* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975), 44. Crush is quoting from a work by H. L. Price, which is quoting an unpublished family history by Jno. W. Shell. Since the origins of this story can not be verified, it should be viewed as amusing as opposed to factual.
37. Lloyd DeWitt Bockstruck, *Virginia's Colonial Soldiers* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1988), 5 and 204.
38. Mary B. Kegley, compiler, *Militia of Montgomery County, Virginia 1777–1790* (Dublin, Va.: Published by compiler, 1975), 45 and 47–48.
39. Notably, the story related by Crush in the preceding section as well as the play "The Long Way Home" by Earl Hobson Smith and *Lovely Mount Tavern* by Daniel Dunbar Howe (Boyce, Va.: Carr Publishing Company, Inc., 1963) 16. Most recently a Historical Map of Montgomery County (Roanoke, Va.: J. R. Hildebrand, 1970) available at the Montgomery County Museum, shows a location near the New River: "Christian Bingaman lived here. His wife was the 'Old Dutch Woman' in the Mary Ingles Story." James Alexander Thom's book *Follow the River* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981), 401, identifies the Old Dutch Woman as a Stumf.
40. In colonial America, German-speaking people were often referred to as "Dutch."
41. F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Va.: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), 256: "Katharine Bingaman was taken by the Shawnese [*sic*] Indians in 1755 and afterward redeemed by Col. Byrd. She lost all she had and asked for relief. – Col Byrd allowed for this expense."
42. John P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers: Historical Sketches of the First White Settlements West of the Alleghenies, 1748 and After* (Cincinnati: The Graphic Press, 1886), 42.
43. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers,* 90.
44. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers,* 90.
45. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers,* 86.
46. *Augusta County Will Book III,* 223. When John, Sr.'s estate is settled on February 16, 1763, John, Jr. is shown as the executor. Normally an executor must be named in a will but no will for John, Sr. is available in the Augusta County records.
47. *Augusta County Will Book II,* 177. To aid readability, I have updated the spelling of some items.
48. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 15th ed., s.v. "Whiskey Rebellion."
49. For an excellent discussion on the difficulty of comparing monetary amounts in colonial Virginia to present day see "How Much is That in Today's Money?" by Ed Crews, *Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* (Summer 2002), accessed on July 10, 2012, *www.history.org/Foundation/journal.*
50. *Augusta County Will Book III,* 223.

51. Chalkley, *Chronicles*, I, 74.
52. Walter Lowrie, *Early Settlers of Mississippi as Taken from Land Claims in the Mississippi Territory* (Greenville, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1986), Register A, Abstracts for May 1805 and September 1805, 793 and 778.
53. Kegley, *Early Adventurers, III,* Part 1, 225.
54. Information in this section was taken from the section on Henry Bingaman in Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers, I,* 325.
55. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers, I,* 227–231 identify this cabin as the Haven Log House.
56. *Garrard County Kentucky Will Book B* (1808), 199, records Henry Bingaman's will.

William Preston the Surveyor and the Great Virginia Land Grab

Jim Glanville

Introduction

One way to tell the story of colonial Virginia is to track the growth of its land area. Land acquisition and surveying were central elements of Virginia's political and economic growth. The first part of this article describes that growth, as it occurred via the county-by-county extension of organized political jurisdiction in the colony. Near the end of the colonial era, the designated surveyors who held office in the newly forming counties of western Virginia came to wield great power and influence in the affairs of the colony. The second part of the article describes the life and career of the surveyor William Preston (1729–1783) of Greenfield and Smithfield, who by the time of the Revolution had become the most powerful and influential county surveyor of all.

By right of discovery, the crown (the English monarchy) claimed and held original title to the land of Virginia. Throughout the colonial period, Virginians transferred the colony's land from the crown into their own private hands.

During the first century of the colonial period, land transfer took place via the system of headrights. The Virginia Company established headrights in 1618 to encourage immigration and provided that "any person who settled in Virginia or paid for the transportation expenses of another person who settled in Virginia should be entitled to receive fifty acres of land."[1] Eventually, the same per capita 50-acre land grant applied to slaves brought into the colony—a practice that Virginia Governor Francis Nicholson in 1699 railed against as a "very Great cheat."[2] By 1700, lax colonial administration and abuse of the headrights system had allowed a small Virginia oligarchy to accumulate vast private estates.

During the later part of the colonial period, the treasury rights system replaced the headrights system of land transfer. A treasury right allowed the purchase of land in 50-acre lots for five shillings sterling per lot, with a limit on the number of lots any given purchaser could buy. With this new system

of limited land sale, the imperial government hoped both to raise money and simultaneously to prevent affluent men from acquiring huge tracts of land for long-term speculation. Acting under orders from London, Governor Alexander Spotswood attempted for several years to bring the land transfer system under control. In 1714, however, Spotswood—seeing the futility of what he was asked to accomplish—reversed course and purchased much land for himself. After that year, and continuing to the time of the American Revolution, oligarchs and speculators acquired vast areas of crown land west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In 1734, the formation of the enormous Orange County (see Figure 1) opened huge areas of western Virginia for acquisition and initiated the "Great Virginia Land Grab" referred to in the title of this article.

The period from 1621 to 1709 is what Sarah Hughes designates "The Era of the Surveyor Generals."[3] During this period, the men who occupied the office of surveyor general were invariably Virginians of the highest rank. The duties of the office were to keep a record of all the surveys made, appoint the county surveyors, usually on the suggestion of the justices of the peace of the county where the surveyor resided, and grant commissions to all county surveyors and their deputies.[4] When the College of William and Mary was founded in 1692, its charter included provisions for the college to take over the duties of the office of surveyor general and for that office to become void once the college was functional.[5] The reasons for this change were complex, though both political infighting and the desire to provide an income for the college were among them. After 1709, and with the demise of the surveyor general's office, county surveyors gained power and influence, and particularly so in the western counties, which were vast and little settled, and where the county surveyor could select and survey the best land for himself and his friends.

County surveyors in eastern Virginia traditionally belonged among the political, economic, and social leadership. In newly formed western counties, a skillful and ambitious man from the lower social ranks, or even an immigrant such as William Preston, could leverage his way into the ranks of the elite via the office of county surveyor. Despite his humble origin, William Preston upheld and perpetuated the conservative social order of wealthy, eastern Virginians. In part, because the conservative elite so successfully co-opted and incorporated talented men of lower rank, Virginia avoided much of the social unrest seen in the second half of the eighteenth century among the frontier populations of the adjacent colonies of North Carolina and Pennsylvania. Historian Lynn Nelson observed that "By the 1760s and 1770s, the inhabitants of the southern backcountry went from

impudence into full-blown civil insurrection. Colonial elites met uprisings like the Paxton march [in Pennsylvania] and the Carolina Regulations [the Regulator movement in North Carolina] with aristocratic contempt, demanding that backwoods rioters recognize their social inferiority and leave political matters to their betters."[6] It is noteworthy that western Virginia remained free of insurrection and uprisings.

Historians have written numerous books and articles about the manner in which Virginians engrossed the crown's land as outlined above and a number of such works are cited in the present article. Two books, already cited above, have been particularly useful in the preparation of this article and deserve special mention.

The first book deserving special mention is Sarah Hughes's 1979 *Surveyors and Statesmen.*[7] She tells in this book that after 1740, as vast areas of western land were organized into counties, the colonial county surveyors of the region rose in power and prestige in an unprecedented way. Hughes notes that some 5,000 square miles of the Tidewater had been surveyed and settled between 1607 and 1700, while from 1700 to the time of the Revolution, over 45,000 square miles of new territory were surveyed.

The second book deserving special mention is Anthony Parent's 2002 *Foul Means* in which he describes the formation of Virginia's slave-based society from 1660 to 1740. This book develops the concept that Virginia was created by the continuous and long-lasting taking of land from the crown by the colonists. "The Landgrab" is the title of the first chapter of Parent's study.[8] In that chapter, he examines the origins, behavior, and ideology of Virginia's great-planter class and concludes that its members gained power by organizing land, labor, and trade to serve their interests. Parent's "Landgrab" covers roughly the years 1630 to 1740, while the "Great Virginia Land Grab" described here covers roughly the years 1740 to 1783, with 1783 being the year of William Preston's death.

The second part of this article, which focuses on the surveying career of William Preston, shows how that career places a capstone on the great eighteenth-century colonial land grab. The occupation of surveying was Preston's life's work, and his skill and success at it, and the opportunities for dealing in land that it brought, enabled him to become wealthy, powerful, and influential. As Wirt Wills has noted, "William Preston became the important person that he was because he was the epitome of the colonial county surveyor of the eighteenth century in Virginia" and that almost overnight this Scots-Irish immigrant entered the ranks of the elite Eastern Virginians, "who normally took generations to evolve."[9] Biographies of Preston consist of a 1971 master's thesis, a 1976 book by a regional

historian, and a 1990 Ph.D. thesis.[10] These biographies describe and detail Preston's civic, military, political, and personal life, aspects of his life that are only briefly and incidentally mentioned in this article. William Preston's 31 years as a deputy surveyor or surveyor, from 1752 until his death in 1783, coincided with an important and complicated phase of the history of colonial Virginia.

Sarah Hughes sums up William Preston's surveying career as follows:

> The ability of William Preston and Thomas Lewis to defend their interests against encroachment of powerful speculators like Washington and Dunmore is indicative of the autonomy and power of the last generation of colonial surveyors in Virginia. Consolidation of authority was closely related to the fact that men of their era throughout the colony had more stable careers than any of their predecessors except those in the last third of the seventeenth century. Surveying in the years between 1750 and 1776 was more often a lifetime vocation. Ten men of this generation worked as surveyors for thirty or more years, another seventeen spent from sixteen to twenty-nine years in the profession, and five others surveyed for from ten to fifteen years. Thus, in the generation whose service extended from mid-century until after the Revolution, the profession had a large corps of men of extensive experience. Not coincidentally, these were the surveyors who measured the last frontier within the bounds of modern Virginia.[11]

Commenting on Hughes's work, Stephen Strausberg added:

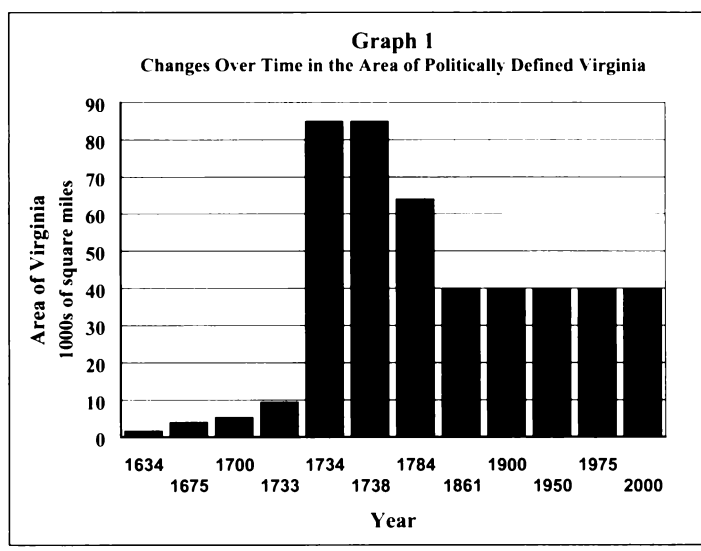
> The last and most tempestuous period of the surveyor of Virginia occurred between 1773 and 1775. Under pressure from land speculators, Governor Dunmore sanctioned the preliminary survey of the Ohio Valley. The dubious legality of his actions created a controversy over the legitimacy of land claims. Many county surveyors who participated in the final surveys, such as William Preston, John Floyd, and George Carrington, were later enthusiastic supporters of the patriot cause. Moreover, their knowledge of the topography of the backcountry served them in good stead during the Revolution.[12]

Quantification of the Growth of Colonial Virginia's Land Area

The growth (and eventual decline) of Virginia's land area is summarized numerically in Table 1 and depicted visually in Graph 1.

Table 1: Changes over Time in the Area of Politically Defined Virginia		
Year	Approximate Area of Virginia (Square miles)	Comments
1634	1,700	Virginia'a original shires
1675	4,000	Counties added around the Chesapeake Bay
1700	5,300	Counties added on Northern Neck, etc.
1733	9,400	Counties added in the Piedmont
1734	85,000	Creation of Orange County (conservative estimate)
1738	85,000	Augusta County created from Orange
1784	64,000	After western land was ceded to the federal government
1861–2012	40,000	Present Virginia after the creation of West Virginia

Note to Table 1:
The principal sources of the area data for this table have been the *U.S. National Atlas*[13] and the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* (Virginia file). The author has on file a table he prepared that shows the changing area of Virginia as counties were successively added, from which the above data has been abstracted. The land areas in column 2 are rounded, and the comments in column 3 are generalizations. The 1734 value noted above and taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* is labeled a conservative estimate because it can easily be argued that Orange County, Virginia, extended to the Pacific.[14] The area of the entire U.S. is about 3,700,000 square miles, so modern Virginia is about 1 percent of the U.S. area.



The complex story of the formation of Virginia's counties and their subsequent subdivisions from larger county units into smaller ones has been told at least twice in print.[15] In 2010, the Newberry Library in Chicago published online sets of state maps[16] showing over time the boundary changes of every county in every state.[17] Data from the Newberry Library file of Virginia county maps is incorporated into Table 1, and several maps from that file are reproduced in this article.

An excellent online animation showing the county-by-county growth of Virginia has recently been made available via the genealogical community.[18] This animation, which can be stopped for examination at any county formation date, is an extremely useful adjunct to the work presented in this section of the article.

Overnight, with the formation of Orange County in 1734 as quantified in Table 1 and Graph 1, and mapped in Figure 1, the area of politically defined Virginia[19] increased approximately nine-fold. It could be said that this is the beginning moment of the great Virginia land grab.

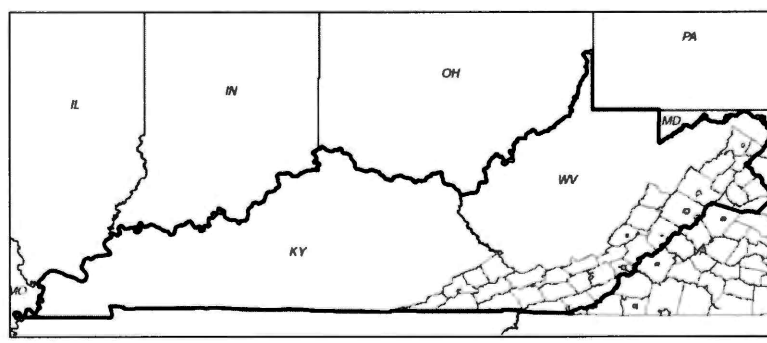


Figure 1. The *Atlas of of Historical County Boundaries* "Version 1" map shows Orange County, Virginia, as it was formed in 1734 with an area of 80,246 square miles.[20] Its formation increased Virginia's land area roughly nine-fold and much more if Orange is considered to extend to the Pacific coast.

Just four years later, in 1738, Augusta County was formed from the western 95 percent of Orange County. A few pioneers were doubtless already there when the county formally came into existence. However, Augusta's settlement, principally by Scots-Irish immigrants, began in earnest around 1740 as a consequence of a somewhat unlikely collaboration between the influential Essex County oligarch William Beverley and the Irish-born ship captain James Patton.[21] Patton was William Preston's uncle.

Today, the citizens of Augusta County are justifiably proud of their county's heritage as one of the largest ever Virginia counties and as a county

that plays a special role in Virginia's history. Augusta County originally covered an enormous area (from the Outer Banks to Minneapolis) as shown on the map in Figure 2.[22] A six-foot-wide stone reproduction of the map in Figure 2, which stands on the forecourt of the Augusta County courthouse, is seen in Figure 3.

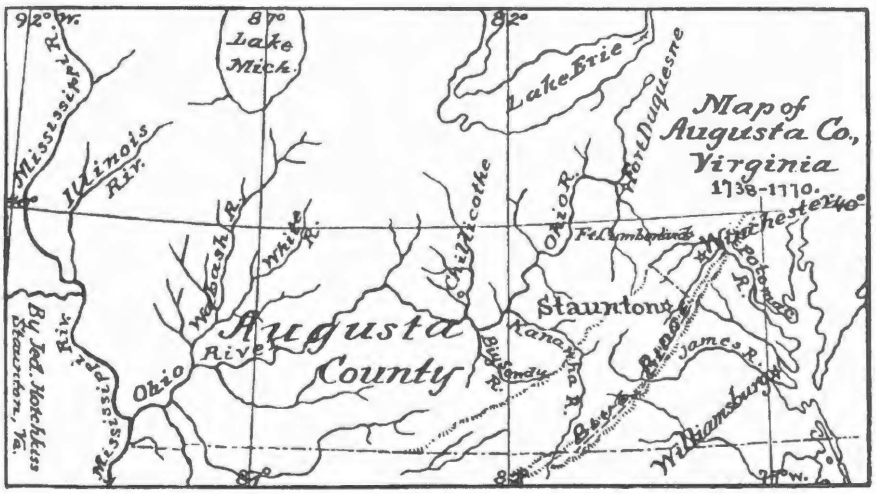


Figure 2. Jedediah Hotchkiss's "Map of Augusta Co., Virginia, 1738–1770," prepared for and published as the frontispiece in the first edition of Joseph Waddell's history of Augusta County in 1886.
Longtime cartographer Jedediah Hotchkiss (1828–1899) lived in Staunton and is best known as being the maker of maps for General Stonewall Jackson and his topographical engineer.
The map scale is approximately 1,200 miles west to east and 600 miles north to south.

Figure 3. The stone version of the 1886 Hotchkiss map lies at the foot of the flag pole in front of the Augusta County courthouse in Staunton, Virginia. Photo by Jim Glanville, January 2011.
The monument was dedicated on November 9, 1988, the 250th anniversary of the formation of Augusta County.
John S. Hale of Staunton designed the monument, and it was made by Tony Grappone of Richmond.

Land Acquisition in Colonial Virginia

The broadest treatment of the subject of land acquisition in colonial Virginia is the book by Daniel Friedenberg, provocatively titled *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America.*[23] Here is the opening of chapter 4:

> Colonial Virginia is the story of land jobbery [conducting public business for improper private gain] based on the Siamese twins of tobacco and slavery. The obsession of Virginians for land began early: In order to encourage immigration the Virginia Company had allotted fifty acres of land to proprietors for every person they brought to the colony. The practice was continued by the crown after the company lost its charter ....

However, compare Friedenberg's quote with professional historian W. Stitt Robinson, Jr.'s statement about seventeenth-century land acquisition in Virginia:

> The abuses of the land system and lax enforcement of its major principles brought forth a detailed discussion of its many facets by the Board of Trade near the end of the century. Reforms were proposed that would enhance the royal revenue by collection of the quitrent [land tax] and would prevent the accumulation of large estates. But the existence of vast areas of unoccupied land on the frontier militated against the restriction, and there was considerable opposition to feudal tenures and to the payment of rents to the crown. The proposed reforms did not prevent the acquisition of large land holdings; the few large estates of the seventeenth century increased both in number and size in the eighteenth century, and from them were developed the large plantations of some of the well-known Virginia leaders of the American Revolution.[24]

As noted in the introduction, Sarah Hughes calls the period 1621–1709, during which the headrights system was the key to vast Virginia land acquisition, the "Era of the Surveyor Generals." During most of this period, the office of surveyor general was powerful and prestigious and held only by men with full-fledged membership in the Virginia oligarchy such as Peter Beverley and John Robinson. The concentration of power in the hands of just twenty or so Virginia families (including those of Beverley and Robinson) has been described recently by Emory Evans.[25] At the end of the seventeenth century, the aggressive, new land-seeking elite battled with the colony's governors and ultimately with the king about how Virginia's land would be owned and controlled.

In British America, ultimate bureaucratic authority for surveying and documenting land fell to the Plantations Office, commonly referred to as the Board of Trade. As part of a program to codify the state of English colonies around the world, the board in 1670 directed that all colonies develop detailed maps of their land, cities, rivers, and coastlines. In Virginia, this task was undertaken enthusiastically, with most colonists obtaining surveys of their own property. Virginians commissioned plats of their land defined by lines between natural landmarks such as trees, rocks, and river bends, and deeds to platted property included a map of its "metes and bounds." With the introduction of platting, the geodetic description of land replaced the earlier customary method that described property by its topography and usage. As a consequence of these developments, "between the 1690s and the 1720s, Virginians quadrupled the amount of land that had been surveyed."[26]

Anthony Parent wrote, "By the 1690s, planters were aggressively acquiring Indian land by fraud, petition, and leasehold. Indians began to sell land to the English but also complained of English theft and treachery in land dealings, which the government continued to attempt to check."[27]

In 1698, the Board of Trade instructed the newly appointed Governor Francis Nicholson, who held office from 1698 to 1705, to slow the acquisition of Virginia land by allowing only the taking up of homesteads or family farms. The board wanted Virginians to take up more land in order to generate more revenue for the crown in the form of rent (the so-called quitrents); however, it wanted to end the acquisition for private gain of land that would not be settled. To this end, the board advised Nicholson that "none shall acquire a Right by merely importing, or buying of servants." Thus began a process by which "royal governors tried to wrest control over the land from the great-planter class."[28] Nicholson was popular in the House of Burgesses and with Virginians at large. However, his efforts to implement the board's orders to curb fraudulent land grants, even with moderation, led him into direct conflict with the members of the Virginia Council and a stalemate. Eventually, Nicholson was recalled, and the "mighty dons" were left holding the field.[29]

In 1706, in a statute called "The Duty of Surveyors," the Virginia legislature promulgated rules that established how surveyors functioned until the American Revolution. The statute imposed a regulation requiring that a claim to land by patent could be made only by the sworn and commissioned county surveyor (or an authorized deputy) of the county in which the land was located. This statute contributed to the western county surveyors acquiring great power. As described in the introduction, the headrights system of seventeenth-century land acquisition was supplemented and eventually

replaced in the eighteenth century by the system of "treasury rights."[30] The system of land acquisition both evolved over time and required several steps before an individual could acquire legal title. It was, as Virginia librarian Minor Weisiger notes, a "complicated process to understand."[31]

After Governor Nicholson's departure and following short terms of office by three different Virginia governors between 1706 and 1710, the battle between the crown and the oligarchs for Virginia's western land was joined in renewed earnest with the arrival of a new, young (aged 35) governor. Alexander Spotswood, who was actually lieutenant governor to the absentee George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney, lived in Williamsburg from 1710 to 1722. After his term of office, he went to England in 1724 to marry and to secure title to his Virginia lands. He returned to Virginia in 1729 to live at Germanna on the Rapidan River in the newly created Spotsylvania County and continued there until his death (while on a visit to Annapolis) in 1740.[32]

Spotswood was a well-trained English soldier who understood the global reach of the British Empire and realized that French presence and control of the inner part of North America, along the corridor of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, threatened permanent constriction of the Virginia Colony to the coastal plain. He saw the need for Virginians to settle their western land. Thus, in 1716, Spotswood personally led an expedition party of leading Virginians, to which history gives the colorful name of "The Knights of the Golden Horseshoe."[33] Emory Evans wrote:

> Alexander Spotswood's exploratory trip across the mountains in 1716 and his subsequent acquisition of large amounts of land in the new county of Spotsylvania had turned the eyes of wealthy Virginians westward. Robert Beverley and Thomas Lee, among others, had been involved with Spotswood, and it was Beverley's son William who in the 1720s and early 1730s began aggressively to explore the possibility of acquiring land west of the mountains. Time was of an essence because "northern men" were busily taking up land and bringing in settlers from Pennsylvania and elsewhere. Beverley and some associates, the "first discoverers," had trouble getting their land surveyed, but in early 1732 the survey had been finished, and they "sold the Land to a pensilvania man for 3 lbs [pounds] of their money pr hundred." This had been done without obtaining grants for the land, and Beverley wrote on April 30 to what appears to have been a member of the council requesting that he obtain an order for 15,000 acres "at the first Council held after you receive this." The rights were granted on May 5; he was in the clear, providing that "the same do not interfere with any of the Tracts already granted in that part of the Colony."[34]

During Spotwood's twelve-year tenure as governor, conditions were put in place for the subsequent opening up of the western regions for the Great Virginia Land Grab. After trying for ten years to get the Virginia oligarchs to actually settle their western land, as opposed to holding it for sale and profit, he switched horses. According to Manning C. Voorhis,

> By 1720 Spotswood was ready for what appears to be a complete about-face on his former land and quitrent policy. This reversal was partly acceptance of the inevitable and partly the result of a new policy for the encouragement of westward expansion. The method of encouragement adopted was mainly the result of a further surrender of the views of the Board of Trade. This translation was made easier by a new viewpoint assumed by the governor.[35]

Fairfax Harrison, a student of the history of Virginia land grants, reports that after his governorship, Spotswood

> became a frontier landholder. Indeed, the 85,000 acres he put together in one boundary before 1727, reaching eight or ten miles about Germanna, made him the tallest tree in that forest until Robert Carter outgrew him. In doing this he did not, however, belie his earlier denunciation of the speculators. Uniformly, he had directed his criticism not to the extent of the holdings, but to the dog in the manger policy by which the "great tracts" remained "for the greatest part uncultivated to the great prejudice of the colony and the discouragement of future adventurers where they can find little or no convenient land to plant upon."[36]

By 1731, legitimate settlers were on the lands of the Fairfax grant in the northeastern end of the Valley of Virginia; squatters had been there perhaps a decade earlier. In the south, Brunswick County, created in 1720 and originally incorporating most of Southside Virginia east of the Blue Ridge, was beginning to be populated. In between, Orange County and Beverley Manor were on the verge of formation and settlement. These developments and the frenzied climate for the acquisition of western land set the stage for William Preston's arrival in Virginia and his subsequent career as a deputy and county surveyor.

By the 1740s, the power and influence of Virginia's surveyors became strongly localized, particularly after 1744, when they were required to live in the county where they practiced. This was the situation in the frontier county of Augusta and the many successor counties into which it eventually was divided.

When the first Augusta court met in 1745, the English crown held theoretical title to the county's land. However, Virginia's governor and the Virginia Council exercised actual practical authority for the dispensation of the land without any involvement from the government in England. The key figures in the acquisition of crown lands were the county surveyor, the colonial secretary, and the governor and members of the Virginia Council. The process of an individual acquiring land could be initiated in one of two ways: either by directly petitioning the governor and council in Williamsburg for a grant of land, or by filing an entry with the county surveyor, Thomas Lewis, requesting that he survey the desired land. In the latter case, once Lewis (or one of his deputies, such as Preston) had completed the survey, the applicant took the plat to Williamsburg and filed it with the colonial secretary's office. Once the freehold patent was issued, the applicant had his land.[37]

Preston's career coincided with the time period of Virginia's greatest geographic expansion, which accelerated after Governor Alexander Spotswood abandoned his efforts to control the western land grab. Manning C. Voorhis wrote that between 1728 and 1748:

> more land was patented than in the first hundred years of the colony. Grants of ten and twenty thousand acres became routine business, and soon speculators reached out for tracts extending to over a hundred thousand acres. Most of this was done in contradiction to orders from England. But who was there to protest?"[38]

During this period, Virginia Council members and their friends were particularly favored. West of the Blue Ridge, men such as William Beverley and Preston's uncle James Patton were promised an additional 1,000 acres for every family that came to live on their already-granted tracts of about 100,000 acres each. Beverley was a council member and Patton's sponsor. After they paid some upfront expenses for exploration, surveying, and to hire land agents, the Virginians gained full ownership of the land, which they then sold or rented to settlers. The Virginians had developed a fine system for making raw material from crown land.[39]

In July 1749, the Virginia Council made enormous land grants to syndicates of well-placed men. The Loyal Company (John Lewis, Thomas Lewis, Edmund Pendleton, Peter Jefferson, Thomas Walker, and others) was granted 800,000 acres (1,250 square miles) on Virginia's southwestern frontier. On the northwestern frontier, the Ohio Company (Thomas Lee, John Mercer, Lawrence Washington, Robert Dinwiddie, the Duke of

Bedford, and others) was granted 200,000 acres (300 square miles). These and other powerful land companies competed for western land until the time of the Revolution. William Preston frequently surveyed for the Loyal Company land.[40]

The Work of the Frontier Surveyor

For individuals who traveled in person to the frontier to acquire land, the role of the county surveyor was critical to their success or failure. Professor Turk McCleskey explains:

> For strangers confronted with vast expanses of unfenced and apparently unmarked territory, the task [of finding available land] was all but impossible without assistance from established inhabitants and county officials. Unfortunately for newcomers, these key individuals had little incentive to help strangers locate crown lands. Many settled Augusta County residents had land of their own to sell, while others found unwelcome any competition for interstitial land that they themselves intended to patent.[41]

Figure 4. This surveyor's compass (circumferentor) and chain are held on permanent display at Smithfield Plantation in Blacksburg. Both the circumferentor and the 66-link chain seen here have no historical association with William Preston. However, they are similar to those that would have been used by him and his deputies.
The displayed compass was made by Goldsmith Chandlee (1751–1821), a notable instrument maker who worked in Frederick County, Virginia.
Photo by Jim Glanville, 2012.

When the eighteenth-century surveyors worked, accuracy took a distant second place to celerity. The surveyors covered vast areas of the Appalachian mountains and forest, far from their home bases, using compasses and chains (Figure 4) to achieve so-called closed traverse surveys. It was a business of rough and ready practice in the wilderness, and the surveyors operated in difficult terrain to make their measurements. Yet these men left behind many documents that they themselves wrote.[42] Hughes reproduces two pages showing a survey of "Walnut Bottom" from the fieldbook of William Preston as an example of a surveyor at work.[43] After they returned from their surveys, records of their work in the field became part of the permanent records of the county clerk. Survey book one at the Augusta County courthouse is shown in Figure 5, and an entry in that book is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 5. Shows Augusta County Surveyor's Record 1 (survey book one). The original land surveys in Augusta County are readily available for examination and study in the present-day courthouse in Staunton. Seen across the room behind the record book is the office of the Clerk of the Augusta Court. Photo by Jim Glanville, January 2011.

Figure 6. The Springfield Plat entry in Augusta County Surveyor's Record Book Number 1, is found on page 46. This original record has been enclosed in thick protective plastic. The writing, which cannot be seen well in this reproduction, is quite clear and states: "Surveyed for James Patton 4000 acres of land in Augusta County part of an Order of Council granted to the said Patton. ... This 15th day of December 1748." It is signed "Tho Lewis sac," where "sac" stands for "surveyor, Augusta County." John Buchanan was the field surveyor, and it is conceivable that he was accompanied by a young William Preston when he made this survey earlier in 1748. This land is in present-day Pulaski County. Photo Jim Glanville, January 2011.

William Preston, the Deputy Surveyor of Augusta County

William Preston (see Figure 7) arrived in Virginia from Ireland on August 26, 1738 at an uncertain port (perhaps modern-day Tappahannock) on the Chesapeake Bay aboard the vessel *Walpole*, captained by his uncle James Patton. He was nine years old and came with his parents, John and Elizabeth Preston. Elizabeth was Captain Patton's sister. The Preston family soon settled in Augusta County, Virginia, near present-day Staunton (see Figures 2, 3, and 8). William Preston had received some education in Ireland, and in Virginia was taught history, mathematics, and penmanship by the Rev. John Craig of the Tinkling Springs Presbyterian Church. As Preston's later life attests, Craig must have educated him well.

Figure 7. William Preston spent his childhood in the north of Ireland, followed by a remarkable life on the frontier of western Virginia. He lived to be 54 years old.
This image was published in 1938 by F. B. Kegley, who identified it as Preston.[44] The author has been unable to locate any evidence regarding the origin of the image. Used with permission of George Kegley.

Little is known of William Preston's early life in Augusta. However, the bustling neighborhood around the county courthouse on the land called Beverley Manor,[45] popularly known as the Irish tract, would have been an exciting place to spend his formative teenage years. His father opened an ordinary (tavern) in 1746, where Preston would have found himself at the center of the social and commercial life of Augusta County. He matured amid a cultural ferment of highly competitive immigrant families jostling for places of leadership in a young county, which from 1738 to 1745 held its court in Orange, some 70 miles to the east, before beginning to hold court in Staunton.[46] Beverley Manor was a 185-square-mile tract of land on which, in 1736, the Tidewater planter and Virginia House of Burgesses member William Beverley had obtained rights to sell land to settlers.

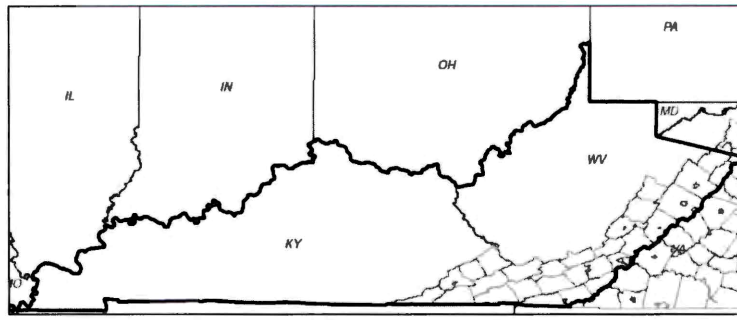


Figure 8. The *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* "Version 1" map shows Augusta County as it was formed in 1738, from Orange County, with an area of 75,640 square miles.[47]
The *Atlas* notes that Orange County's "western boundary limits [were] indefinite." So, one could argue, were Augusta's.

In 1738, the Scots-Irish immigrant John Lewis[48] became William Beverley's land agent for Beverley Manor. Subsequently, when the Augusta County government was established in 1745, John Lewis's son Thomas, aged 27, was appointed county surveyor, a post he held until 1777.[49] Given his uncle's land interests, it was natural for William Preston to learn surveying. Preston was 17 when his father died in the winter of 1747–1748. Probably by 1749 or 1750, Preston was *de facto* apprenticed to the surveyor Thomas Lewis, and on November 20, 1752, he formally became a deputy surveyor to Lewis.[50] Richard Osborn reports that Preston was surveying illegally (before becoming licensed in 1752) and that Preston's Survey Book recorded 42 pieces of property surveyed in the New River grant March–May 1751. The New River grant was part of James Patton's 1745 "Great Grant," which is described below. Of those 42 surveys, 36 were on behalf of "Col. Patton & Company." Already at the age of 20 Preston had acquired 799 acres of land from William Beverley, about half of which he sold two years later, making nearly 600 percent profit.[51] Preston learned surveying well, and as Osborn says, "By the time of his uncle's death in 1755, Preston stood in a position to earn an independent livelihood from fees earned as a surveyor and from his ability to buy and sell his lands for a profit."[52]

His initial rise benefited from the energy and good fortune of his uncle, James Patton.[53] Placing him in illustrious company, Sarah Hughes wrote of Patton, "None could compete with William Beverley, William Byrd, or James Patton, as giants of land speculation."[54] After Patton died in 1755, Preston, then 26 years old, took over his uncle's land interests, initiating his own spirited and successful career.

When his uncle died, Preston had already spent three years as deputy surveyor to Thomas Lewis in Augusta County. He continued in that position

for an additional 15 years before successively becoming County Surveyor for the then newly created counties of Botetourt (in 1770), Fincastle (in 1772), and Montgomery (in 1777). He held the Montgomery office until his death in 1783. His career as a surveyor is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Counties for which William Preston was a Deputy Surveyor or Surveyor

Years	County	Area of the County (in square miles)	Origin of County	Preston's Role
1752–1770	Augusta	75,640	Created in 1738 from largely unsettled land	Deputy surveyor
1770–1772	Botetourt	61,515	Created from a large part of Augusta	Surveyor
1772–1777	Fincastle	53,171	Created from a large part of Botetourt	Surveyor
1777–1783	Montgomery	8,741	Created by division of Fincastle	Surveyor

Note: By the division of Fincastle County in 1777, the counties of Washington (4,020 square miles), Kentucky (40,411 square miles), and Montgomery (8,741 square miles) were formed simultaneously.

A particular advantage for Preston (and other surveyors) was being the first to know where the best portions of any newly examined land lay and being in a position to secure some of it for himself. In an appendix to his thesis, Richard Osborn gives a detailed accounting of Preston's lifetime land transactions. The list begins in 1748 with 520 acres Preston inherited from his father and ends 35 years (and 61 appendix pages) later with the 20,513 acres (or 31½ square miles) of land listed in his estate records at the time of his death.[55]

In 1752, at the time William Preston was beginning his legal apprenticeship as a surveyor, approving land grants had become the principal administrative function of the Virginia Council. Hughes writes that the "councilors' share in the pillage of Virginia's landed domain contributed to the consolidation of power" among the Virginia elite families and that frontier surveyors such as Thomas Lewis and later William Preston could be characterized as junior partners "in the great land speculations of the age, men of influence and wealth in their own right whose assistance was requisite to the success of any land venture." Recent immigrants to Virginia who succeeded in becoming frontier surveyors quickly became gentlemen and founded their own regional dynasties.

From the time of his licensing in the fall of 1752, until May 1755, Preston maintained an intensive schedule of surveying in the watersheds of the James and Roanoke rivers in Augusta County. On record, in December 1752 he made 25 surveys; in 1753–1754, he made 219 surveys; and in 1755 (during the first five months of the year), he made 183 surveys. Including the 42 illegal surveys he made in 1751, he made a total of 469 recorded surveys between March 1751 and May 1755.[56] During this period, in 1754, Preston surveyed property near present-day Blacksburg that he would purchase 20 years later for the site of the Smithfield Plantation. All of the 1751 illegal surveys were legalized by the Virginia Assembly in 1778 during the Revolutionary War.[57] Some of the 1752–1755 surveys were made by Preston on behalf of the Ohio Land Company.[58]

In May 1752, William Preston, acting as James Patton's secretary, accompanied Patton to the negotiation of the Treaty of Logstown, Pennsylvania, where leaders of the Six Nations of the Iroquois negotiated with three Virginia commissioners—Patton, Joshua Fry, and Lunsford Lomax. Christopher Gist served as a fourth negotiator, and represented the Ohio Land Company.[59] The terms of the treaty gave Virginians access to land west of the Allegheny mountains as far as the Ohio River. Being present at the Logstown negotiations was likely a heady and educational experience for the young Preston.

Sarah Hughes describes the work of a western Virginia surveyor as a hectic business, as it would have been for Preston during these early years on the frontier:

> Pressed by the rapid movement of farmers and the greed of land speculators, surveyors at times quite literally raced across the piedmont, through the Valley of Virginia, and over the Alleghenies on to the waters of the Ohio River. Their fieldbooks show a staggering pace of work incomprehensible to the modern surveyor trained to carefully delineate the bounds of more valuable real estate. These men roughly traversed a wild terrain, sometimes not bothering to dismount from their horses and almost always taking shortcuts that would be condemned today, but they performed the job their contemporaries demanded by the speed with which they converted tracts of public land into private farms.[60]

Significant historical events occurred throughout Preston's life on the frontier, and external forces greatly influenced his work as a surveyor. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) brought a hiatus to Preston's busy surveying activities. In December 1775, he ran unsuccessfully for the Augusta

County seat in the House of Burgesses. In early 1756, Preston was a member of the abortive Sandy Creek expedition that failed to penetrate as planned the Indian homelands in the Ohio country, and returned with its members broken and starving. He served as a ranger captain during the next several years. At various times in 1756–1758, he commanded troops on the Bullpasture River and built Fort George, located in Highland County about 50 miles northwest of Staunton, in spring 1757. Life during this period was difficult on the Virginia frontier, with conflict waxing and waning between the settlers and Indians. During the war years, Indian conflict was part of daily life. Writings by Lyman C. Draper that may possibly have been originally prepared by William Preston himself and preserved by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, tell that 307 persons on the frontier were killed, wounded, or captured by Indians between 1755 and 1758 and that "many more" fell victim between 1758 and 1764.[61] In the years 1756–1760, Preston made only about 30 surveys.[62]

After 1763, Preston's surveying operations in the west were officially—but not actually—ended when George III decreed that no land claims beyond his "proclamation line"[63] could be legally made by Americans in an area the king declared was an Indian Reserve. However, actual and attempted land acquisition remained rampant. Settlers, who, perhaps, could more appropriately be called squatters, and speculators continued to stake out claims in the trans-Allegheny region, even if they thought or suspected their claims to be illegal. Elite Virginians politicked, their agents lobbied in London, and in Williamsburg they pressured ever-susceptible successive governors either to find loopholes in English directives or simply ignore them. Meanwhile, without the benefit of Preston or any other surveyors, ordinary people kept trekking west and asserting "tomahawk" rights to land they marked by cutting notches on trees. As the Revolution approached, the glimmerings of a new government arose, perhaps to bring with it a new order. Settlers and speculators gambled that a presently illegal claim might become a legal one. The one significant exception to the rule prohibiting the acquisition of land beyond the proclamation line was the issuance of military land warrants for service in the French and Indian War, authorized under the terms of the proclamation.[64] Enlisted men received dozens of acres, and officers received hundreds or even thousands of acres of land. During this period, Thomas Lewis, the Augusta County surveyor, instructed his deputy, William Preston, to survey east of the proclamation line and not violate it but also to take requests for surveys beyond the line so that they could be made promptly when the western land legally opened.[65]

For the years from 1762 to 1769, William Preston's account book contains 29 pages in which he lists the names of persons for whom he

surveyed land, the charges he made, and some of the locations where those surveys were made.[66] His surveying pace picked up dramatically as the decade proceeded. In 1765 he made only six surveys; in 1766 he made 23; in 1767 he made 150; in 1768 he made 64; and in 1769, his last year as a deputy surveyor in Augusta County, he made 52. During 1767–1768, he was making as many as four surveys a day and earning an income that placed him in the ranks of the Virginia elite.[67] During the fall of 1768 and the spring of 1769, he also made somewhat over 100 surveys (not included in the preceding counts) on behalf of customers of the Loyal Land Company.[68]

William Preston, the County Surveyor of Botetourt, Fincastle, and Montgomery

As shown in Table 2, Preston's entire career as a surveyor lasted 31 years. The first 19 years he spent as deputy to Thomas Lewis in Augusta County, followed by 12 years as the county surveyor successively of Botetourt (two years), Fincastle (four years), and Montgomery (six years). The locations of his three homes are shown in Figure 9.

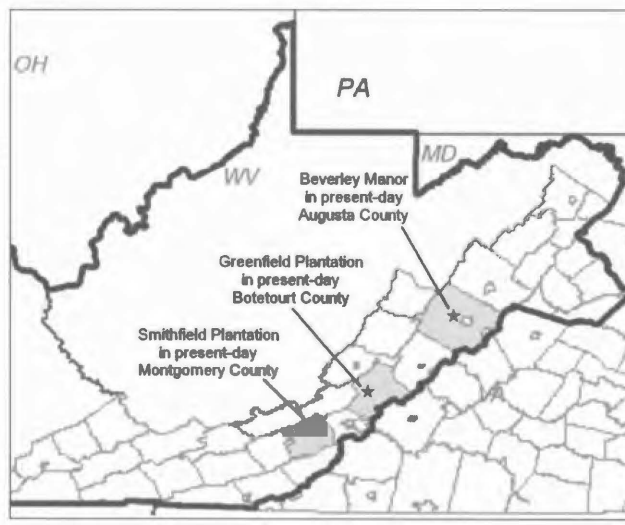


Figure 9. The homes of William Preston are shown here on a portion of the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* "Version 1" map of Orange County (see Figure 1).
From 1738 until 1761, Preston lived on the Beverley Manor tract near the present-day town of Staunton in original and modern-day Augusta County.
Around 1762, he moved with his wife, Susanna, to Greenfield Plantation, in original and modern-day Botetourt County, where they lived for about 10 years. From about 1773 until his death in 1783, he lived at Smithfield in original and modern-day Montgomery County.

Sarah Hughes notes that Preston's rise from deputy surveyor to surveyor was delayed by historical events well beyond his control:

> The splitting of Augusta County was delayed until 1769 by the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the uncertainty of land claims west of the Proclamation Line of 1763, and the jockeying among political factions over who should have the prize of the new county surveyorship. When Botetourt County was finally carved from Augusta in 1769, William Preston won its surveyorship with the sponsorship of Thomas Lewis and Augusta County Clerk John Madison, who was Lewis's brother-in-law. Preston moved to the new Fincastle County surveyorship in 1772, and Samuel Lewis, son of Andrew Lewis and nephew of Thomas Lewis, took over the Botetourt County position.[69]

William Preston purchased 191 acres of land on Buffalo Creek in Augusta County in February 1759. It became the nucleus of his first plantation, Greenfield. The location of the Greenfield property, near the present-day town of Fincastle in modern Botetourt County, is shown in Figure 9. The original Botetourt County is shown in Figure 10. Preston married Susanna Smith (1740–1823) on January 17, 1761 (he was 31, she was 21). They moved to Greenfield about 1762 while he was still an Augusta County deputy surveyor (Greenfield was in Augusta County when they moved there and eight years later became part of the newly formed Botetourt County). Eventually, the couple had 12 children; their first child was born at Greenfield or Beverley Manor (the record is unclear), their next six children at Greenfield, and the final five were born at Smithfield, where the couple moved about 1773.

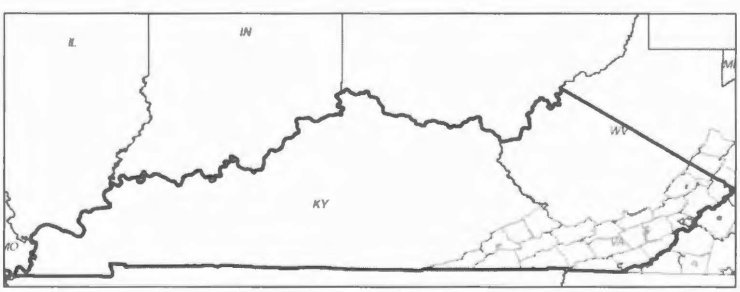


Figure 10. Shows Botetourt County as pictured in the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* "Version 1" Botetourt County as it was formed in 1770 from Augusta County, with an area of 61,515 square miles.[70]

Preston represented Augusta County in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1765, 1766, 1767, and 1768 and Botetourt County in 1769, 1770, and 1771.[71] During these years on his visits to Williamsburg, he met and made contacts with many important and influential Virginians.

Preston moved his family to Smithfield Plantation in present-day Blacksburg, Virginia, in 1774. He had earlier been commissioned sheriff of Fincastle County on December 1, 1772.[72] As shown in Figure 11, he was sworn in as County Surveyor a month later on the day that the Fincastle County court was first proclaimed on February 5, 1773.[73] This document is preserved in Christiansburg, where it can be easily examined.

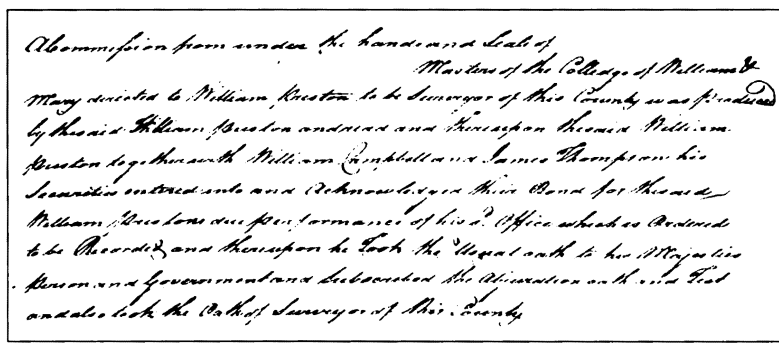


Figure 11. Shows the February 5, 1773 record of the swearing in of William Preston as the County Surveyor of Fincastle. It reads "A Commission from under the hands and Seals of Masters of the Colledge of William & Mary directed to William Preston to be surveyor of this County was produced by the said William Preston and read and thereupon the said William Preston together with William Campbell and James Thompson his Securities entered into and Acknowledged their Bond for the said William Prestons due performance of his sd. Office which is Ordered to be Recorded and thereupon he Took the Usual oath to his Majesties Person and Government and Subscribed the Abjuration oath and Test and also took the Oath of Surveyor of this County."

The Newberry Atlas map of original Fincastle is shown in Figure 12. This writer slightly corrected the outline of that map in a recent article, where he concluded that Preston's political influence in Williamsburg immediately prior to 1772 was sufficient to make as convenient as possible his move from Greenfield to Smithfield, with the line that was drawn across Botetourt County to divide off Fincastle County being placed for his private advantage.[74]

Once Preston became a county surveyor he virtually gave up personal surveying, and left the work to his deputies. For example, in 1773–1774, he carried out only eight surveys, while his deputies undertook 562 of them.[76] From his base at Smithfield, he sent out parties of deputy surveyors, some of

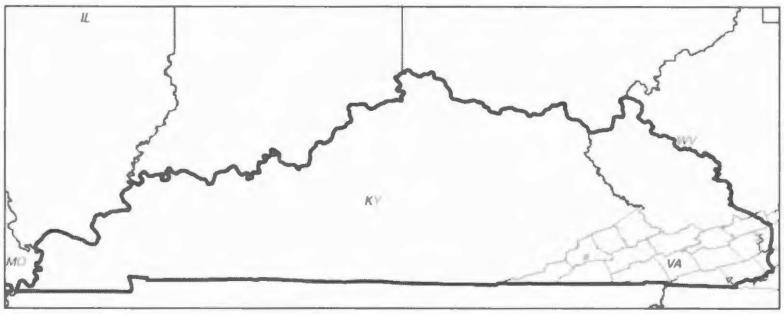


Figure 12. Shown is Fincastle County as pictured in the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* "Version 1" as it was formed in 1772 from Botetourt County with an area of 53,171 square miles.[75]

which traveled far to the west. When they returned, he, or one of his clerks, entered the surveys that they had recorded in their field notebooks into a Fincastle County survey book.

The year 1774 was a particularly notable one for Preston. In March of that year, the Boston Port Act was passed in London; in August, the First Virginia Convention met in Williamsburg; and from July to October Lord Dunmore waged war against the Ohio Indians. In the summer of 1774, Preston was dispatching surveying parties from Smithfield to mark out large segments of the rich and desirable land in the central part of the future Kentucky,[77] when a well-known incident involving Preston's surveyors operating under orders from Smithfield occurred. A band of nine surveyors, led by John Floyd, one of Preston's deputy surveyors, was surveying tracts in the Bluegrass Region of Kentucky for prominent Virginians such as Patrick Henry, William Christian, and William Preston himself. They were acting under the authority of taking up claims of land for service rendered by Virginians during the French and Indian War. While Floyd's party was far to the west, Governor Dunmore sent a warning to the frontier settlements that a state of war had come to exist between the colony and the Indians. Alarmed for the safety of his surveyors, Preston warned William Russell, then living on the Clinch River, of the situation, and Russell engaged Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner to go to Kentucky to warn Preston's deputies of the danger. It is not clear from the record whether or not Boone and Stoner actually warned any surveyors; however, they did manage to make a surreptitious survey of 4,000 acres for one James Hickman near the future site of Boonesborough while on their warning mission.[78]

In 1774, life was very complicated for William Preston the surveyor. He now had, in effect, three masters to serve: distant London with its Board of Trade; Lord Dunmore, whose land policies were not necessarily

those of London; and the Virginia Convention, which soon began making its own rules and regulations on the subject of land acquisition.[79] Further complicating Preston's life that year were the activities of Judge Richard Henderson of North Carolina. In the summer of 1774, Henderson organized the Transylvania Company which proposed to purchase from the Cherokee Indians vast tracts of land in modern-day Tennessee and Kentucky. These tracts had been claimed by Virginians and particularly had attracted William Preston's eye. Henderson actually made the Transylvania Purchase on March 17, 1775, six days before Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech at the second Virginia Convention and only a month before the first shots of the Revolution in Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts.

Early in 1774, Preston began advertising to reach veterans of the French and Indian War with the purpose of buying from them the land warrants that had been issued to them by Governor Dunmore—without proper authorization from the Board of Trade.[80] Preston published the following advertisement in at least three newspapers:

> Notice is hereby given to the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, who claim land under his Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, who have obtained warrants from his Excellency the right honorable the Earl of Dunmore, directed to the surveyor of Fincastle County, and intend to locate their land on or near the Ohio, below the mouth of the Great Kanawha or New River, that several assistant surveyors will attend at the Mouth of the New River on Thursday, the 14th of April next, to survey, for such only as have or may obtain his lordship's warrant for that purpose.[81]

George Washington was the most illustrious war veteran with whom Preston worked to survey land. From the years 1774–1775, there are two extant letters from Washington to Preston[82] and six extant letters from Preston to Washington.[83] The eight extant letters indicate that other letters between the two men during this time frame are missing. The surviving correspondence opens in February 1774 with Washington sending Preston a military land warrant and a preliminary survey for property at the junction of the Cole (or Coal) and Kanawha Rivers (in present-day West Virginia) and asking Preston to assist him in getting a certificate of survey for the land. Preston had John Floyd survey 2,000 acres for Washington, recorded the "Platt," and sent the desired certificate to Washington in January 1775. Among other topics in their letters, the two men address the dangers faced by surveyors in the west, Indian killings near Smithfield, and particularly Henderson's Transylvania purchase of Cherokee land and its implications for Virginians.

During the Revolutionary War, Preston's role became that of a land speculator rather than that of a surveyor. Dangers from Indians and Tories mitigated active surveying. Montgomery County (see Figure 13) was formed in 1777, and during the years 1777–1782, despite being the county surveyor for the new county, Preston neither did nor supervised any surveying and received no income from making surveys. Preston and his deputies returned to work after a five-year hiatus only in October 1782, with Preston's deputies completing 391 surveys over the ensuing eight months. During that time, Preston made his own last handful of surveys, almost all of them within a few miles of Smithfield.[84]

Figure 13. The *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* "Version 1" map shows Montgomery County as it was formed in 1777 with an area of 8,741 square miles when Fincastle County was divided into Kentucky, Washington, and Montgomery counties.[85]
Modern Virginia counties derived from this original Montgomery are Montgomery, Bland, Carroll, Giles, Grayson, Wythe, and parts of Floyd and Tazewell.
Shading and other minor changes were made by the author.

As the Revolution came to a climax and then to a close, Preston became one of the principal western Virginia Revolutionary leaders along with men such as Andrew Lewis, William and Arthur Campbell, and William Christian. Many of Preston's Montgomery County neighbors remained loyal to the King and were potentially dangerous to him, Indian hostilities increased, and the nearby lead mines on the New River in today's Wythe County were a target for British and Tory forces. Now, Preston's duties were mainly dictated by his serving as colonel of the Montgomery County militia, so defense and planning for defense occupied much of his attention. Enlisting fighting men was a particularly difficult challenge for him. His only active involvement in the Revolutionary War came in February and March of 1781, when he led militiamen to Guilford, North Carolina, in support of General Nathanael Greene's campaign against the British.

However, Preston was overage and overweight, and future governor John Floyd wrote to Preston after the latter man's brief campaign saying that it was unreasonable for him any longer to "stand in the fighting department." Many letters written to and by Preston during these years are extant, and this period of his life has been well described by Richard Osborn.[86]

The 1937 book *Western Lands and the American Revolution* by Thomas Perkins Abernethy, which remains today a useful source of reference, discusses the wartime activities of William Preston as a land speculator in considerable detail.[87] Chapter XVII, titled "Virginia's Western Land Policy 1778–1779," describes the complicated maneuvering for land among the Loyal Company (in which Preston was a leading member); Richard Henderson's Transylvania Company; and the Ohio Company, with Richard Henry Lee and George Mason among its leaders.[88] Chapter XX, titled "Virginia and the West 1782–1783," describes Preston's efforts to retain his claims to land surveyed several years earlier under military land warrants in the future state of Kentucky against the competing claims of powerful newcomers seeking land there.[89] Osborn remarks that these years were a period of "intricate politics in western land dealings." However, while it is a fascinating story, it is mostly incidental to the tale of William Preston as a surveyor.

On the afternoon of June 28, 1783, William Preston fell ill at a regimental muster at the home of Michael Price, only about three miles from Smithfield, and died there late the same evening. His wife, Susanna, was with him.[90]

Richard Osborn conducted a detailed analysis of Preston's will and summarized his estate as follows:

> William Preston died a very wealthy man. His estate included a total of 20,513 acres spread throughout southwest Virginia in Botetourt and Montgomery Counties and in Kentucky, at least $7,562 worth of personal property, and 42 slaves, 88 cattle, 91 hogs, 36 horses, 24 sheep, and a library of 273 volumes. Various other items such as farming utensils, the distillery, blacksmith's tools, a silver watch, a small sword, and household furniture made up the rest of the estate.[91]

With the death of William Preston, the surveyorship of Montgomery County passed to his eldest son, John Preston (1764–1827), who had served under his father on the Guilford expedition in March 1781. John Preston had been elected a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, representing Botetourt County, in 1783, and shortly thereafter, he returned to Montgomery County to become a justice of the peace and the county surveyor. He later became treasurer of Virginia. At about the time of William Preston's death,

his relative, Robert Preston, became surveyor of Washington County. However, the county surveyor's office in the third subdivision of Fincastle County—Kentucky County—fell to a non-Preston, George May.

Conclusion

The process of western land acquisition begun in Augusta County had a long-term beneficial effect on the development of a stable political Virginia and indeed on a stable political America in the years following the Revolution. The following is Turk McCleskey's considered opinion on that topic:

> In taking charge of Augusta County, the speculators and surveyors furthered two of colonial Virginia's long-term goals: expansion into the hinterland and maintenance of the existing social order. Their structuring of access to land and offices enabled the colonial gentry to achieve territorial growth without paying the price of social upheaval. Thus, from a conservative perspective, the Augusta County settlement represents one of the most ingenious frontier policies in British North America, for it ensured that Virginia's periphery was as stable as its core. By 1770 Augusta County represented an expedient version of the hierarchical social system that eastern Virginians had worked out over the course of several generations. This extension of a patriarchal and stratified social system to the Virginia backcountry may have been imperfectly achieved—implementations of policies conceived elsewhere usually are—but Virginia's elites spared themselves the frontier upheavals that racked most other colonies over the course of the eighteenth century.[92]

Historian Woody Holton concluded that "the Virginia gentry, by leading Virginia into the American Revolution, had recovered one of its largest sources of income: the sale of Indian land to yeomen farmers."[93] However, the new source of income would not last long. To aid the formation of a federal government, only eleven years after the end of the Revolution, Virginia had ceded all its claims to land west of present-day West Virginia, which came into existence when about 25 counties seceded from Virginia. Virginia ceded its claims to lands north and west of the Ohio River (the Northwest Territory) between 1781 and 1785 while the new government was acting through the authority of its Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. Four years after the adoption of the constitution in 1787, Vermont became the first new state to join the original thirteen. The next three states to join the Union were all contiguous to Virginia: Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Ohio in 1802. Kentucky at the time it

was admitted consisted of three Virginia counties—Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Kentucky's secession and creation was approved by the Virginians.

As Turk McCleskey has argued, in developing well-ordered procedures for the transfer of crown land into private hands, William Preston the surveyor played a significant role in laying the groundwork for workable government in newly forming states and thus in forming a successful American Republic.

The lifework of William Preston the surveyor embodies the optimistic world view and expansionist ideology embraced by other Virginians such as George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason.[94] Their view of America led them to take bold steps to promote a rich and prosperous, independent, and sovereign nation with its economic base residing in the richness of the transmontane west. Preston saw clearly the potential of western land to secure a bountiful future for America. That vision helped shape America's creation.

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Endnotes

1. Daphne Gentry, "Headrights," Library of Virginia Note, nd, online at *http://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/guides/va4_headrights.htm.*
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3. Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Surveyors Foundation, Ltd., and The Virginia Association of Surveyors, 1979), 8–19.
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11. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 104.
12. Stephen F. Strausberg, "Review of Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen,*" in *Journal of Southern History* 47:3 (1981), 431–432.
13. *National Atlas of the United States*, U.S. Department of the Interior, published online at http://*www.nationalatlas.gov/articles/mapping/a_general.html,* accessed August 25, 2012.
14. The 1734 legislation creating Orange County, titled "An Act for Dividing Spotsylvania County," states that to the west Orange is bounded "by the utmost limits of Virginia." William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, Volume IV, (Richmond: For the Editor, 1820), 450–51; reprint online at *http://vagenweb.org/hening/vol04-23.htm,* accessed September 1, 2012. The second edition of *A Hornbook of Virginia History* (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1965) includes as its frontispiece a colored map showing pre–1763 Virginia extending to the Pacific coast.
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17. John H. Long, ed., *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 2010). 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 are reused here under the terms of a Creative Commons license. See the website at *http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/us/.*
18. "Animated Map of the Growth of Virginia by County," prepared using the program Animap 3.0 (Alamo, Calif.: The Goldbug Company, 2010), online at *http://www.genealogyinc.com/virginia/maps/,* accessed December 4, 2012.
19. "Politically Defined Virginia" is the aggregate of the counties with legislatively-defined boundaries. After a new county had been created, then began the process of surveying its land and awarding titles to parcels of land within the county. At least, that was the technical process. Like Oklahoma, western Virginia frontier counties had their "sooners."
20. Long, *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, Virginia, 465.
21. Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "William Beverley, James Patton, and the Settling of the Shenandoah Valley," *Essex County Museum and Historical Society Bulletin* 55 (2010), 1–5.
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23. Daniel M. Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1992), 36. This work is an engaging but highly polemical and journalistic account. The present author has made a file of ten reviews of this book. Collectively,

they are mixed, with Friedenberg having his supporters and detractors. For a much earlier work, which argues along similar lines, see Archibald Henderson, "A Pre-Revolutionary Revolt in the Old Southwest," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 17:2 (1930), 191–212. Friedenberg in his bibliography cites several of Henderson's works, but not this one.

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29. Manning C. Voorhis, "Crown Versus Council in the Virginia Land Policy," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 3:4 (1946), 499–514, at pages 505–6.
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32. Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). See also Randall Shrock, "Alexander Spotswood (1676–1740)," *Encyclopedia Virginia* online at http://*www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Spotswood_Alexander_1676-1740,* accessed September 16, 2012.
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34. Evans, *A "Topping People,"* 106–7.
35. Manning C. Voorhis, "The Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia, 1607–1774" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1940), 129.
36. Harrison, *Virginia Land Grants*, 41.
37. Turk McCleskey, "Rich Land, Poor Prospects: Real Estate and the Formation of a Social Elite in Augusta County, Virginia, 1738–1770," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98:3 (1990), 449–86.
38. Voorhis, "Crown Versus Council," 512.
39. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 84–5.
40. *Ibid.*, 85.
41. McCleskey, "Rich Land, Poor Prospects," 463.
42. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, at page 106 notes that there are 119 boxes of Land Office Records at the Library of Virginia and 20 volumes of survey books in county courthouses. For the practical aspects of surveying, see Scott Smith, "18th Century Surveying Presentations and Demonstrations," online at *http://historytech.com/our-services/18th-century-surveying,* accessed August 13, 2012.
43. *Ibid.*, 126.
44. Frederick B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days* (Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), 285.
45. The use of the obscure term "manor" in Virginia is explained by Harrison as follows: "By the middle of the eighteenth century the practice of 'manors,' in the ancient [English] sense of that word, connoting an entailed parcel of land cultivated on lease by a number of customary tenants, had thus taken a recognised, if never an altogether successful, place in the westward movement of the Virginia people. Considering, however, the fundamental objections to the practice, it was happily no longer founded on a misuse of the head right." Fairfax Harrison, *Virginia Land Grants: A Study of Conveyancing in Relation to Colonial Politics* (Richmond: Private print, Old Dominion Press, 1925), 42.

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47. Long, *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, Virginia, 51.
48. John Lewis (1678–1762) had four sons. In addition to Thomas (1718–1790), the surveyor, they were General Andrew Lewis (1720–1781), an occasional surveyor; William Lewis (1724?–1812) the physician; and the youngest, Charles (b. 1735?), who was killed at the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, passim*.
49. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 165–71.
50. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 77.
51. Osborn, "William Preston of Virginia," online thesis part 1, 10, 19–20.
52. *Ibid.*, 15–20.
53. Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "William Beverley, James Patton, and the Settling of the Shenandoah Valley," *Essex County Museum and Historical Society Bulletin* 55 (2010): 1–5 and "Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," *Smithfield Review* 15 (2011), 35–64.
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55. Osborn, "William Preston of Virginia," 407–68.
56. Osborn, "William Preston of Virginia," online thesis part 1, 22–23. For a detailed listing of many of these surveys see Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 79–85.
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63. The Proclamation Line in Virginia followed the eastern continental divide. Thus, land in the James and Roanoke River watersheds was open for surveying and settlement while land in the New and Holston River watersheds was not.
64. John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 72.
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71. William Glover and Mary Newton Standard, compilers, *The Colonial Virginia Register: A List of Governors, Councillors and Other Higher Officials, and also of Members of the House of Burgesses, and the Revolutionary Conventions of the Colony of Virginia* (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons, Publishers, 1902).
72. Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 16.
73. Fincastle County Order Book Number 1, page 2, January 5, 1773. This was the date that Fincastle County Court was first proclaimed. Original document preserved in the Montgomery County Clerk's office, Christiansburg, Virginia. Examined January 24, 2013.

74. Jim Glanville, "The Siting of Smithfield in Relation to the Fincastle/Botetourt County Line," *Smithfield Review* 15 (2011), 95–100.
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78. Robert Morgan, *Boone: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 2007), 141–52; Charles Henry Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd, Governor of Virginia, An Apostle of Secession, and the Father of the Oregon Country* (Richmond: Richmond Press for the Author, 1918), 14–16; William Russell, "Letter to William Preston, from the Clinch River, 26 June 1774," in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), 49–51.
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80. Henderson, "A Pre-Revolutionary Revolt," 199–201.
81. William Preston, "Notice to those who claim land on or near the Ohio River," *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), February 24, 1774; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 3, 1774; and *Maryland Gazette*, March 10, 1774.
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88. *Ibid.*, 217–22.
89. *Ibid.*, 262–65.
90. Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots*, 308.
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92. Turk McCleskey, "Rich Land, Poor Prospects," 486.
93. Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 21.
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"Learn your wives and daughters how to use the gun and pistol": The Secession Crisis in Montgomery County, Virginia

Daniel B. Thorp

By the summer of 1860, the long-simmering disputes about slavery in the United States were rapidly coming to a boil. White Americans had disagreed about slavery almost since the institution first appeared during the seventeenth century, but the late 1850s brought a series of events that widened and deepened those disagreements. Bloodshed in Kansas, the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision of 1857, and John Brown's raid on the armory at Harpers Ferry in late 1859 had successively raised the level of suspicion, anger, and fear throughout the United States. To many Americans that summer, it seemed the crisis had reached a tipping point: if they could not settle the issue of slavery once and for all, then they should part company and establish new nations that could.

This debate was just as heated in Montgomery County, Virginia as it was elsewhere. There, too, arguments grew more intense during the 1850s, and by summer 1860 the air crackled with tension. Little of this tension has appeared in earlier histories, though. Not surprisingly, those that focus on the secession crisis at the national or state level rarely mention Montgomery County because it was relatively small, remote from the centers of power, and seldom the scene of dramatic events. Histories of the county itself, though, are seldom better. They too frequently tell the story through elements of the larger story and fail to capture the secession crisis as it unfolded *in the county*.[1]

This article seeks to provide a fuller and more intimate picture of the secession crisis in Montgomery County. Newspapers, private papers, and public records all contain elements of the story, and taken together they show clearly that the story in Montgomery County was just as complex and the tensions just as great as they were anywhere else. They also show that in Montgomery County, as elsewhere, the issue of slavery lay at the heart of the crisis.

Slavery was alive and well in Montgomery County in 1860; in fact it was expanding rapidly. Slavery had *existed* in the county since its creation in 1776, but for many years it remained a relatively insignificant element of the local economy and society. The land and climate of Montgomery County

were well suited to a variety of agricultural pursuits. Bottomland along the North and South Forks of the Roanoke River, in the east, and along the Little and New Rivers, in the west, was ideal for tobacco, wheat, or a variety of other field crops. Elsewhere in the county, all but the roughest mountain terrain was useful for raising cattle, sheep, or pigs. *Producing* marketable goods, then, was never a problem in Montgomery County; getting them to market was, though. None of the county's waterways led to market, and while turnpikes in the county, especially the Alleghany and Southwestern Turnpikes, were quite good by the standards of the day, land transportation was still too expensive to move bulky products such as wheat, tobacco, or wool to market profitably. That changed when the railroad arrived.

Advocates of internal improvement had tried for years to establish a railroad through Southwest Virginia. Hopes rose again in 1849, when the General Assembly granted a charter to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. This time, finally, the hopes were realized. Ground was broken at Lynchburg in 1850, and over the next six years crews worked from east and west to construct a 200-mile-long link between Lynchburg and Bristol. Montgomery County residents did not have to wait for the line's completion, for it reached Christiansburg in April 1854, and that was enough to link the county to the world. The Virginia and Tennessee Railroad connected Christiansburg directly to Lynchburg, and from there other railroads and the James River and Kanawha Canal led onward to Richmond, Baltimore, and beyond.[2]

Completion of the rail link provided vast new markets for crops and products from Montgomery County, and agricultural production soared. Between 1850 and 1860 wheat production in the county tripled and that of tobacco rose fifteen-fold (1,582 percent). New markets also appeared for millstones, coal, and wood, which the railroad itself needed for ties and to fuel its locomotives. None of this required slave labor, but slaves were widely available from eastern Virginia, where planters had more workers than they needed, and for those who could afford them, buying slaves brought down even further the cost of producing a variety of marketable goods. As a result, the number of slaves in Montgomery County also rose dramatically between 1850 and 1860, from 1,471 on the 1850 census to 2,219 a decade later.[3]

Just as the debates over slavery were heating up, then, slavery was becoming an increasingly prominent part of life in Montgomery County. By 1860, slaves comprised 21 percent of the county's population, and 18 percent of the free households in the county owned at least one slave. Neither of these figures can compare with those found farther east, and they are slightly below statewide averages, but they were well above the

overall rates found in Southwest Virginia. It is also important to note that most of these were not individual slaves serving in a domestic capacity. The median slaveholding in Montgomery County was five in 1860, and twenty-two county residents qualified as "planters," meaning they each owned at least twenty slaves. Indeed, a substantial majority of the slaves in Montgomery County (66.4 percent) lived on farms with at least ten slaves, and a full third of the total slave population lived on the farms of those twenty-two planters.[4]

Montgomery County in 1860 may not have been part of the Black Belt, but it was certainly a slave society, and that was clearly evident during the secession crisis of 1860–1861. White residents of the county were not as radical as their counterparts in many other parts of Virginia or the South, but their concerns about slavery and "Southern Rights" were certainly clear in their comments and actions during the presidential campaign that year.

The election of 1860 was one of the most divisive in American history, and the division began with the selection of candidates. Democrats found themselves unable to field a candidate acceptable to both the northern and southern wings of the party. They tried first at Charleston, South Carolina, in April. Delegates deadlocked, however, over the question of slavery. Many southern Democrats wanted the party platform to call explicitly for federal legislation to protect slavery in the territories. Most northern Democrats, however, feared that such a call would destroy the party's chances in a national election and pushed, instead, for a platform endorsing the idea of popular sovereignty. By a narrow margin, the northern view prevailed, which led a significant number of southern delegates to march out of the convention in protest. Even with them gone, the remaining delegates were unable to agree on a candidate, and after fifty-seven ballots they agreed to adjourn for six weeks and try again in Baltimore.[5]

When the Democrats reconvened, they had no better luck. Northern and southern wings of the party remained at odds over the issue of slavery. This time, unable even to agree on which delegates to seat, the Democrats split before their convention even opened. They then proceeded to hold two conventions and to nominate two candidates. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas and adopted a platform calling on all citizens to accept the Supreme Court's view of "the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations." Southern Democrats, meanwhile, nominated John C. Breckinridge and drafted a platform that stated explicitly "it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and

property in the Territories, and wherever else its Constitutional authority extends." This platform never mentioned slavery by name, but in the coded language of the day, defending "the rights of persons and property" made Breckinridge the avowedly pro-slavery candidate in the race.[6]

Democrats in Montgomery County responded with enthusiasm to the events in Baltimore. In early August, a meeting of the party's county branch endorsed the action of Virginia delegates who walked out of the convention and declared: "[W]e hail with satisfaction the nomination ... of Breckinridge." Later that month the leading paper in the county, the *Star & Herald*, went so far as to change its name and rededicate itself to the support of Breckinridge and his pro-slavery platform. Joseph McMurran and Jonathan C. Wade, publishers of the *Star & Herald,* announced that the paper was being replaced by *The New Star*. They and the new paper, its publishers declared, "will be devoted to the principles and interests of the Democratic party, as the advocates and defenders of *equal rights* among the States and will be identified with the South in all its political actions."[7]

Montgomery County was not solidly behind Breckinridge, though. Like many other Virginians, some of the county's residents preferred a more moderate approach. While the Democrats had regrouped between their Charleston and Baltimore conventions, a group of conservatives—mainly former Whigs—met and established the Constitutional Union Party. The new party announced that, because party platforms "have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and ... to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties," it would not offer one. Rather, its members pledged, simply, to protect and defend "no political principle other than THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS." They then nominated John Bell, a Tennessee plantation owner, to be their candidate in the presidential election. When the Democrats split, Montgomery County residents who found Breckinridge too aggressive and Douglas too weak gravitated toward Bell as an alternative who supported both slavery and the Union. It is unclear exactly when the Constitutional Union Party first appeared in the county, but *The New Star* announced on August 25 that members of the party would meet in Christiansburg on the first Monday of September.[8]

This set the stage for the presidential campaign in Montgomery County. Neither Stephen Douglas nor Abraham Lincoln was ever a serious contender there. As it was elsewhere in Virginia and the Upper South, the campaign in Montgomery County was between Breckinridge and Bell. Lincoln and the Republicans were a perfect foil for Democrats in Montgomery County,

though, as *The New Star* repeatedly and vividly demonstrated. Throughout September and October, the paper largely ignored Bell and filled its pages with pro-Breckinridge campaign speeches and reports of "abolitionist" conspiracies or slave "insurrections" across the South. Lest anyone miss its point, the paper's editors spelled it out unequivocally in their issue on November 3, the last before the election:

> Do Not Forget: If Lincoln is elected the South will have had her *last President* and hereafter we will be the "Hewers of Wood and drawers of water" of the Black Republicans as long as the Union shall last.... They will never hesitate until they carry out their avowed purpose of destroying the slave property of the South, and making the slave equal in rights with the white—"Equality of Races" is their motto. The horrors of amalgamation is openly proclaimed by that party & where they will stop, who can tell?[9]

Voters in Montgomery County, however, were not yet ready to throw down the gauntlet. They did cast 425 votes for Breckinridge, but they cast 712 for Bell (and another 74 for Stephen Douglas). The election showed that Montgomery County, like Virginia, was divided between a significant minority in favor of immediate action and a majority that preferred to wait and see if compromise was possible. This remained the case between November 1860 and April 1861. For five months, residents of the county debated which course to follow, hoped for the best, and prepared for the worst.

The New Star spoke out loudly for those who supported Southern Rights. Immediately after the presidential election, the paper began to print glowing accounts of those in the Lower South who called for secession. Later issues approvingly described the departure of South Carolina and other Deep South states from the Union and the formation of the Confederate States. The paper even provided its readers a front-row view of the Confederacy's defense preparations. Lying as it did on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, Christiansburg saw frequent shipments of arms and ammunition heading south during the winter and early spring, and *The New Star* hailed every such shipment and especially noted those originating in Virginia. On February 9, for example, the paper proudly reported that five brass cannon—dubbed "Secession Defenders" by the paper's editors—had recently passed through town on their way from Richmond's Tredegar Iron Works to "the republic of Georgia."[10]

The New Star did not speak for everyone in Montgomery County, though. From his home in Blacksburg, Giles D. Thomas also watched developments in the lower South during the winter of 1860–1861, but he

reacted to them very differently. Writing in February to William Hoge, who lived in Bland County, Thomas criticized the "rabid secessionists" of Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas who were willing to leave the Union simply because, they complained, "we have lost so many negroes." Thomas also chided Hoge for yielding to "the Tory blood" of secessionism rather than "that good old Whig blood which is now developing itself in [the] conduct of so large a majority of citizens of the Old Dominion." He urged Hoge to "hear that old Whig blood and remain true to your country and bid Satan depart." Thomas was confident that Congress would find a solution to the crisis and restore "harmony between the different sections," and when that happened, Thomas predicted, Hoge would quickly change his tune. "In less than one year if anyone should call you a secessionist you will knock him down sooner than if he had said you *lied*."[11]

In the midst of this excitement, residents of the county responded to the call for a state convention to decide on a course of action. As they had been in November, county residents were divided. Some were what *The New Star* dubbed "prompt action men." These were men such as "W.K.B." from Childress Store, who supported immediate secession. It was, he wrote in December 1860, "beyond human power to prevent the secession of the Southern States." Therefore, he concluded, "it becomes us to cease our differences, and unitedly seek out some better and more efficient plan by which to save ourselves, our common interests and institutions from total wreck and destruction." This remained, however, a minority view. Most of the county's voters were, in the words of *The New Star*, "conservatives," and they ultimately chose a more moderate spokesman, William Ballard Preston, to represent them at the convention when it opened in February.[12]

Preston, a Whig, belonged to one of the county's wealthiest and most prestigious families. His father, James Patton Preston, had been the state's governor from 1816 to 1819, and William Ballard, himself, had served in Congress for two years (1847–1849) and as Secretary of the Navy for one (1849–1850) under President Zachary Taylor. Preston was also the third largest slave-owner in the county, with fifty slaves in 1860, but he was not a fire-eater. He was a conditional Unionist who still hoped to preserve both slavery and the Union, and in Richmond he was a leading moderate among members of the state convention.[13]

The convention opened on February 13 with a solid majority of its members opposed to immediate secession. Some were absolute Unionists, opposed to secession under any circumstances, while others, like Preston, were conditional Unionists, willing to remain in the Union as long as southern interests such as slavery were protected. Together they set about fashioning a strategy that

recognized the right of secession and opposed any use of coercion against those who had exercised that right but that also kept Virginians from doing so as long as any other avenues remained viable. Many of the delegates were confident that either Congress or the special Peace Conference meeting in Washington would eventually forge another compromise to end the crisis, and they hoped to delay any unilateral action by Virginia until that happened. Thus they were willing to talk and stall in the hope that a solution would emerge.[14]

Not surprisingly, *The New Star* and those it represented in Montgomery County expressed growing frustration at the convention's reluctance to act decisively. In mid-March the paper reported that the people of Virginia were growing impatient with "the do nothing policy of the patriotic (?) old gentlemen that compose the convention." To *The New Star*, this reluctance threatened the Commonwealth's very survival. It was clear to the paper's publishers that the Union was dissolving, and if Virginia remained a part of the United States while a majority of the slave states seceded, the Old Dominion would soon be at the mercy of its enemies. "Her capital will be removed and she will be deprived of her best population," *The New Star* predicted early in March; "their places will be supplied by the 'universal yankee nation,' and Virginia will become a poor mendicant for Black republican favors and protection." By the end of the month, its editors had grown even more frustrated: "The naked issue now for Virginia to decide, is, whether she will go North or South."[15]

Equally frustrating was the county's refusal to make adequate preparations for the coming storm. The county had, of course, a regiment of the state militia, and after John Brown's Raid its residents had organized three additional companies: The Montgomery Highlanders, the Montgomery Fencibles, and the Fort Lewis Volunteers. Each of these units trained or marched from time to time in 1860, but shortages of arms threatened their ability to defend the county properly. Thus, early in March 1861, the county court met to consider a special levy by which to raise additional money with which to arm the militia. Charles Ronald, captain of the Montgomery Highlanders, offered "an eloquent and beautiful patriotic address" in support of the proposal. Daniel H. Hoge, on the other hand, spoke at length against the levy and the purchase of additional arms. According to *The New Star*, Hoge told the court "that they could drive all the 'yankees' away, that would ever come among us with hostile intent, by rolling stones down the hills on them." Whatever Hoge really said that day, he and other moderates prevailed, and the county court determined *for now* not to seek additional money or arms.[16]

The tone of the debate in Montgomery County changed entirely after April 12 and the commencement of hostilities at Fort Sumter. News of the

attack quickly reached Christiansburg, thanks to the telegraph, and *The New Star* spread the word as rapidly as it could. In its haste, though, the paper added to people's confusion about the exact course of events. The April 13 issue of *The New Star* was printed before word arrived of the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, but the editors had apparently concluded that war was inevitable. Thus the paper correctly announced "Civil War Inaugurated," but it did so on the basis of reports that the Union navy planned to resupply Fort Sumter "peaceably if it can be done; forcibly if it must." Initially then many county residents were led to believe that northern aggression had sparked the fighting. Eventually, the mistake was corrected. The April 20 issue also declared "Civil War Inaugurated," but this time it provided full details of the battle and the surrender of the fort and its garrison.[17]

By April 20, though, Fort Sumter was old news because by then the state convention had finally acted. After weeks of inconclusive debate, members of the convention (including William Ballard Preston) had decided on April 4 against drafting an ordinance of secession and submitting it to the voters for ratification. Instead, on April 8, they voted to send three representatives, including Preston, to meet President Lincoln and hear directly from him what his intentions were. Preston and his companions left for Washington the next day but were delayed *en route* and did not reach the city until April 12. The next day they met with Lincoln, who simply repeated what he had said at his inauguration about maintaining federal authority in the South, and the disappointed Virginians returned to Richmond.[18]

There they found that the convention had suspended its deliberations when word arrived of the attack on Fort Sumter. President Lincoln, however, had then called on the states—including Virginia—to provide 75,000 volunteers to "suppress" those challenging federal authority and "to repossess the forts, places, and property" they had seized. Lincoln was careful to avoid the words rebellion, insurrection, or civil war, but the truth was clear to see. The convention reconvened in secret session on April 16, and by then, many of its moderate members had concluded that because Virginians would now have to fight, they should fight on the side of the Confederacy. Among those who made this change was William Ballard Preston. Preston himself introduced the ordinance of secession, and he was among those who voted for it. On April 17, 1861, by a vote of 88 to 55, the convention elected to secede, conditional upon the approval of voters in a general referendum to be held in May.[19]

Once the decision to secede was made, residents of Montgomery County rallied to the cause—at least in public. In Central Depot, today's Radford, patriotic citizens acquired or made a Confederate flag and earned the honor, according to *The New Star*, "of giving to the breeze the first

Confederate flag publicly displayed in this county." Meanwhile volunteer companies went on high alert and began making preparations "to resist the march of Lincoln's troops." They had barely begun to prepare when it was time to go; *The New Star* reported on April 27 that the volunteers had departed for Richmond aboard a special train on the evening of April 24. It is fitting that the paper's own editors, who had spent the past five months calling for action, were among the troops heading east "to engage in the defence of the State against Lincoln's mercenary hordes from the North."[20]

Before the volunteers left, many joined their neighbors in a public demonstration of the county's commitment to the Confederate cause. Shortly after the state convention had voted to leave the Union, a number of citizens met at the courthouse in Christiansburg and called for their fellows to convene there on April 22 "to give an expression of their sentiments on the state of the country and to give assurance of their loyalty to Virginia and the whole South." It was later described as "the largest assemblage of the citizens of Montgomery County ever witnessed," and its focus quickly turned to defense. This time, apparently, no one objected to raising extra money and using it to buy arms. In fact, those in attendance raised $10,000 on the spot and named several of their number a committee to go to Richmond and purchase up to $5,000 in arms for the county's use. And knowing that many of the county's men were about to leave for the front, the citizens meeting in Christiansburg also called for the creation of a new "mounted police" to better protect themselves and their families.[21]

County residents had long maintained patrols in each of the county's five districts to monitor the comings and goings of slaves. Members of the patrol kept an eye out for slaves on the county's roads and stopped those they encountered to ensure they had their master's permission to be out. Before the attack on Fort Sumter, these patrols had been fairly small—six or seven men and a captain for each district—and they seem not to have drilled or adopted much of a military nature beyond identifying a captain in each district. At its May meeting, the county court first enlarged the patrols to about twenty men per district but did not change their basic nature; they remained more a *posse comitatus* than a paramilitary organization. Later in the term, though, the justices took official notice of April's public meeting and responded to its call for a new mounted police force. The court initially called for a force of approximately 100 men among the five districts but soon raised the number to 30 per district. It also organized the new force much more formally than the patrol had been. Andrew Lucas was appointed "Chief of Police" for the county, and the men in each district were to elect a commander and two lieutenants to serve under Lucas's "control,

direction, and management." And unlike members of the patrol, members of the mounted police were required to meet monthly in Christiansburg and weekly in their respective districts "for drill and general business."[22]

Enlarging the patrol and creating the mounted police reflected the growing attention to public safety that was evident in Montgomery County during the secession crisis. James J. Henning, writing from Lafayette in May, declared: "Every thing here is being reduced to system in a military point of view." He went on to describe "home guards mounted & armed, dashing around, Patroll moving, the remnant of Malitia being required to meet & drill weekly & youths & boys forming into companies, to drill & prepare for service." The county was preparing, Henning concluded: "every thing excited to the highest pitch is moving in the defence of our country and our homes." Throughout the county residents were responding to what they considered a growing number of threats, both internal and external, and having dispatched their volunteer companies to meet the external threat, they turned much of their attention to internal threats, starting with their own slaves.[23]

Long before the attack on Fort Sumter, whites in the county had worried about the impact on their slaves of the heated political debates going on around them. During the fall campaign, *The New Star* had reported "insurrection Excitement" among slaves in Mississippi and Georgia, and almost immediately after the election, it described growing unrest among slaves in Virginia. Its November 24 issue, for example, included a story from Lancaster County of slaves "making sundry assumptions of freedom 'now that massa Lincoln was elected.'" By early May, such "assumptions" were also becoming evident in Montgomery County. Mary Elizabeth Caperton, who was staying at White Thorn with the family of James F. Preston, reported that one slave, known as "Uncle Davy," had allegedly made a pro-Lincoln speech to "his brethren in Blacksburg." According to Caperton, Davy had told the assembled slaves "that Lincoln was a second Christ and that all that the white people said about Lincoln was a lie from beginning to end." Not surprisingly, Caperton declared there was "uneasiness in the county about the negros."[24]

Enlarging the patrol and establishing the mounted police were, perhaps, the most visible steps taken to address the danger posed by slaves in the county, but they were not the only ones. Individual owners responded too. Uncle Davy, for example, was married to a woman enslaved by James and Sarah Preston and was the father of "their head man." When Mrs. Preston learned of Uncle Davy's pro-Lincoln speech, she told Mary Elizabeth Caperton that "she would send for him and ask him if he had made this speech and if so he should never come on her place again." A "Mr. Hoge," who lived east of Blacksburg, reportedly went even farther

and confined four or five of his slaves for unspecified threatening behavior. Initially, however, many whites in the county seem to have believed they could trust their slaves with their lives. *The New Star* reported in early May that white Methodists in the county had spoken to black members of their congregation about "the events now transpiring in the county," and the paper encouraged other "judicious persons" to follow the Methodists' example. "Our servants will be true to their masters," declared *the New Star* confidently, "and will fight for them if necessary."[25]

White residents of Montgomery County initially demonstrated similarly mixed reactions to the free blacks living in their midst. According to the 1860 census, 147 free blacks resided in the county. Over a quarter of these were in Christiansburg, but free blacks could be found throughout the county during the secession crisis. White Virginians had long considered free blacks a threat to the institution of slavery. As a result, during the half century before the Civil War the state legislature had enacted a series of laws designed to reduce the number of free blacks in Virginia and restrict the freedoms of those who remained. It is not at all clear how vigorously these laws were actually enforced. Many of the free black families living in Montgomery County had been there for decades, and in many ways they were accepted members of the community. They were certainly not considered by whites to be *equal* members of the community, but they were accepted as members.[26]

But as racial fears rose with the election of Lincoln and the "Black Republicans," so too did concern about the potential danger posed by free blacks. As it often did, *The New Star* spoke for the county's "prompt action men," suggesting that free blacks should leave the county before they were driven out. In February 1861, the paper noted that the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was offering free passage in order to facilitate "the emigration of free negroes." This was, the paper declared, "a good opportunity for free negroes to go to *free* States, and the sooner they embrace it, the better it will be for them. They will not be permitted to remain here much longer."[27]

In fact, there is no evidence of any actual crackdown on the free black population in Montgomery County during the secession crisis. It is impossible to be certain of this because so little evidence has survived of how individual white residents of the county behaved toward their free black neighbors, but there is little evidence of any *official* action. The county court adopted no new policies regarding free blacks until August, when it carried out a recent state mandate to enroll free black men between the ages of 18 and 50 for possible conscription as laborers, and only two free blacks came before the court during the first six months of 1861: Andrew Young for "Gaming" and James Marrs for giving his free papers to Isaac, a slave of

James Preston. Neither offense was new, and either man might have been charged for his actions (or not) at any time during the preceding thirty years.[28]

Further complicating the picture is the ultimate outcome of these cases. Early in June, while in jail awaiting trial, both Young and Marrs asked the court to release them so they could "volunteer in the service of the state in the present war." The court granted their requests, released both men, and even ordered the clerk of the court to provide Marrs with new free papers to replace those he had, allegedly, given to Isaac. It has proven impossible, thus far, to discover whether or not either man actually sought to enlist. What is clear is that members of the county court—white men, of property—believed that their doing so was possible and acted accordingly. Clearly, in spite of rising anxiety in some quarters, not everyone in Montgomery County saw free blacks as a threat.[29]

Finally, in addition to the threat posed by free and enslaved African Americans, white residents of Montgomery County also worried about the danger presented by white Unionists. During the early months of 1861, Unionists were almost certainly still a majority among the county's white residents. Between them, John Bell and Stephen Douglas had received nearly two-thirds of the votes cast in the presidential election. Once the state convention had voted to secede, Unionists became less visible, but they were still there. Daniel H. Hoge, who spoke out against buying additional arms in March, had not changed his views. Men like Hoge and Giles Thomas, who had ridiculed secessionists in February, seem not to have worried their neighbors particularly. They were men of property, and people apparently expected they would behave accordingly; so they were tolerated. Far more worrisome were less affluent Unionists, such as those reputed to be living in the community of Prices Fork.[30]

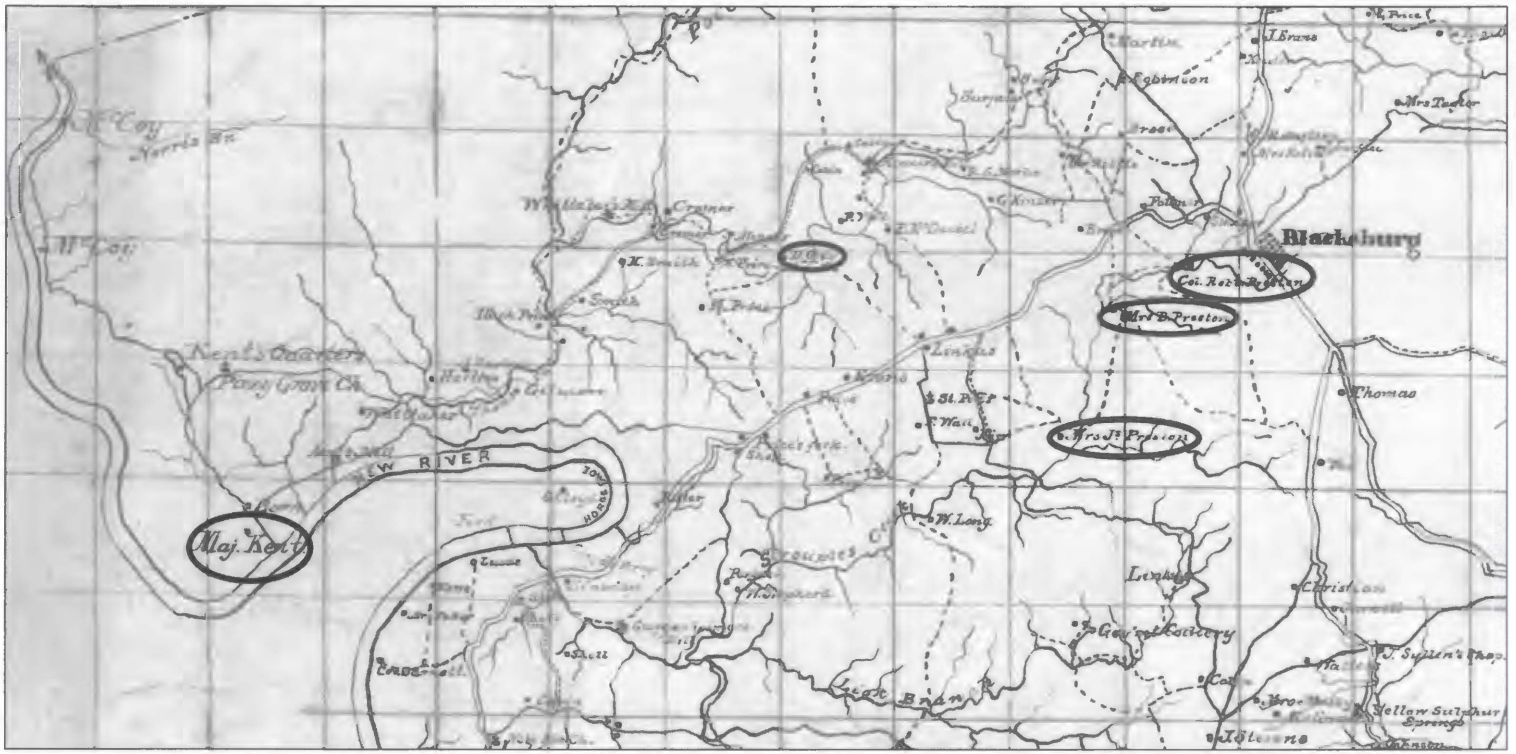
Mary Elizabeth Caperton spent the spring of 1861 visiting her sister-in-law, Sarah Anne Caperton Preston, at White Thorn, just a few miles from Prices Fork. Letters she wrote to her husband from White Thorn include several showing the concern felt by wealthy plantation-owners in the area, such as the Prestons, Kents, and Oteys, toward their neighbors in Prices Fork. In one letter, for example, Caperton described Prices Fork as a community of "poor people who are very rampant just now" and reported that the Kents and Prestons "seemed much concerned about the Union feeling" there. Another prominent figure in the county, D. W. L. Charlton, expressed similar sentiments. Writing from Christiansburg in May of 1861, Charlton told a friend: "[W]e expect to have trouble at Prices Fork yet."[31]

Concern about Unionists in the county rose dramatically in May as word spread of an alleged conspiracy between white Unionists and local slaves to murder several prominent planters around Prices Fork and free

their slaves. It remains unclear from the surviving evidence just how widespread the conspiracy was. Only one white man and one slave were ever specifically identified in reports of the plot. No other slaves or free blacks living near Prices Fork reported any knowledge of it; not even those who later filed with the Southern Claims Commission, and therefore had a vested interest in showing their loyalty, ever mentioned it. Whether or not the threat was real, though, is irrelevant. White residents of the county *believed* it was real and acted as if it were.[32]

The reputed mastermind of the plot was Enos Price, a 40-year-old, white "stone cutter" living near Prices Fork. Witnesses reported that Price began meeting some time in May with Washington, a young man enslaved by James H. Otey, a doctor and planter who lived north of Prices Fork and also served as captain of the Home Guard in that district. Otey testified that Washington told him on May 12 that he had been meeting with Price and that Price had urged him to help kill a number of leading planters in the neighborhood. According to one account, Price told Washington: "Lincoln would free the slaves but the only way he could do so would be to get rid of such men as the negros' master and Major Kent etc. and that to accomplish this the negros would have to put their masters out of the way." Price and Washington met again on May 14 and agreed to another meeting on May 16.[33]

Washington also told Otey about the planned meeting, though, and on the evening of May 16, Otey and two other members of the Home Guard arrived at the abandoned house where Price and Washington were meeting just in time to eavesdrop on much of their conversation. According to Otey, Price told Washington that he had 2,000 men ready to help execute his plan and that "all the negroes had to do was to fight like hell, for a few days, and all would be well with them, that their freedom was certain, that if the larger slave holders were killed off the others would be easily managed." He directed Washington to visit the plantations of four of the largest slave-owners in the district—James R. Kent, James F. Preston, William Ballard Preston, and Robert T. Preston—after dark on Friday, May 17, and tell slaves on each of their plantations that "Saturday night was the night for their work." Washington pointed out that he could not travel that far in a single night and make it home by daybreak and suggested delaying the attack for several days. Price was insistent, though, telling Washington they "had put it off too long already." The county's volunteers would be back soon, he explained, and once they returned it would be impossible to act. Finally, Price told Washington that he and the other slaves should kill their masters quietly and bring Price any money they found so he could use it to buy equipment for the insurrection. At that point, Otey and his men



According to witnesses, Enos Price assured Washington, a young slave who lived on the farm of Dr. James Otey (center oval), that "if the larger slave holders were killed off the others would be easily managed." Price then directed Washington to visit the plantations of James Kent (left) and the three Preston brothers – James, William Ballard, and Robert (right) – in order to convince slaves on those estates to join Washington in killing their masters.

entered the house and captured Price, who was taken before a magistrate in Christiansburg and held for further questioning.[34]

Word of the plot spread quickly. Price was captured just before *The New Star* printed its May 18 edition, and the paper published a brief account that made clear to its readers Price had been caught in the act of "inciting the negroes (or a negro) to insurrection." The paper also urged the public to prepare in case other conspiracies were afoot. It suggested that citizens clean their guns, stockpile ammunition, and "learn your wives and daughters how to use the gun and pistol." At White Thorn, which was to have been one of Price's targets, Mary Elizabeth Caperton was able to make light of the threat, telling her husband in a letter the following Monday: "We are all well and no attempt 'to kill the Prestons' Saturday night!" Another letter, however, reveals that Caperton was not entirely at ease and that others in the neighborhood were even more nervous than she. On May 27, she described being awakened recently by a violent thunderstorm and a bolt of lightening that ignited a barn fire. Caperton readily confessed, "[T]he thought flashed across my mind that perhaps the Prices were about to attack us." She then went on to explain that such thoughts flashed across other minds as well:

> The consternation at Smithfield they say was truly awful. The storm was not so bad there and they did not think of lightening. The servants gave the alarm and Mr. [Wm. B.] Preston jumped up, called for his pistol and knife and started off. In about 15 minutes after we were roused 4 of the home guard from Blacksburg came riding up with guns, but Mr. Legerwood [the overseer] told them they could put down their horses and guns and come help fight the fire.[35]

The source of this anxiety, Enos Price, was examined soon after by the full county court and bound over for trial before the circuit court. In September he was indicted for conspiring "to rebel and make insurrection"; he was then arraigned and returned to jail to await trial. Sometime that fall or winter, though, Price "broke jail" and escaped. Governor John Letcher offered a reward of $100 for his capture, but Price eluded the law until the fall of the Confederacy. After that he reappeared in the county and settled quietly on a farm near Poverty Creek. There is no evidence that Washington, Price's alleged co-conspirator, was ever tried for his role in the plot or rewarded for his role in exposing it.[36]

Just a week after Enos Price was captured, and with news of his attempted "insurrection" buzzing through the county, its residents went to the polls to have their say about secession. It was rather a pointless exercise; Virginia had effectively left the Union immediately after the vote of the convention, and

thousands of Virginia men were already serving in the Confederate army. The convention had called for a referendum, though, and in Montgomery County, at least, supporters of secession were determined to show a unified front.

In the days preceding the election, pro-secession forces made it clear that voting "no" or even neglecting to vote would be dangerous options. Stephen Childress and James Hight both testified later that "force" was used to intimidate voters in the Childress Store portion of the county. According to Childress, "a company of armed men went through the neighborhood notifying persons that if they failed to go and vote for ratification of the ordinance of secession that their persons and property would not be protected." Mary Elizabeth Caperton reported similar tactics around Prices Fork. Leading secessionists in the district had heard that as many as fifty men in the neighborhood might vote no in the referendum and declared that any who did so would "suffer." According to Caperton, Dr. Otey went about wearing a pistol and "a large knife" before the election, and one of the Prestons declared that "we are in the midst of a revolution and if ... these men dare to oppose the acts of the convention that there will be blood spilled in Montgomery."[37]

The effect of such threats was certainly visible when the votes were counted on May 23. First, turnout for the referendum on secession was considerably higher than that recorded six months earlier in the presidential election. In November, a total of 1,211 votes had been cast in Montgomery County, but in May the number was 1,395—an increase of 15 percent. It is possible that some of the increase was a result of accidental or deliberate miscounting. The accounts of Childress and Caperton suggest, however, that a likelier explanation is that men who had not bothered to vote in November dared not stay home this time and be identified as Unionists. The other apparent result of the secessionists' strong-arm approach to the referendum was the total absence of no votes. Virginia did not employ the secret ballot; so anyone watching at the polls knew exactly how every individual voted. For that reason, perhaps, the vote was unanimous: 1,395 votes were cast in favor of secession and none against.[38]

Election day May 23, 1861, saw the close of Montgomery County's secession crisis. Its residents had spoken, at least those who were allowed to, and the matter had been settled, officially at least. This was, of course, an illusion. Events during the preceding six months had shown clearly the differences of opinion that existed among county residents. For now, those differences had been suppressed. By summer the county had settled down and begun moving quickly into a wartime routine. Support for that war would never be universal, though, even among the county's white residents. Whatever the vote recorded in the referendum, significant numbers of people in Montgomery County had

opposed secession. They also opposed the war, and as time passed, their number increased and their opposition became more visible. The county's secession crisis had passed, but its wartime crisis was just beginning.

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22. [Proceedings of the County Court, December 5, 1859 and May 6, 1861], Order Book / Co. Court Com. / Law & Chancy. / 1859–1868, MCCH; *The New Star*, May 4, 1861.
23. James H. Henning to David Edmundson, May 28, 1861, Mss1 Ed598 a 901–933, Sec. 23, Edmundson Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society.
24. *The New Star*, Sept. 1, Sept. 15, and Nov. 24, 1860; Mary Elizabeth. Caperton to George Henry Caperton, May 9, 1861, Caperton Family Papers, Ms 91-034, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
25. Mary Elizabeth Caperton to George Henry Caperton, May 9, 1861, Caperton Family Papers; *The New Star,* May 4, 1861.
26. Federal Census of 1860, Population Schedule; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974); Kirt von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face: Race, Identity, and Community in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Emily West, *Family or Freedom: People of Color in the Antebellum South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2012), 33–4 and 45–6.
27. *The New Star*, Feb. 23, 1861.
28. [Proceedings of the County Court March 4, April 1, and June 3, 1861] Order Book / Co. Court Com. Law & Chancy. / 1859–1868, MCCH.
29. Ibid. Confederate service records have survived for Virginians named James Marrs and Andrew Young. One man named James Marrs was even described as having a "dark" complexion, though he was also five inches shorter than the James Marrs described in Montgomery County (Number 107, Book of Free Negroes, MCCH; John D. Chapla, *42nd Virginia Infantry* [Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1983], 59 and 115).
30. Daniel Hoge continued to arouse suspicion among his neighbors throughout the war; see, for example, Harvey Black to Mary Black, Sept. 22, 1863, in Glenn L. McMullen, ed., *A Surgeon with Stonewall Jackson: The Civil War Letters of Dr. Harvey Black* (Baltimore, Md.: Butternut and Blue, 1995), 61–62; "Report of Detectives" enclosed in James A. Seddon to Jefferson Davis, Nov. 8, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), Series IV, III: 806–9); neither Hoge nor Thomas seems ever to have served in the Confederate military.
31. Mary Elizabeth Caperton to George Henry Caperton, May 14, May 20, and May 27, 1861, Caperton Family Papers; D. W. L. Charlton to "Dear Friend Oliver," May 23, 1861, Folder V, Charlton Family Papers, Ms 80-001, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
32. See, for example, the claims of William Moon (Montgomery County) and Edmund Otey (Roanoke County) among the Approved Claims and the Barred and Disallowed Claims from Virginia. The originals are in Record Groups 217 and 233 in the National Archives but are more readily accessible through Fold3.com.
34. *Commonwealth v. Price*, Criminal A-655, MCCH.
35. *The New Star*, May 18, 1861; Mary Elizabeth Caperton to George Henry Caperton, May 20 and 27, 1861, Caperton Family Papers.
36. *Commonwealth v. Price*, Criminal A-655, MCCH; [proceedings of the County Court, June 3, 1861], Order Book / Co. Court Com. Law & Chancy. / 1859–1868, MCCH; Order Book / Cir. Court, No. 4, 367–8, MCCH; [Richmond] *Daily Dispatch*, April 24, 1862; Deed Book S, 392, MCCH. The Rev. Jimmie Price is currently working on a history of northwestern Montgomery County that should cast more light on the story of Enos Price.
37. Claim of Stephen Childress (Montgomery County), Barred and Disallowed Claims, Southern Claims Commission; Mary Elizabeth Caperton to George Henry Caperton, May 14 and 20, 1861, Caperton Family Papers.
38. Lindon, *Virginia's Montgomery County*, 59.

Brief Note

From Thoreau to Confucius, via Abingdon, Virginia

Jim Glanville

Introduction and Commentary

This brief note reprints an obscure article published 102 years ago by the Massachusetts historian Charles Francis Adams titled "From Thoreau to Confucius, via Abingdon, Virginia."

In 1907, a Presbyterian minister, R. V. Lancaster, from Abingdon, Virginia, learned through reading the *Christian Observer* that the president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Charles Francis Adams (during a lecture at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, in 1907) had erroneously attributed to the essayist and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson an allusion by the philosopher Henry David Thoreau.

Lancaster, who had been for many years a missionary in China, read the writings of the philosopher Confucius in Chinese and knew them well. Lancaster recognized Thoreau's allusion for what it was, a Confucian quote, and wrote to Adams explaining the origin of the allusion.

Charles Francis Adams was reelected president of the Massachusetts Historical Society at the society's meeting on the afternoon of Thursday, April 14, 1910, when he also read his paper "From Thoreau to Confucius, via Abingdon, Virginia."[1] In this paper, Adams explained how he had come to be corrected by Pastor Lancaster and later discovered where in the works of Thoreau the allusion originated. As told by Adams, it is a straightforward story that speaks for itself.[2]

The present author stumbled on the Adams article by pure accident. It is published in the same volume of *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* where Adams writes about a topic of interest to the author: Daniel Morgan and the Virginia riflemen he led during the Revolutionary War. Morgan commanded his riflemen at Boston, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1775. Naturally, a table-of-contents-listed article with "Abingdon, Virginia," in its title demanded attention.

Today, we are in the middle of a hardly noticed but incredibly broad revolution in the manner in which we are able to study history. The buzz phrases that characterize this revolution are "digital history" and "digital humanities." The revolution is conceptually simple: enormous amounts of existing literature are going online in digital, searchable formats. Databases for history include the public ones such as Google Scholar, Google Books, and Google itself. Scholarly history data bases accessible to library patrons are JSTOR, the Historical Newspaper data base, the ProQuest data base, Historical Abstracts from EBSCO, and many more. The revolution is accelerated and given impetus by historians who are active in the arena of "social media" such as blogs, and Twitter, and LinkedIn.

However, it is not just a matter of access, it is the manner in which access to digital materials makes possible the writing of works of historical overview and synthesis that simply could not have been undertaken just a few years ago. Properly conducted searches bring together themes and threads that non-digital historians would need lifetimes to uncover with paper and microfilm research. Digital materials can also resurrect long-lost articles relevant to "History West of the Blue Ridge," such as the one transcribed below.[3]

I conclude, as Adams did long before me, "The thing, in my opinion, deserves a place among the Curiosities of Literature; and I take the present occasion for giving it one ...."

Charles Francis Adams' 1910 Paper, Transcribed

Sixteen years ago I had occasion to refer to John Winthrop and his connection with early Massachusetts, in a paper I then read before the Society.[1] In doing so, I made use of this quotation: "The virtues of a superior man are like the wind; the virtues of a common man are like the grass; the grass, when the wind passes over it, bends." I had come across it in reading one of Thoreau's volumes; and, struck by its mystic, Eastern turn, I now applied it to Governor Winthrop. In thus making use of what impressed me as a novel as well as striking figure of speech, I merely put it in quotation marks, omitting any reference to the book in which I had seen it. The so doing afterwards cost me both time and trouble; for my only recollection was that I had found it somewhere in Thoreau. But Thoreau's writings are, in every sense of the term, somewhat scattering; they also fill a considerable number of volumes.

This was in 1894. Thirteen years later I was asked to deliver an address before the Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, Virginia, on the observance by it of the Centennial of the birth of General Robert E. Lee. Incidentally, let me observe that the circumstances connected with my delivery of that address are referred to

in yet another paper, also to be found in the printed Proceedings[2] of the Society. When preparing the Lee centennial address, the quotation I had years before used in connection with Governor Winthrop recurred to me. In view of General Lee's great moral influence with his people, it seemed equally applicable to him; and its harmony with the spirit of the occasion in which I was to take part, was apparent. I therefore again made use of it; and on this occasion I made use of it not only once, but twice. It served as a key-note on the first page of my address; and I repeated it at the close, in way of a benediction.

As I have said, when I used the quotation first, in 1894, I made no note of the source whence I drew. When I next

[1] 2 Proc. VIII. 409. [2] 2 Proc. xx. 551–556

used it, I simply took it from my own earlier production, giving it no further thought. I vaguely associated my borrowed figure of rhetoric with Thoreau; but had no idea where Thoreau found it, though I suspected Emerson. It is Emersonian. It moves with his rhythm, and his spirit pervades it.

My surprise was great, therefore, when, among a number of letters which came to me shortly after, in connection with the Lexington occasion, I one day received the following:

> ABINGDON, VA., Feb. I, 1907.
>
> DEAR SIR, – Being a scholar, I feel sure, you will not be offended at my addressing you this note.
>
> Prof. Hogue, of Washington and Lee University, gives an account of your address there in the current number of "The Christian Observer." He says, "He closed with this quotation 'from a disciple of Emerson'": then follows the quotation about the relation of the superior man to the inferior like the wind and the grass, when the wind blows the grass bends.
>
> Now this idea in almost the exact form given is found in "The Analects of Confucius." Of course I do not know whether Prof. Hogue quoted you correctly; but I do know that if through inadvertence you have made a mistake you do not wish to continue it....
>
> Hoping you will pardon me for my seeming impertinence in this letter, I am, Sir, with great respect, Faithfully yours,
>
> R. V. LANCASTER.

More than a good deal taken aback by this disclosure of unconscious erudition, I at once wrote to Mr. Lancaster, frankly expressing my surprise at the information given me, and stating my own surmise that the quotation, if it had not actually originated with Thoreau, went back, at furthest, only to Emerson. I then expressed the curiosity I felt to know more of it. In due course of mail I received a second letter from the same source as the first, from which I extract the following:

> Your cordial letter of the 4th inst. has just come to hand. I thank you for it, and for the copy of the Address, which will arrive later.
>
> I am now pastor of the Presbyterian Church at this place; and, fifteen years ago, was a Missionary to China. I have read the "Analects of Confucius" in the original. The copy usually studied by all containing Dr. Legge's translation and notes is a costly book, and I never owned one. The "Analects" do not treat of any subject consecutively, but in the method of arrangement would remind one of the "Book of
>
> Page 474
>
> Proverbs" or the "Thoughts of Pascal." About the time of my retirement from work in China I used large pains in preparing a lecture on the teachings of Confucius as found in the *Analects*. In that lecture, which was never published but which is now before me, the quotation stands in the following connection: A certain ruler asks: "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied: "Sir, in carrying on your government why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good ... The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass, when the wind blows, the grass must bend.
>
> And again the Master said: "He who exercises government by means of his virtue, may be compared to the North Polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn toward it."
>
> There are dozens and dozens of striking sentiments throughout, e. g. "Learning without thought is labor lost – thought without learning is perilous." Of a certain one he said: "That man knew well how to maintain friendly intercourse – the acquaintance might be long but he showed the same respect as at the first."

> While this is not answering your request for a reference to chapter and verse, I hope it will show that I speak from the point of view of having learned.
>
> I feel that students would be greatly interested in this mine of Oriental wisdom, but a parson in a small town is hardly the one to tell them so.

My curiosity was now thoroughly aroused, and I at once set to work to find out where, in Thoreau's writings, — for in my recollection the quotation was inseparably associated with Thoreau, – the extract from Confucius could be found. The search, it goes without saying, was somewhat in the nature of the proverbial looking for needle in hay-stack. I utterly failed to find any trace of what I looked for. At that time (1907) the firm of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. was bringing out a definitive edition of Thoreau's works, in twenty volumes; and I went so far as to go to its office, there meeting Mr. Garrison and Mr. F. H. Allen, the editor of the new edition. I asked them if they could aid me. Neither Mr. Garrison nor Mr. Allen had any recollection of such a quotation or figure of speech in Thoreau; nor, for that matter, anywhere else. Not a suggestion even was forthcoming from either.

Time passed, and I had despaired of ever locating my elusive quotation. Yet in the nature of a puzzle unsolved, it perpet-

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ually recurred to me; and, several times, I took down some volume of Thoreau, turning over its pages, in vain search for that I never found.

I had given the thing up as hopeless – a game not worth the candle – when, on the afternoon of the 21st January of this year, I took a local train on the Fitchburg road for Lincoln where I live. The car chanced to be somewhat crowded, – fortunately, as it turned out, for me; but I presently found our associate Mr. F. B. Sanborn occupying an entire seat, on his way also to his home in Concord, the town adjoining Lincoln; so I imposed my company on him. In the course of a somewhat animated conversation, drifting aimlessly from one topic to another, we got upon Emerson's early diary, now in course of publication, and from that naturally passed on to Thoreau; and, it then occurring to me, I mentioned my long sought for quotation. Mr. Sanborn is, as we all know, a sort of walking cyclopædia of odds-and-ends of miscellaneous information; and he now proceeded to justify his reputation in that respect, at once telling me that I would find what I sought at the close of a chapter in Thoreau's "Walden," and that Thoreau there stated that the quotation was from a Chinese philosopher, mentioning no name. On getting home, I at once turned to my copy of "Walden," and there, sure enough, at the

close of chapter VIII., I ran my quarry to earth. Still, Mr. Sanborn was in error![1] Thoreau had not in any way indicated the source whence he drew, merely giving his quotation, duly marked as such, in the following shape:

> You who govern public affairs, what need have you to employ punishments? Love virtue and the people will be virtuous. The virtues of a superior man are like the wind; the virtues of a common man are like the grass; the grass, when the wind passes over it, bends.

Meanwhile, it so chanced, that, shortly before, I had seen an English publication advertised, entitled "The Sayings of Confucius." A copy of this I had procured; and in it on examination I was now fortunate enough to find my quotation in two different places.[1] It there appears in the following form:

[1] Nation, May 12, 1910, 481.
[2] The Wisdom of the East Series, edited by L. Cranmer Byng and Dr. S. A. Kapadia. John Murray: London, 1907, 32, 42.

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> Chi 'Kans Tzu questioned Confucius on a point of government, saying: Ought not I to cut off the lawless in order to establish law and order? What do you think? – Confucius replied: Sir, what need is there of the death penalty in your system of government? If you showed a sincere desire to be good, your people would likewise be good. The virtue of the prince is like unto wind; that of the people, like unto grass. For it is the nature of grass to bend when the wind blows upon it.

I presume I stand not alone among the members of the Society in having, on more than one occasion in life, lost sleep over the effort to locate some quotation which had stuck, so to speak, in memory's crop; and in the locating of which not Bartlett, nor Harbottle, nor Walsh, nor King, nor any other collector of such, afforded assistance or supplied a clue. These, my fellows, will sympathize in the relief I experienced when what had so long eluded search at last was found. My first gleam of light had none the less come from an unexpected quarter; for I hold it to have been a most curious coincidence that a poetical figure of speech, found in Thoreau's works and assumed to be taken from those of Emerson, should be correctly placed by a modest Presbyterian clergyman, living in an obscure village nestled in the Virginian Alleghanies,[1] as attributable to Confucius, of whose writings in their original tongue that clergyman had long years before been a

student in China. The thing, in my opinion, deserves a place among the Curiosities of Literature; and I take the present occasion for giving it one in the Proceedings of this Society.

[1] Abingdon, a place of some thirteen hundred Inhabitants, is the county seat of Washington County, on the Tennessee line, in extreme, southwestern Virginia.

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Endnotes

1. Anonymous, "President Adams is Re-Elected: Massachusetts Historical Society holds Annual Meeting," *Boston Evening Transcript*, Friday April 15, 1910, page 12.
2. Charles Francis Adams, "From Thoreau to Confucius, Via Abingdon, Virginia," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 43 (October 1909-June 1910), 473–477.
3. The transcription here reproduces the original paper's punctuation, capitalization, etc. The original paper is readable at the short link *http://goo.gl/cQsYT.*

Book Review

George A. McLean, Jr., *Skirmish at Pearisburg*, (Lynchburg, VA: Blackwell Press, 2012), ISBN: 978-0-9830482-9-9.

On the back cover of George McLean's narrative, one finds in the synopsis of the book an apt description of the focus of this study. "Although the fight...was small by Civil War standards, it reflected much of what was happening in the larger war." All too often, we forget the importance of the smaller affairs, which occurred all throughout the country during our nineteenth-century conflict. For each Gettysburg, Vicksburg, or Antietam, thousands of lesser-known engagements occurred. Thankfully, the author has captured a solid account of the May 9, 1862 military action at Pearisburg – a Southwest Virginia town commonly referred to in the period reports as Giles Court House.

McLean sets the stage during the early days of the war, in explaining the disparity of military training between officers North and South. Several men on both sides of the divide had attended West Point, while others received instruction at the Virginia Military Institute, the Citadel outside Charleston, or any of a number of other martial schools scattered across the Southland. This explanation assists readers, especially those not well versed in nineteenth-century military history, in understanding the experience, or lack thereof, of the opposing officers at Pearisburg.

In researching the history of the Pearisburg events, McLean mined various primary sources – letters, diaries, period maps, newspapers, and post-battle reports. The smoke and din on the field severely limited a soldier's perspective of the action occurring on his left or right, so a mixed accounting of the action often proves the result. The author's interpretation of these accounts enriches the reader's understanding of the actual experience of battle. A blending of secondary source material rounds out a helpful bibliography, which provides an excellent point of reference for those interested in learning more about military activities in this part of the Old Dominion. Among the several citations used throughout the narrative, the author leans heavily on the diary of Private Edward Henry, a soldier who fought with the 23rd Ohio Infantry regiment.

When studying an unfamiliar battle, or campaign, a map of the region, complete with place names referenced in the narrative always proves very helpful, and McLean does not disappoint on this account. Augmenting the map of the Pearisburg environ created for the book, one finds several different sections of a period map developed through the Confederate Bureau of Engineers Office under the direction of Chief Engineer Jeremy Francis Gilmer, and a map Lieutenant Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes created.

Southwest Virginia provided many soldiers for the Confederate Army; the region also housed valuable natural resources: salt, lead, and iron. Perhaps the greatest target drawing Federal attention to the area rested along the tracks of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, a fact not escaping McLean's attention. In order to understand why armies met at Pearisburg in May 1862, one must gain an appreciation of the Northern attempt to destroy the main rail line connecting the eastern and western theaters of war. Mounting internecine conflict along the Virginia and future West Virginia border also prodded Federal officials to secure the region. As the author so aptly noted, "It would have been political suicide for Federal leaders to leave Confederates unmolested along those boundaries." (p. 12).

The roster of participants at Pearisburg reads like a "who's who" of military and political history. The Federals counted roughly 600 troops available for action, while the Confederates fielded a force of approximately 2,000. Despite the resultant engagement being somewhat small in numbers, Pearisburg can claim the presence of two future presidents, Rutherford B. Hayes and William McKinley, along with the ancestor of a World War II hero - Confederate Colonel George S. Patton. Their presence interjects an intriguing side story to the battle account, when coupled with the actions of the Confederate leader at Pearisburg, Brigadier General Harry Heth. Later in the war, Heth fought alongside General Robert E. Lee in some of the largest battles in the east. McLean provides a very helpful section at the end of the book entitled "The Leaders." This biographical sketch of the key officers involved in the skirmish would motivate this reviewer to purchase the book based this section alone.

Enhancing the narrative, through the inclusion of three "inserts," the author offers the reader a better understanding of certain key components from the story. The first insert discusses the origin of the term "contraband," a word Major General Benjamin Butler coined when refusing to return escaped slaves, who had reached the safety of Fortress Monroe, to their owners. The label stuck, and readers will learn how one such contraband provided valuable intelligence to Hayes outside Pearisburg. The New River runs through the region of Pearisburg, and during the Civil War, moving

troops across any sizable river, the New River or others, proved a challenge to officers. If readers have not encountered stories of "bateaux," insert two will explain not only what, but also how these innovative boats played a role in the action near Pearisburg.

After retreating from Pearisburg and the Narrows region, the Federal troops camped on the farm of a local family – the Adairs. The author drew from the diary of Ellen Adair, age 17 at the time of the skirmish, to recount what she witnessed as an army violated her usual tranquil space. This young woman's keen observations take one back to May 1862, where you too can hear the sporadic gunfire, and watch as the hungry soldiers sought food. The end of Federal occupation left Miss Adair virtually speechless; her May 18 diary entry a single sentence – 'What a sweet day." (p. 73).

Augmenting the involvement of Hayes, McKinley, and Patton, McLean reports on the future military action of little-known Milton Humphreys, a Confederate artillery sergeant who missed the skirmish at Pearisburg. Humphreys more than made up for his illness during the struggle along the New River, when he later "...invented the concept of indirect fire...." (p.25).

Troops marched on their stomachs, but they rallied around the spirited music of regimental bands, and the author provides an overview of one such musical group - the "Arthur Boys," from the 23rd Ohio Infantry. Readers will enjoy viewing a period photograph of this dapper collection of musicians, who later motivated their fellow soldiers during the Battle of Cloyds Mountain.

Students, researchers, and all with an interest in Civil War history will benefit in adding the *Skirmish at Pearisburg* to their library. This reviewer's only negative critiques involve the inconvenience of flipping to the back of the book to reference the endnotes (footnotes preferred), and the absence of an order of battle. Purchase this book, read this book, and learn how the author could have selected a different, yet equally appropriate title – "The Skirmish at Thermopylae." Strive to appreciate George McLean's effort to emulate the actions from one of the soldiers referenced in his narrative, as the author's work provides evidence of his fighting "...a good cause." (p.91). In McLean's case, his cause focuses on ensuring the military actions from the smaller engagements of the Civil War receive their due on the printed page. One can only hope McLean will continue his research and writing, and at some future point, deliver an equaling engaging account of the Battle of Cloyds Mountain!

Michael K. Shaffer
Civil War Center
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Rachael Garrity

The Smithfield Review
Volume 17, 2013

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:

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In this issue —

Native American society was organized according to matrilineal descent, which proved very difficult for Europeans to understand or respect. Under this system, all children inherited their clan affiliation from their mother and belonged to her and lived in her home. She and her maternal relatives raised them and taught them their roles in society, which derived from her clan and not from their father's.
—page 4

Like most pioneer stories, it is one of simple farmers and tradesmen looking for a better life for themselves and their children. It is a story of great loss in the Shawnee raids of 1755, when three family members were killed and another two taken prisoner. It is also a story of migration, moving from colony to colony or state to state every generation. Finally, it is a story of triumph, with the family not only surviving, but also prospering in the New World. **—page 27**

County surveyors in eastern Virginia traditionally belonged among political, economic, and social leadership. In newly formed western counties, a skillful and ambitious man from the lower social ranks, or even an immigrant such as William Preston, could leverage his way into the ranks of the elite via the office of county surveyor. **—page 44**

Slavery was alive and well in Montgomery County in 1860; in fact it was expanding rapidly. Slavery had existed in the county since its creation in 1776, but for many years it remained a relatively insignificant element of the local economy and society. The land and climate ... were well suited to a variety of agricultural pursuits. ... Producing marketable goods, then, was never a problem in Montgomery County; getting them to market was though. ... That changed when the railroad arrived. **—pages 75,76**

"The virtues of a superior man are like the wind; the virtues of a common man are like the grass; the grass, when the wind passes over it, bends." **—page 98**