The Smithfield Review

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Smithfield is an important historic property adjacent to the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. The manor house, constructed around 1774 on the frontier, is a premier example of early American architecture and is one of few such regional structures of that period to survive. It was the last home of Colonel William Preston, a noted surveyor and developer of western lands, who served as an important colonial and Revolutionary War leader. Preston named the 2,000-acre plantation "Smithfield" in honor of his wife, Susanna Smith. Today, the manor house is a museum that is interpreted and administered by a local group of volunteers.

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

A Note from the Editors

Three of the five articles in this issue provide information about frontier life in southwestern Virginia during the last half of the eighteenth century. Before 1750, the region was primarily unexplored wilderness. Yet by 1800, thousands of immigrants had passed through or settled in the numerous communities that dotted the landscape, as the frontier of the great migration moved on to the west. That intervening fifty-year interval was a period of great turmoil and change in the western counties of Virginia. The complex history of the region during this time reveals atrocities, Indian wars, changing religious practices, amazing economic development, new roads, newly discovered mines, massive land deals, and the birth of one of the world's greatest political innovations, "the United States."

Our first article, "Early Presbyterians in Montgomery County,"describes the migration of Presbyterians from Scotland and Northern Ireland to Southwest Virginia. The article explores the significant influence of these immigrants with respect to their newly formed society. The author, Charles L. Taylor, is a professor of political science at Virginia Tech.

At the outset of the civil war, many young men were caught up in the war fever that gripped the nation. "The Forgotten Fencibles," by April Danner, relates the enlistment, service, and tragic death of Milton Harmon as he fought for the Confederacy. Danner received her bachelor's and master's degrees in history from Virginia Tech.

William Ballard Preston, the third generation owner of Smithfield, had a daughter, Lucy Preston Beale, who attended Hollins College. After her death in 1928, her daughter decided to honor her mother by constructing a memorial garden at Hollins. Jennie Hodge, the author, describes the garden's origin and evolution in "Mother Dearly Loved Flowers: The Beale Memorial Garden at Hollins University." Hodge is a graduate of the University of Virginia and recently received her master's degree from Hollins.

Fort Chiswell was a well-known location in the frontier days of Southwest Virginia. Mary Kegley, who has done considerable research on the history of Southwest Virginia, presents "Fort Chiswell and Chiswell's Lead Mines of Wythe County, Virginia: A New Perspective."

In March 1774, Governor Dunmore dissolved the Virginia assembly. Meeting unofficially, the delegates planned an extra-legal August convention and called for Virginia counties to elect representatives to attend it. The resulting county meetings to select representatives and adopt resolutions opposing arbitrary British rule were among the first independent acts of democracy in Virginia. In October, formal county committees were created in response to the call from the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia. In early 1775, the freeholders of Fincastle and three other western Virginia counties adopted strongly worded resolutions foreshadowing the coming American Revolution. In "The Fincastle Resolutions," author Jim Glanville presents a comprehensive study of the role of western men in the unfolding revolutionary movement in Virginia.

We express our gratitude to Mary Holliman of Pocahontas Press, Peter Wallenstein of the Virginia Tech history department, our Smithfield Review Management Board, our donors, and our many reviewers and copy editors for their continuing assistance in making this publication possible.

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Early Presbyterians in Montgomery County

Charles Lewis Taylor

None of Queen Anne's 17 children were alive when she died in 1714. That fact was ultimately to have consequences for Presbyterian churches in Southwest Virginia. Ever since James VI of Scotland had succeeded Elizabeth I of England in 1603, a single monarch had reigned over both countries. Yet each remained a separate kingdom with its own parliament and its own rules for succession to the throne. As Anne's death approached, the English Parliament became concerned that the next monarch in England might not also rule in Scotland. With memories of recent religious warfare, the prospect of a foreign — possibly Catholic — sovereign to the north was a frightening one. So the English made an offer the Scots could not refuse. They proposed a United Kingdom with a single Parliament and a single king: George of Hanover.

The union of the two kingdoms in 1707 opened up Scottish trade with and immigration to the English colonies in North America. Indirectly, it broadened possibilities for the people in Ireland as well, especially for the Protestants of Ulster in the north. Prompted in the seventeenth century by the English desire to establish a Protestant beachhead in Ireland, Presbyterians from Ayrshire, Wigtonshire, and Galloway in southwest Scotland had crossed the North Channel to settle in Ulster.[1] These people were frugal; they had to be. Life was hard and was becoming increasingly so in the early eighteenth century. The harvests of 1717 and 1719 were failures; the hard winter of 1721 killed most of the cattle, and exports of the cottage linen industry fell. Moreover, the 21-year cheap leases on the land — designed to encourage emigration under William III — expired in 1717 and were replaced by much more costly ones. In 1727, the 31-year leases also ran out. On one estate in the vicinity of Downpatrick, charges to the tenants increased from £1,244 in 1713 to £2,254 in 1731.[2] Clergy of the Church

of Ireland (Anglican) followed suit and doubled mandatory tithes. In theory and to some extent in practice, Presbyterianism was an illegal religion in Ireland. Presbyterians, however, were allowed to maintain their religion provided they paid tithes to support the established church.

Prospects in the New World, on the other hand, looked promising. Estimates are that between 100,000 and 250,000 Scotch-Irish[3] came to the North American colonies between 1707 and 1776. As usual in human migrations, it was not the poorest of the poor who made the move. Only about one-fifth of the immigrants indentured themselves to pay the passage over. The relatively prosperous linen weavers were more likely to immigrate than those who depended directly on the soil.[4] The weavers had already turned from farming, but they sought further improvement in their lot. Even if they were not starving, higher rents and more expensive food were good incentives to leave.

The initial migration of 1717–1718 was followed by additional waves in the tough years of 1725–1729, 1740–1741, 1754–1755, and 1771–1775. Smaller numbers came even in the interstitial years. Most of the immigrants from Ireland arrived in North America through Philadelphia and moved westward in Pennsylvania, settling along the way. Each new wave moved just a bit further inland and then southward through the Great Valley of Virginia. The Van Lears, who were to be crucial in the foundation of the Blacksburg and Christiansburg Presbyterian churches, illustrate the multigenerational movements of the immigrants, although they were of Dutch extraction and arrived initially in New Amsterdam (New York). Christoffel Van Lear[5] sailed from Amsterdam in 1650 to settle there. His son, John Van Lear, moved to Philadelphia in the late seventeenth century and is reported to have helped build the first church for Presbyterians at the corner of Chestnut and Second Streets. His nephew Jacob, under John's care after his father had died at sea, moved to Lancaster County in Pennsylvania and later to Augusta County in Virginia. Jacob's son, also named John Van Lear, moved from Augusta County to Montgomery County about the time of the Revolutionary War. A half-century later, his descendants were to move further west into Kentucky, thus continuing the great migration pattern of the early settlers.[6]

The wave of 1740–1741 brought many new settlers into the Great Valley of Virginia. The wide Shenandoah basin afforded relatively good travel and excellent farming lands. Scotch-Irish and Germans from the Pa-

latinate leapt over one another in settlement after settlement until they reached the site of the future city of Roanoke, where the wide valley comes to an end. At this point, one possibility for settlers was to cross the gap in the Blue Ridge formed by the Roanoke River and head southward down the Great Wagon Road to the Carolinas. Most did so, but others chose the narrower valley leading to the southwest. This valley and its parallel dells had fertile land, but they were generally too narrow to support very large agricultural communities.[7] Even so, both Germans and Scotch-Irish began to take up land in what is now Montgomery County or to proceed even farther to destinations in Tennessee or Kentucky.

The migration had become big business by this time. Letters from the colonies encouraging new settlers had begun to arrive in Ireland. Ships' agents also advertised the glories of America and canvassed the Irish countryside. A pattern of regular shipping developed to accommodate the larger numbers of immigrants. There was a market for linen in Pennsylvania and plenty of flax for export to Ireland. Linen took up less space than flax so the trip westward could be made more profitable by transporting settlers. Since Pennsylvania was the primary source of flax, most of the ships from Ulster arrived in New Castle or Philadelphia, feeding the stream of Scotch-Irish westward and southward.[8]

According to family tradition, Col. James Patton, an Ulsterman who as a young man had served in the Royal Navy, was a ship captain who made numerous round trips to America.[9] There is no firm evidence of frequent crossings, but he did apparently command merchant ships.[10] In any event, Patton himself immigrated in 1738 and obtained several land grants, including one of 7,500 acres that occupied roughly the current boundaries of the Town of Blacksburg. Parcels of 100 to 600 acres were surveyed and sold between 1751 and 1754. The settlement there was known as Draper's Meadows. On July 30 or 31, 1755, however, in an opening skirmish of the French and Indian War, warriors on their way back from a battle with another native tribe attacked the settlers. Col. Patton was among those killed, and his settlement languished.[11]

Eighteen years later, his nephew Col. William Preston[12] returned to the area, bought back 1,860 acres of the original tract, and established Smithfield Plantation.[13] After another quarter century, William Black, who with his brother John had taken possession of farms just east of Smithfield, laid out plans for a town of 38 acres in sixteen square blocks.[14] Their peti-

tion to the legislature in Richmond to establish the town of Blacksburg was granted in 1798. Just across the eastern continental divide lay the North Fork of the Roanoke River. The land there was not part of the original 7,500 acres. Patton had obtained another grant of 4,470 acres in 1751 that he divided and sold to the Robinsons, the Brights, and several others. Later, settlers along the banks of the North Fork included the Bennetts, the Browns, the Rutledges, and the Van Lears. These families shared a common Presbyterian history with settlers in the vicinities of Blacksburg and Christiansburg. Together they were the seeds for the eventual organization of the Blacksburg and Christiansburg Presbyterian churches.

What fundamental understanding of the world did these early Scotch-Irish settlers have? First and foremost, their beliefs about life were grounded in the Reformed tradition of the sixteenth century. Calvinism had spread rapidly on the continent and had taken hold in the lowlands of Scotland through the fiery preaching of John Knox after his return from exile in 1559. It was transmitted in powerful form to Ulster through the settlements of the next century. Few farmers or weavers would have read much of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, but its conceptualizations permeated their culture. They were socialized into its theology and understood its implications for ordinary life through strong preaching and simple music. Calvin had encouraged both. The Scottish Psalter, patterned on the Geneva Psalter, along with Scottish and Irish folk songs, deeply influenced the music on the American frontier.

John Leith, formerly Professor at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, identified the "motifs that have given a particular style and manner to Reformed theology, worship, polity, culture, and life." Among these are the conviction that every moment of human life has to do with a sovereign God, the rejection of all forms of paganism (broadly defined), the belief that God is working out divine purposes in history, the insistence that Christians should live a life of holiness, the emphasis upon the mind in the service of God, the priority of preaching, the need for pastoral care through organized church structures, and the adherence to a disciplined and simple life.[16] These values came with the immigrants from Scotland through Ulster to the mountains of Virginia. Even though they were not always put into practice in everyday life, they reached into the depths of the soul to make exacting claims on what life should be like.

Nuances of Calvinist theology, however, had been undergoing change, and the settlers in America were indirectly affected by recent theological disputes in the old country. In the Church of Scotland, a quarrel between the "Auld Lichts" and "New Lichts" had centered on the question of the right and responsibility of individual interpretation of the Scriptures. Ulster Presbyterianism, however, remained overwhelmingly committed to strict Calvinism, as interpreted in the Westminster Confession of 1643. English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians, meeting in the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey during the English Civil War, had written this Confession, along with the Longer and the Shorter Catechisms. These documents can perhaps be understood as a somewhat starker statement of Calvinist theology than that made by John Calvin himself.

But in time, the new ideas made their way even to Ireland. The New Lights there supported recent theological and political ideas that borrowed from the Enlightenment as well as from the Reformation. Manmade creeds, they said, infringed upon religious liberty and the right to private judgment. Their understanding of religious matters was grounded in a nascent individualism rather than in a closed ecclesiastical community. These new ideas were making such headway that the Synod of Ulster responded in 1698 with the resolve "that Young Men, when licens'd to preach, be obliged to Subscribe the Confession of Faith, in all the Articles thereof, as the Confession of their Faith."[17] In this way, the Old Lights hoped to re-enforce the disciplinary powers of the church,[18] based upon the authority of the Westminster Confession, and to seek legal establishment of the "divinely ordained Presbyterian Church" alongside the existing Church of Ireland. Disturbed by modernizing cultural changes taking place in Ulster, they sought to return to a communal existence that would allow Presbyterians to keep a safe distance from the civil institutions of the state. Crimes and sins alike should be disciplined within the church, at least for members of the church.

It would be difficult to know just how the settlers along the North Fork and on the Patton grant stood on the complex issues of Subscription to the Confession and the attendant issues surrounding the controversy. We do know that the prized possession of one family in Montgomery County was a copy of the Confession, the catechisms, and documents of the Scottish Reformation. It was "bound neatly and substantially with leather" but "worn by much use."[19] Probably only a few of the frontier farming people

could have put their thoughts into words and phrases used by the ministers and professors of theology. Yet we can be confident that coming to America to create a new way of life — away from church establishments, rigid class distinctions, and constricted opportunities — they were increasingly sympathetic to the new ideas of individualism. The church's strict oversight of personal behavior would certainly not be as acceptable in Virginia as in Ulster. The notions of individual freedom instinctively brought a new empowerment for the laity in relation to both clerical and political authority.

The leaders of the American Revolution were also individualists. Theirs was a more secular individualism grounded in the Enlightenment as well as the Reformation. The vast majority of the colonists did not share this worldview of the elite. Their religious views were more static over time. Freedom for them was more likely to denote grace and freedom through the Gospel than protection for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. True emancipation would bring an end to oppression, and God's chosen people would become the instrument for God's transformation of the world. Jonathan Edwards, leader of the First Great Awakening earlier in the eighteenth century, had been convinced that through religious revivals, Christians would bring in the kingdom of God.[20] This transformation could be read not only in religious but also in economic and social terms.

The New Light-Old Light controversy of the old world morphed into a New Side-Old Side conflict in the new. The Old Side continued its strict interpretation of the Westminster Confession and its emphasis on decency and order, but the New Side took on somewhat greater openness to interpretation, although it maintained allegiance to the doctrine in its essentials. More strikingly, it adopted an intensive emotionalism. Feeling was given priority over reason; religious conversion was necessary for salvation. The rationalism and orderliness of the Old Side clergy was attacked as formalism without substance.

William Henry Foote, a Presbyterian minister and nineteenth century historian, gives an account of evangelism in the mid-eighteenth century that illustrates the similarity of doctrine but the dissimilarity of deportment:

> There is no evidence that the parties disagreed on important doctrines. Mr. John Davenport was guilty of most extravagant conduct, perhaps the most objectionable known during the excitement. An opponent, the Rev. Mr. Fish, of Connecticut, makes a statement respecting this singular man,— in

> the midst of his regularities the good thing about him was that he was a fast friend of the doctrines of grace; fully declaring the total depravity, the deplorable wretchedness and danger, and utter inability of man by the fall. He preached with great earnestness the doctrines of man's dependence on the sovereign mercy of God; of regeneration; of justification by faith, etc. The things that were evidently and dreadfully wrong about him were, that he not only gave full liberty to noise and outcries but promoted them with all his power. When these things prevailed among the people, accompanied with bodily agitations, the good man pronounced them tokens of the presence of God. Those who passed from great distress to great joy, he declared, after asking them a few questions, to be converts. ... The worse thing, however, was his bold and daring enterprise of going through the country to examine all the ministers in private, and then publicly declare his judgment of their spiritual state.[21]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the new Great Awakening in America reached Virginia and Kentucky. The Rev. George A. Baxter, a minister in Lexington, Virginia, in a letter to his fellow Presbyterian the Rev. Archibald Alexander at Hampden-Sydney, wrote:

> In the older settlements of Kentucky the revival made its first appearance among the Presbyterians last spring. The whole of that country about a year before was remarkable for vice and dissipation; and I have been credibly informed that a decided majority of the people were professed infidels. ... The power with which this revival has spread, and its influence in moralizing the people, are difficult for you to conceive of, and more difficult for me to describe. ...
>
> Persons who fall [in repentance] ... shed tears plentifully for about an hour. Immediately before they become totally powerless, they are seized with a tremor, and sometimes, though not often, they utter one or two piercing shrieks ... some unable to speak, some lose all signs of life for nearly an hour.[22]

These week-long revivals were not well received by the more austere Presbyterians (nor by Old Side Congregationalists, Lutherans, and Quakers). Within Presbyterianism, the subsequent argument between the two sides led to a split in which the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination was born. Lexington Presbytery, whose territory included Montgomery County, remained Old Side and discouraged "extraordinary bodily exercises which appear voluntary and ostentatious."[23] Even so, the religious fervor

and evangelical enthusiasm of the New Side led to the growth of congregations and the establishment of new churches. At the meeting described by Baxter, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian ministers preached. The Methodists and the Baptists, however, gained more converts in the Awakening than the demanding, austere Presbyterians. Vital piety was more in touch with the urgencies of life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than with the concerns of an educated ministry.[24]

Denominations sometimes cooperated and sometimes competed. Clergy were scarce and tended to travel in order to serve several communities. Methodists and Presbyterians would gather whenever a minister of either denomination was in town. The McDonald farmhouse between Blacksburg and Price's Fork was host to many of these religious meetings. The first Methodist building in Blacksburg also hosted preachers of both persuasions.

But Methodist ministers in the early nineteenth century often preached against Presbyterians, their ecclesiastical arrangements, and their doctrine, particularly that of predestination. Presbyterian ministers did not frequently reply for the simple reason that there were few at hand to do so. But plenty of defenders were among the people, especially among non-church Presbyterians who strongly held to the ancient identity of their ancestors. One day in Christiansburg, when the animosity between a particularly outspoken Methodist minister and the Presbyterian defenders was strong, a group of about 20 men near the Court House were engaged in increasingly angry disputation. Eventually coats and ties were cast off in preparation for battle. Just at this time, a woman noted for "drunken frolics" came galloping down the street and charged the group. In some amazement, they scattered, but she checked her horse, stretched her hands in blessing over the two parties, and sang a song for them. The belligerents shamefacedly dispersed. Shortly after, the Presbyterians aided the Methodists in building their meeting house in Christiansburg.[25]

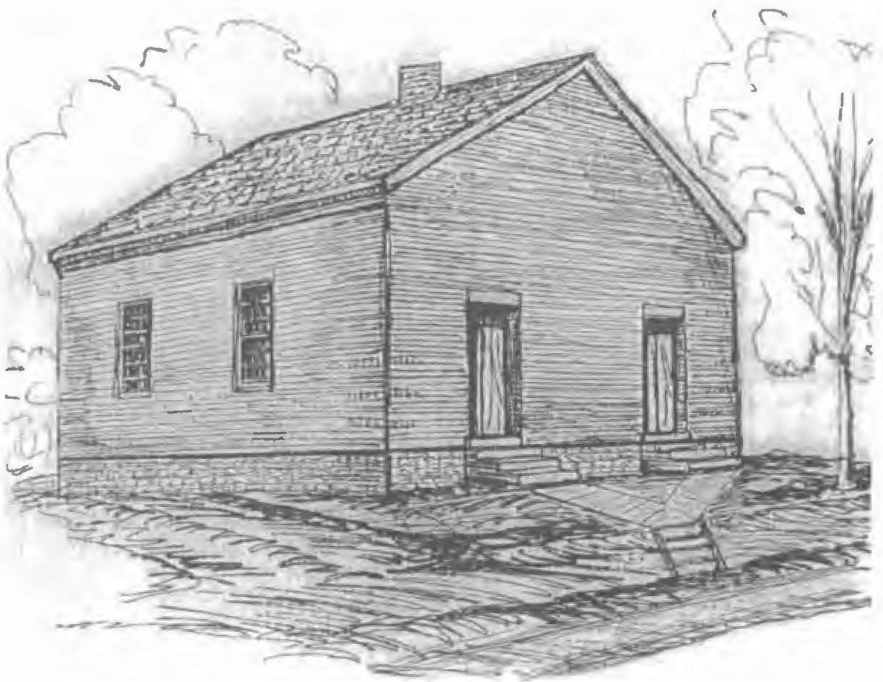
Settlers, of course, varied in their degrees of religious intensity and commitment. Many were indifferent and carried their religion only as a general orientation to occasional spiritual contemplation. James Charlton, who gave hospitality to some of the earliest visiting Presbyterian preachers in the area that is now Montgomery County, was said to be "a Presbyterian in sentiment." His wife "was not only a Presbyterian, but a professing Christian."[26] Some, particularly men, boasted of not being a part of the

church, even as they shared the general cultural orientation of Reformed Christianity. Few males were professing Christians, and these were mostly Methodist. John Peterman, husband of Jane Hoge Peterman, a charter member of the Blacksburg Presbyterian Church, had been a "very worldly man," according to a pastor of the church. On his death bed, he was "for some days thoroughly awake to his awful situation. ... He unites his testimony to the millions who have preceded him, that a death bed is a poor place to prepare for eternity."[27] Many could sometimes be persuaded toward piety when the occasion arose. A revival could bring out their best religious sentiments, at least for awhile.

Among the more intentional and consistent in their commitment was John Van Lear. In the first effort to organize a Presbyterian church in Montgomery County, he was chosen to be an elder sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century. He was the first ordained in Southwest Virginia. The going was tough in the absence of a minister to preach. He sometimes attended services at the New Dublin Presbyterian Church, even though the journey required considerable time and effort in those days. The religious tradition of John and Sarah Van Lear was indeed strong. One of their sons, the Rev. John Ambrose Van Lear, who served as pastor of Mossy Spring Church and as stated clerk of Lexington Presbytery in the mid-nineteenth century, reported:

> Father of ten children, three sons and seven daughters; he trained them up in the old-fashioned way of keeping the Sabbath, and saw them all members of the church; two of his sons elders, and one a minister of the gospel. ... "The Bible, and Shorter Catechism, and a sermon from Davies or Burder on every Sabbath" says his son was the order of his house.[28]

Revivals and Calvinist theology aside, life was raw on the frontier. The stereotype of the Scotch-Irish as "the very scum of mankind" was not entirely without basis, especially when they were compared with the much more orderly, industrious, sober, and honest Germans. But the English settlers, just as their cousins in England, disliked the Scots and abhorred the Irish even more. They portrayed them as drunken, criminal, and lazy. The settlements of Ulster immigrants indeed tended to be somewhat chaotic. Patrick Gordon, governor of Pennsylvania, in a letter to the Penns in 1729, described the Scotch-Irish as having "little Honesty and less Sense."[29] Most of them were living with very few resources, either economic or societal.



Presbyterian Church on the North Fork of the Roanoke River, 1879. Pencil sketch adapted by Donald Elson from a drawing in Ellison A. Smyth, *A History of the Blacksburg Presbyterian Church: Its First 150 Years* (see Endnote 45).

They were not only financially impoverished but also poor in social organization. In their efforts to scratch out a living from the land, they scattered out onto lonely farms, having only infrequent meetings with their nearest neighbors. The difference between the German and the Scotch-Irish settlers in social and religious cohesion surely played a role in formal church organization. With a strange language in a strange land, the Germans tended to settle in the kind of close-knit communities they had known back along the Rhine. They formed St. Michael's Lutheran Church (sometimes also known as St. Peter's) in 1750, about a quarter of a century before the organization of the first Presbyterian church.[30]

It was this mixture of religious heritage and contemporary reality that the Presbyterian leadership attempted to address. Immediately upon its organization in 1755, Hanover Presbytery devoted attention to the Albemarle settlers in the mountains. In 1768, it sent the Rev. John Craig on a mission farther into western Virginia to organize Presbyterians into congregations. Craig had been ordained by Donegal Presbytery in northwest

Ulster. Although Hanover Presbytery was in sympathy with the New Side, Craig was an Old Sider. On his journey to the southwest, he organized eight churches. Six were in the Roanoke and New River Valleys. Today, of these six, only New Dublin remains. When Craig reported back to a Presbytery meeting at Tinkling Springs in 1769, he estimated 45 families in the New Dublin area able to pay £45 for the support of a minister.[31]

The scarcity of ministers and elders in the area, however, made it difficult to sustain regular services and organized churches. The poverty of the population made it difficult to maintain buildings in which to meet or to pay the pastors. After becoming pastor of Tinkling Spring, John Craig wrote, "The people of my charge were all new settlers and generally of low circumstances. Their own necessities called for all their labors; they could or did do little for my support, except a few."[32] Services of worship in most places tended to be sporadic and to take place in homes or in open spaces.

A petition for a supply preacher, i.e., someone to preach on one or more occasions, was sent from the Roan-Oke to Hanover Presbytery in 1760.[33] The exact source of that request is not fully known. It could have been the North Fork near Blacksburg, the South Fork across from Christiansburg, the Elliston area, or even Big Lick (Roanoke). Less clear is the location of "Roanoke in Augusta" from which another request came, but the area that is now Montgomery County was then in Augusta County. In 1762 Hanover Presbytery provided that Rev. Craig would supply one Sabbath at Roan-Oke. In 1766, it sent a Mr. Brown "to ordain Elders in the Congregation on Roanoke in Augusta" and to examine their views with regard to the sacrament. Further reference is made to supplies in 1767 and 1768. Again in 1782, the Presbytery directed a Mr. Houston to supply one Sabbath at the head of Roan-Oke.[34] Services were held in log houses or fields of the Van Lears, the Rutledges, or others until the community was able to build a meetinghouse.

In 1784, a call was issued "from the North & South fork of the Roan-Oak to W. Andrew McClure." Mr. McClure, licensed in 1782, also received a call from Sullivan County, North Carolina, but he accepted the call in Montgomery County and was ordained for service there.[35] Four years later, he moved on to Kentucky. The following year, a Mr. Crawford was asked by Lexington Presbytery "to supply two Sabbaths" at Roan-Oke. One year later, a Mr. Graham was appointed the same duty.[36] In the next decade, the Rev. Robert Logan, stated supply[37] at Fincastle, preached and

catechized on occasion in the valley at the invitation of the Rutledges and the Van Lears. How often or how long he did so is not known. Preaching took place on a wooded knoll on the Van Lear farm. In 1791, William Hall and John Lyle, two students from Hampden-Sydney, preached at Mrs. William Preston's place, the only reference found for preaching in the Blacksburg area in the eighteenth century. The students also stopped on the Roanoke, where they reported "religion as well as presbyterianism is nearly if not quite worn out."[38] Again in 1796, "a verbal supplication was presented from the North Fork of Roan-Oak, New Dublin, and Boiling Springs." A Mr. Erwins was sent in response. The requests and the response continued into the next century.[39]

There is reason to believe that at least some of this activity was related to the North Fork Presbyterian Church, located four miles from Blacksburg on a small plot beside Indian Run not far from the river.[40] John Van Lear and George Rutledge, who owned farms in the neighborhood, were instrumental in the foundation of this church that became the predecessor to the Blacksburg, Christiansburg, and other Presbyterian churches in the area. The primary evidence for the church's existence is a deed of 1798 that conveyed 124 acres of land from William Robinson to Edward Rutledge for £400 (current money[41]) with provision for an enclave as follows:

> ... except only three Acres part of the above tract of one hundred and twenty four acres lying on the Indian run whereon the Meeting House stands, which is excepted and reserved out of the above land for the use of the North Fork Congregation of Presbyterians and the house now standing on the same, which is to be laid off as the Elders of the said Congregation shall direct so as to include a spring near the same.[42]

The North Fork church did not survive. The date of its demise as well as the date of its birth is unknown. In a census of its churches in October 1826, Lexington Presbytery provides no data for the "Head of Roanoke" and states its status as "unable."[43]

Efforts to organize Presbyterian churches in Montgomery County continued. The united congregations of New Dublin, Christiansburg, and Blacksburg issued a call to Mr. Samuel McNutt in 1816, a licentiate of Lexington Presbytery. When McNutt accepted the call, the Presbytery resolved to ordain him at its next meeting. At New Dublin the following April, Presbytery examined, ordained, and installed him in the three-church field.

Presbyterian Church in Christiansburg, 1853 (from a postcard).

The following year, however, he reported that all obligations had been fulfilled, but requested "that pastoral relations between him and the Congregation of Christiansburg and Blacksburg be dissolved on account of their not continuing their engagement for his support." Presbytery resolved that Mr. McNutt "be at Liberty to suspend his labours in the Congregation of Christiansburg and Blacksburg, and that said Congregation be required to show cause at the next meeting of Pby why the pastoral relation between them and Mr. McNutt should not be dissolved." In August, the next meeting of Presbytery noted that it had "satisfactory information that said church means to make no opposition to Mr. McNutt's request" and the relationship was dissolved.[44] Another attempt to organize a Presbyterian church in Montgomery County was thwarted.

The Rev. Daniel Baker, representing the Lexington Missionary Society, was in Blacksburg in October 1820. He reported:

> Some tenderness manifested. It was an interesting meeting. After short intermission, the services were resumed, and I preached again. Congregation somewhat larger and perhaps more generally solemn. The countenances of the people plainly indicated their hearts were by no means callous. At candle lighting, preached again. The house was full to overflowing. It was a blessed meeting. Many were much wrought upon, and even sobbed aloud. Yet there was no confusion. Surely the Master of Assemblies was there, and that to receive and bless.[45]

But no church was organized. That was to take another few years. Mr. William G. Campbell preached his first sermon at the Christiansburg Court House on November 19, 1826. Afterward he preached on alternate Sundays in Christiansburg and then preached otherwise either in Blacksburg or at places out in the country, such as the house of Thomas Rutledge on the North Fork.[46] Finally, a church was organized in Christiansburg on October 9, 1827. On July 27, 1832, a second church was organized in Blacksburg. Sons of the founders of North Fork Church were prominent in both. John Van Lear's son, William, and George Rutledge's son, Thomas, became charter members and were ordained as founding elders of the Christiansburg Presbyterian Church and five years later played the same roles in the birth of the Blacksburg Presbyterian Church. Both churches have continued as viable institutions and have given rise to other churches in the county.

Endnotes

1. Their ancestors had migrated in the opposite direction over a thousand years before. The Scots, a Celtic tribe living in Ireland, invaded northern Britain to join the Gaels and the Britons who were already there and to give their name to the country.
2. Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 67–72.
3. This group of settlers is sometimes called the Scots-Irish these days. Presumably that is because people living in Scotland consider Scotch to be a drink and Scots to be a people. The English in the eighteenth century, however, referred with opprobrium to the oat eaters in the north as the Scotch or, in their occasional polite moments, as North British. American descendants began referring to themselves as Scotch-Irish in the nineteenth century to distinguish themselves from the new wave of Irish Catholic immigrants.

4. Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 79.
5. The Van Lears (whose name appears in at least five different spellings) were adherents of the Reformed faith. Calvinists on the European continent are generally referred to as Reformed and those in the United Kingdom, as Presbyterian or Congregationalist, although many other groups were also deeply influenced by John Calvin.
6. Family genealogy in private papers prepared by Mary Ann Sanford.
7. James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 169–209.
8. Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 92.
9. Letitia Preston Floyd's manuscript of 1843 on the Preston family, edited by Wirt H. Wills and June Stubbs, "Recollections of 18th Century Virginia Frontier Life," *Smithfield Review*, vol. 1 (1997), 3–16.
10. Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Verona, Va.: McClure Press, 1973), 5.
11. Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventures on the Western Waters: The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745–1800*, vol. I (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, Inc., 1980), 55.
12. William Preston received an education with the Rev. John Craig of the Tinkling Springs Presbyterian Church in Augusta County. He became Col. Patton's private secretary, and later his heir.
13. Most of Preston's holdings are now the property of Virginia Tech. Sara Beth Keough and Blaine Adams, "Smithfield Plantation: The Original Land Parcels," *Smithfield Review*, vol. 6 (2002), 71–3; and Wirt H. Wills, "The Genesis and Dissolution of William Preston's Smithfield," *Smithfield Review*, vol. 8 (2004), 31–8.
14. William and John Black were sons of a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Samuel Black. Born in Northern Ireland in 1700 and graduate of the University of Edinburgh, he was pastor at Rockfish Church in Nelson County.
15. F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier: The Beginning of the Southwest* (Roanoke, Va.: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), 102.
16. John H. Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1978), 67–85.
17. Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 20.
18. Calvin's Ordinances, which created a new polity for the church, was accepted as the guide for church governance and had indeed frequently been substituted even for civil governance in Ulster.
19. The Rev. Daniel Blain, "History of the Christiansburg Presbyterian Church," Works Progress Administration of Virginia, Historical Inventory, 1938, 1.
20. Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 79–84.
21. William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia: Historical and Biographical First Series* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1966), 116–7; originally published in 1850.
22. Monty S. Leitch, *Baptized Into One Body: The First 165 Years of Christiansburg Presbyterian Church* (Christiansburg: Board of Trustees of the Christiansburg Presbyterian Church, 1993), 23.
23. Leitch, *Baptized Into One Body*, 24.

24. Presbyteries set stiff "trials" for ordination. In July 1757, Hanover Presbytery began the examination of a Mr. Richardson for the ministry. Unfortunately, he fell ill and was not able to attend the committee meeting. "But the members of the committee, having had considerable acquaintance with his Progress in learning, by their private Conversation with him, conclude that they have sufficient Reason to dispense with his Trials at this time ... & appoint him to prepare a Sermon on Jn°. III. 2. We know thou art a Teacher come from God; & an Exegesis on this Question. Undè apparet Nerefaites Christi Mortas, et Peccatores fervati Just? to be delivered at the next Presbytery." In September, the Presbytery examined Mr. Richardson in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, logic, ontology, natural and moral philosophy, geography, and astronomy. Then it heard his religious experience, exegesis, and sermon — all of which were sustained. After that they appointed him a new sermon on II Corinthians 5:17. In January 1758, he delivered a "lecture" on II Corinthians 4-7 at Presbytery. This was also sustained as part of his trial, after which he was examined in Divinity. Finally, Presbytery judged him qualified to preach the gospel and "having declared his Assent to, & approbation of the Westminster Confession of Faith, as the confession of his Faith," he was licensed to preach "as a Candidate for the Ministry of the Gospel." In April, he preached yet another sermon before Presbytery, which was again sustained, this time unanimously, and was given another exegesis to do: Hum Sabbalum Judaicum post Christi Resurrectionem in priraum Diem Hebdomadis mutates. [Possibly the clerk was not thoroughly acquainted with Latin.] Eventually, he was ordained. A few years later, he was reprimanded for leaving Hanover for Abingdon Presbytery without having been dismissed. Perhaps he did not think life was long enough. From Minutes of Hanover Presbytery (July 20, 1757; September 28, 1757; January 25, 1758; April 27, 1758).

    The earliest Presbyterian ministers were expected to have graduated from the universities in Edinburgh or Glasgow. Later, Yale and Princeton were added; then came Hampden-Sydney, Washington Academy, and Union Theological Seminary. Methodists and Baptists were not particular about educational attainments, if any.
25. Blain, "History of the Christiansburg Presbyterian Church," 16.
26. Blain, "History of the Christiansburg Presbyterian Church," 4.
27. H. William Gabriel, "William P. Hickman in the New River Valley, 1852–64," *Smithfield Review*, vol. 3 (1999), 52–82, quotation, 63–4.
28. William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia: Historical and Biographical Second Series*, second edition (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1856), 38–9.
29. Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 100–4.
30. St. Michael's, in varying locations, has claims to be the oldest church in Montgomery County. Burn Gross, www.st-michael-lutheran-church.org/history.html/.
31. Joseph W. Guthrie, *A Brief History of New Dublin Presbyterian Church* (privately printed, 2004). Craig's report is included in the April 13, 1769 minutes of Hanover Presbytery.
32. Leitch, *Baptized Into One Body*, 15.
33. Minutes of Hanover Presbytery, March 23, 1760. The name was also sometimes spelled Roan-Oak.

34. Mary Kegley, I, p. 109; Minutes of Hanover Presbytery (April 16–18, 1766; April 1, 1767; October 11, 1767; October 5, 1768).
35. Minutes of Hanover Presbytery (May 18, 1784), 35.
36. Minutes of Lexington Presbytery (April 16, 1789; October 27–28, 1790). In 1786, Hanover Presbytery was divided, and the western part was given the name of Lexington.
37. In Presbyterian polity, a stated supply is a minister assigned to a church for a specific period of time, but who has not been called and installed as regular pastor.
38. Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Lexington Presbytery Heritage* (Verona, Va.: McClure Press, 1971), 75–6; Leitch, 35, 44–5; Minutes of Lexington Presbytery (April 16, 1789; October 27–28, 1790).
39. Minutes of Lexington Presbytery (April 19, 1796; April 22, 1796; April 21, 1797; April 10, 1798; October 17, 1798; May 9, 1798; etc).
40. The location of the building was a few hundred yards northwest of Gateway Baptist Church at Luster's Gate.
41. Current money refers to the account value based on the colonial exchange rate between local currency and the British pound sterling.
42. Deed recorded on the "thirtieth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight" by Charles Taylor, clerk of Montgomery County. Deed Book C, pp. 120–3.
43. Minutes of Lexington Presbytery (October 30, 1826).
44. Minutes of Lexington Presbytery (September 28, 1815; April 26, 1816; April 18–19, 1817; August 29, 1817).
45. Daniel Baker in the Third Annual Report of Lexington Missionary Society, October 14, 1820 as quoted in Ellison A. Smyth, *A History of the Blacksburg Presbyterian Church: Its First 150 Years* (Blacksburg, Va., October 1982), 1–2.
46. Monty Leitch, *Baptized Into One Body* (Christiansburg Presbyterian Church, 1993), 51; Smyth, *A History of the Blacksburg Presbyterian Church*, 2. The Rutledge house still stands. It is the log cabin located on route 785 on the right shortly after passing Luster's Gate.

Figure 1.
Captain Milton
Hall Harmon

Figure 2. Map of Montgomery County, Virginia, c. 1860, showing the Harman farm along Crab Creek and transected by the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. It lists the farm as Mrs. Harman's, so the survey must have been done after John's death in 1860. An 1864 map drawn by Confederate States Engineer Gilmer is also useful. (Map from the Library of Congress.)

The Forgotten Fencible

April Martin Danner

Editor's Note: All the records and the headstone spell Milton Harmon's name with an "o," but all other family members spelled their last name with an "a." In this article, the names are spelled as they are historically documented.

Behind a row of round hay bales and entangled beneath honeysuckle and fox grapevines, a forgotten soldier lies. Few people even know that a graveyard is located on the bluff above Crab Creek near Christiansburg, Virginia. Fewer still know of this brave soldier who, along with members of his family, claims that spot of land for eternity.

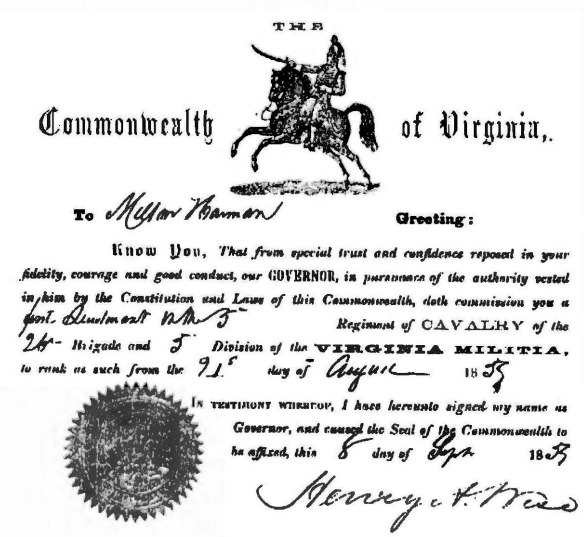
The resting soldier is Captain Milton Hall Harmon of Company G of the 4th Virginia Infantry.[1] The men of that group called themselves the "Montgomery Fencibles"; history, however, remembers them as members of the "Stonewall Brigade."[2] Whatever the moniker, Harmon died in service to his state (Figure 1).

Milton Hall Harmon was born on November 11, 1838, the eldest son of Catherine Hall Harman and John Harman. Strong, proud, and blessed with rugged good looks, young Milton grew up on a prosperous farm located along Crab Creek to the west of the hamlet of Christiansburg, watching the area around Christiansburg grow as well. The newly laid Virginia and Tennessee railroad tracks transected the Harman farm.[3] Milton along with his brothers — William, David, Hannibal, Zachary, and Lycurgus — spent many hours watching the railroad's progress (Figure 2).

The Harman family was economically comfortable on their 927-acre farm. That farm had been part of an original land grant given to James Patton in 1753 by King George II of Great Britain. It was purchased in 1775 by Joseph Cofer, who left it to his daughter Catherine and her husband,

Henry Harman.[4] The land then passed to their sons, one of whom was John.[5] The 1860 Census lists John Harman's real estate value as $20,000 and his personal property at $5,425.[6] The Harmans used four slaves on the farm in 1850 and 10 slaves in 1860.[7] An 1860 inventory of John Harman's estate listed the slaves as Malinda and two unnamed children; Milly and two unnamed children; and individuals named George, Sam, James, and Gad.[8] The latter slave was noted as "unsound."[9] There was also one white female on the farm named Naomi King.[10] Milton's four sisters — Caroline, Catherine, Rebecca, and Elizabeth — helped fill the house.[11]

In 1860, after the death of the patriarch, John, Catherine assumed the role of family leader. By that year, Milton was active in his local volunteer militia. He had joined the 5th regiment of cavalry of the 26th brigade of the Virginia militia at the age of 15 and was commissioned a first lieutenant[12] (Figure 3). His command was busy training new recruits, which gave him the opportunity to sharpen his leadership skills. A younger brother, David Hubert, was away at school, and Catherine worried constantly about David's character and companions.[13] The remaining brothers — Hannibal, William, Zachary, and Lycurgus — stayed at home to help keep the farm running.


THE

Commonwealth of Virginia,

To Milton Harman Greeting:

Know You, That from special trust and confidence reposed in your fidelity, courage and good conduct, our GOVERNOR, in pursuance of the authority vested in him by the Constitution and Laws of this Commonwealth, doth commission you a Lieut. Lieutenant in the 5 Regiment of CAVALRY of the 26 Brigade and 5 Division of the VIRGINIA MILITIA, to rank as such from the 21st day of August 1855

In TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto signed my name as Governor, and caused the Seal of the Commonwealth to be affixed, this 8 day of Sept. 1855

Henry A. Wise

Figure 3. Milton Hall Harman's Virginia Militia commission.

Milton's volunteer company was sent to watch the execution of two of John Brown's conspirators in the 1859 Harper's Ferry raid.[14] That first witness of death and the reality of political turmoil probably had a profound impact on the young militiaman and may have helped prepare him for the hostilities brewing on the horizon.

After the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a call for 7,500 volunteers. This call to arms was viewed in the South as aggression, and southerners responded by forming units to defend against an impending invasion. Young Milton Harmon, like many of his neighbors, rode into Christiansburg and enlisted on April 17, 1861, under Captain Robert Trigg. He was welcomed to the unit as a second sergeant.[15] The men of the newly formed Company G entrained on April 22, 1861, and joined others from Montgomery and Rockbridge counties to officially form the 4th Virginia Infantry.[16] Virginia quickly recruited an army, and by July that army, which included Milton, stood on the defensive side of a town called Manassas. The 4th Virginia was with the reserve units assigned to artillery at that first Battle of Manassas. Milton witnessed the baptism by fire with the same confidence displayed by the entire brigade, which was henceforth tagged with the name "Stonewall."[17]

The first southern victory was a complete rout of the federal troops at Manassas, but the battle awakened Southerners to realize that the war would not end in 90 days as first predicted. The army went through a period of adjustment, and camp routine took hold in the youthful souls of the first volunteers. As part of the transition, field elections were held in each company. In the spring of 1862, Milton wrote his hometown friend, Captain John Crow Wade, about the recent activities of the 4th Virginia. He announced the election results and told of the horrible weather the men had been exposed to on a recent movement.[18] He wrote that his unit had been marching for the past week and that the regiment was now stationed eighteen miles from Harrisonburg.[19] He stated that he had been in the "rain for the last five days and at this time it is snowing like five hundred. We are without tents, we are certainly seeing a hard time."[20] Milton showed his concern for his company, placing a request for 75 ready-made gray uniforms, as voted on by his men.[21] He ended the letter, "all the boys send their best to you. It is snowing so fast and I am so cold I can not write any more now — write soon."[22]

During the next field election, Milton Harmon was elected to a higher rank. On September 12, he accepted promotion to 2nd lieutenant.[23] The combination of prior experience, recent good conduct, general likability, and leadership potential made Milton a likely choice for an officer.

The men of Company G called themselves the Montgomery Fencibles, General Robert E. Lee called the regiment the "Harmless Fourth," and everyone else referred to the brigade as "Jackson's Foot Cavalry."[24] The men of Stonewall's brigade received much praise as they fought through many engagements, including the battles of the 1862 Valley Campaign, 2nd Manassas, and the Sharpsburg invasion. Milton was promoted to captain on April 22, 1863. As captain he handled such day-to-day responsibilities as paymaster collection and distribution, recruitment, quartermaster requests, and managment of his men.[26] He was compensated for this service with a monthly salary of $130.[27] Due in part to his responsible nature and commitment to duty, Milton was also assigned as sentinel of the day on at least two occasions. The countersign word and orders for each day, sewn inside his uniform by his own hand, survived the war[28] (Figure 4).

By May 1863, the Stonewall Brigade had already etched itself onto the annals of history. However, its most spectacular and devastating battle was yet to come. At the crossroad of Chancellorsville, Generals Robert E.

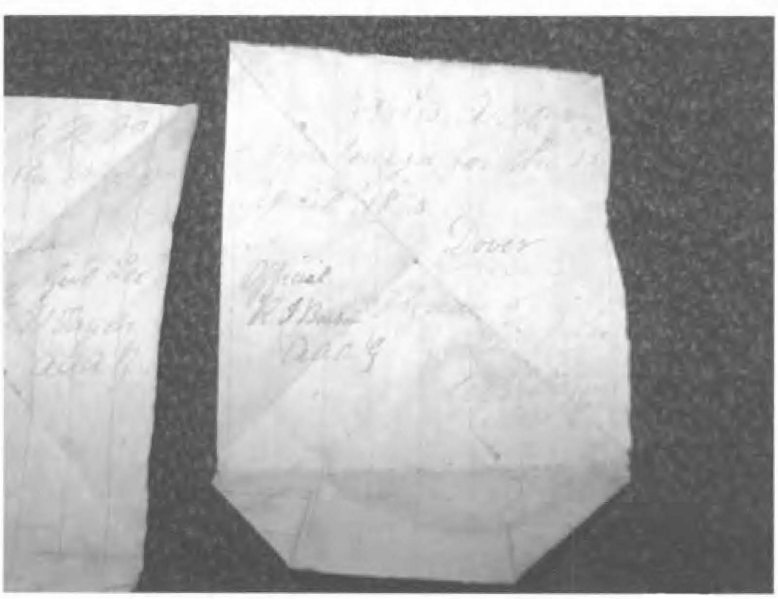


Figure 4. Official orders found sewn in Captain Harmon's uniform.

Lee and Thomas J. Jackson did the unexpected and split their forces in the face of a greater foe. This daring and brilliant maneuver won the Army of Northern Virginia its greatest victory. It came, however, at a very high price. Not only did the South lose Jackson, but the town of Christiansburg lost an unusually large number of men, one of whom was Catherine Harman's first-born son.[29]

On May 3, the flank movement devised by Jackson ended with a surprise attack on exposed Federals. By nightfall, the attack had subsided to sporadic firing outbreaks. But at dawn, the Stonewall brigade, then under the temporary command of General J.E.B. Stuart, was thrust back into battle.[30] Their objective was to take the defenses atop Fairview Ridge.[31] But first the battle-worn men had to wrestle their way through a swamp, ensnared in thick underbrush and past other troops who refused to advance.[32] The 4th Virginia then made an inspired charge up Fairview Ridge toward the Federal artillery.[33] Captain Milton Harmon was killed as the final charge began.[34] The actions that led to his death were recorded by Major William Terry in his official battle report.[35] The gallantry Terry witnessed and recorded earned Captain Harmon a posthumous award for bravery, and his name appears on the Southern Roll of Honor for the Battle of Chancellorsville.[36]

Fellow soldier Joseph McMurran wrote from the front lines on May 4, detailing the bravery of Milton Harmon and other men from Christiansburg. The letter describes the charge up Fairview Ridge:

> After 1½ hours graping our position was changed to the right of the enemy's second line of defense, from which they had been driven by some of our troops. A South Carolina brigade occupied the works, and our brigade charged over their heads, they crying don't hurt us — and advanced some distance into open woods and received and returned the fire of the Army massed behind their 3rd line of defense, but being exposed to a raking fire and being necessitated, we retired behind the works again, the South Carolina brigade refusing to advance stating that they were put there to hold the works. Our loss here was very heavy. Here it was Captain Harmon fell, and also Gen. Paxton. Another brigade coming up we made another advance led on by Gen. Jeb Stuart, who called loudly for our brigade and away we went to storm the 3rd and last line of defense — we drove the Yankees helter-skelter and then charged their batteries.[37]

McMurran notes in his letter that he buried the bodies of Captain Harmon and others from Christiansburg on the battlefield and marked the graves to enable their families to find them.[38]

According to family lore, the body of Captain Harmon was retrieved within weeks of his death, returned to the family farm, and buried near his father. A white marble headstone decorated with a peaceful weeping willow marks his final resting spot[39] (Figure 5). Catherine and her family mourned their loss and longed to have Milton under their roof, but they were forced to settle for the boards that bore his body home. The boards remained under the porch of the family home for years.

Six months after Milton's death, his younger brother Hannibal enlisted in Milton's company, carrying the name of Harman through the remaining struggle. The 4th Virginia Infantry was a skeleton crew when it officially surrendered. Nonetheless, Hannibal survived the war, ending his days as a soldier at Appomattox Court House.[40]

Figure 5. Captain Harmon's headstone, in the cemetery off Crab Creek Road, Christiansburg, Virginia. It reads: "Captain Milton Harmon / Born / November 13, 1838 / And killed May 3rd 1863 / In battle of Chancellorsville, Va. / His trust was in God"

Milton's brother David enlisted with the 11th Virginia Infantry in 1861, but was forced to resign a year later due to a vision problem recorded as "opthalima and distention of one eye."[41] David's disability certificate included a physical description of the young Harman brother. He was five feet six inches tall, fair complexion, gray eyes, and light hair.[42] David, nonetheless, reenlisted in 1864 with the Home Guard commanded by Colonel James Wade.[43] William, though listed as crippled, also served in Wade's brigade.[44]

The war ended sadly for the South, and the Harmans. After the war, the family's road to survival was filled with both hardship and happiness. Zachery Taylor Harman was accidentally killed in the nearby rail yard in 1885.[45] William suffered financial ruin and went bankrupt.[46] Hannibal continued his commitment to his community and was elected Sheriff of Vicker's Switch. He also ran a successful hotel and was a community leader.[47] Lycurgus continued the family tradition of farming and raised a large family along Crab Creek (Figure 6). Milton's sisters adjusted well in the post-war years; one married into the Chrisman family, another into the

Figure 6. Harman homestead along Crab Creek. The picture shows Milton's younger brother Lycurgus' family circa 1890.

Christian family.[48] The youngest sister, Rebecca, married twice, the second time to Doctor Lusbaugh, who practiced medicine in the Vicker's Switch community.[49]

Through it all, the Harman family remained strong and proud. And although the life of Captain Milton Hall Harmon faded from memory, his bravery and his dedication to his native Virginia was typical of many young men of his era and should not be forgotten.

Endnotes

1. Harman family cemetery, Crab Creek Road, Christiansburg, Virginia. Note that all records and his headstone spell Milton Harmon with an "o"; all other family members spell the name with an "a." I spell the names as they are historically documented. Descendants, however, use "Harman."
2. James I. Robertson, Jr., *The 4th Virginia Infantry, Regimental Series* (Lynchburg, Virginia, 1982), 4. Hereafter listed as Robertson, *Fourth Virginia.*
3. Clovis E. Linkous, *The Twelve Stones of Belmont* (Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1976), 30. See also map, p. 14.
4. Linkous, *Twelve Stones*, 1, 3, 50.
5. Linkous, *Twelve Stones*, 50.
6. United States Free Population Census, Montgomery County, Virginia, 1860.
7. United States Slave Population Census, Montgomery County, Virginia, 1850, 1860.
8. Personal property inventory, John Harman, 1860.
9. John Harman inventory.
10. United States Free Population Census, Montgomery County, Virginia, 1860.
11. United States Free Population Census, Montgomery County, Virginia, 1860.
12. Certificate of Commission in the Virginia Militia for Milton Harman, 21 August 1853.
13. Catherine Harman, letter to David H. Harman, 30 January 1860.
14. Catherine Harman.
15. *Compiled Service Record of Soldiers Who Served from the State of Virginia,* Milton H. Harmon, 4th Virginia Infantry.
16. Robertson, *Fourth Virginia*, 5.
17. Robertson, *Fourth Virginia.*
18. Milton Harmon letter to Captain John C. Wade, 24 April 1862.
19. Milton Harmon to Captain John C. Wade.
20. Milton Harmon to Captain John C. Wade.
21. Milton Harmon to Captain John C. Wade.
22. Milton Harmon to Captain John C. Wade.
23. Milton H. Harmon's service record.
24. James I. Robertson, Jr., *The Stonewall Brigade* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1963), vii, 11.
25. Milton H. Harmon's service record.

26. Milton H. Harmon's service record.
27. Milton H. Harmon's service record.
28. Official orders, Army of Northern Virginia to Captain Harmon from Army Assistant Adjunct General Walter Taylor, 6 April 1863, and 13 April 1863 (private family collection, Blacksburg, Virginia).
29. Milton H. Harmon's service record.
30. United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880–1901), series I, vol. 25, 1019. Henceforth listed as OR.
31. OR., 1018.
32. OR., 1018–9.
33. OR., 1019.
34. OR., 1019.
35. OR., 1018–9.
36. OR., 1055.
37. Joseph McMurran letter to James Miller, 4 May 1864.
38. McMurran letter.
39. Captain Milton Hall Harmon tombstone, Harman family cemetery.
40. *Compiled Service Record of Soldiers Who Served from the State of Virginia*, Hannibal Harman, 4th Virginia Infantry.
41. *Compiled Service Record of Soldiers Who Served from the State of Virginia*, David H. Harman, 11th Virginia Infantry.
42. David H. Harman's service record, 11th Virginia Infantry.
43. David H. Harman's service record, Wade's Brigade.
44. United States Southern Claims Commission (Washington, 1888), Claims filed in Montgomery County, Virginia, William H. Harman, p. 31. See also *Compiled Service Record of Soldiers Who Served from the State of Virginia*, William H. Harman, Wade's Brigade.
45. Harman family history (private family collection), Blacksburg, Virginia.
46. United States Southern Claims Commission (Washington, 1888), claims filed from Montgomery County, Virginia, William H. Harman, 31.
47. United States Census Population, Montgomery County, Virginia, 1870.
48. Linkous, *Twelve Stones*, 50.
49. Linkous, *Twelve Stones*, 51.

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Mother Dearly Loved Flowers: The Beale Memorial Garden at Hollins University

Jennie Hodge

The Inspiration

Lucy Preston Beale and her youngest daughter, Lucy Beale Huffman, direct descendants of William and Susannah Preston, distinguished themselves during their lifetimes and beyond as devoted supporters of Hollins University in Roanoke, Virginia. In the seasons following her mother's passing in 1928, Lucy Beale Huffman pondered how to honor her. Shortly before the first anniversary of Lucy Preston Beale's death, on cream-colored notepaper from her Manhattan hotel residence, Beale Huffman penned an offer of a garden for Hollins as a memorial. The gift combined two things in which both women shared a great passion: gardens and Hollins. Lucy Beale Huffman had the support of her husband, Oscar Caperton Huffman, who blended his knowledge of the botanical and business worlds to guide the creation of the garden.

Upon completion, Hollins welcomed the newly created Beale Memorial Garden as a place of beauty for the campus. Seventy years later, Hollins partnered with the Garden Club of Virginia to rejuvenate the Beale Memorial Garden landscape. The recent restoration of the garden celebrated the generous gifts of the Huffmans in honor of Beale.

Lucy Preston Beale adored and supported Hollins. A final gift of volumes from her personal library attested to her commitment. Fifteen days after her death, Joseph Turner, the Hollins business manager, wrote in *The Roanoke Times* that Beale

> had told us of a little plan she had made. She loved good books and had collected quite a library. A large number of these, which she thought would

Lucy Preston Beale, circa 1907, from *The Richmond Times Dispatch.*

be useful to the college, she had collected and put in a large bookcase. "All of these," she said, "are to go to the library of the college, where I spent the happy years of my school life; but these in this smaller case are to go to a special section of the library. These are the books that my dear friends at Hollins through the years have given me. I love these books; they are my friends; I want to give them back, with the added interest of my love, to my friends.[1]

Library accession records reveal over one hundred seventy-five titles in her gift.

On February 6, 1848, Lucinda Redd Preston, wife of William Ballard Preston, delivered their daughter, Lucy Redd Preston, at Smithfield Plantation near Blacksburg, Virginia. Lucy grew up primarily at the Preston homestead but also spent time in Washington, D.C., and at boarding schools in Richmond and Staunton, Virginia.

She counted early patriots of the United States on both sides of her family tree. Her grandfather was Virginia Governor James Patton Preston. Similarly, her maternal and paternal great-grandfathers, John Redd and William Preston, respectively, served as colonels during the American Revolution.[2] In their honor, she held membership in the Colonial Dames and Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R). She served as the D.A.R. vice president general from Virginia in 1893.[3] In tribute to her father's service, Beale sponsored a Navy destroyer in his name that was commissioned in the summer of 1920.[4]

Lucy Preston spent one session at Hollins. Registration records show that she studied English, Latin, instrumental music, moral science, drawing, and composition.[5] In 1863, while she attended Hollins, "one hundred girls filled every room, and seventy-five applicants were turned away.... Sequestered snuggly in the mountains, no Institution in the country suffered less from the demoralization of the [civil] war. Families driven from the areas of invasion sent their daughters to the haven of its seclusion."[6] The

daughter of a classmate recalled for Hollins' President Dr. Bessie Randolph an anecdote from Lucy's 1863 session. The classmate's mother "wrote of a petition 'all girls signed, asking Mr. Cocke (Hollins' president) to take half our provisions and send to the soldiers.'"[7] Although Cocke declined the request, the idea behind the petition showed the students' collective generosity. After leaving Hollins, and at the age of 18, Lucy Preston married William Radford Beale. They lived in Buchanan, Virginia, in homes called Tressalia and Pendleton. The Beales are buried at the Fairview Cemetery in town in the same plot as their daughter and son-in-law.

Lucy Preston Beale distinguished herself through many generous acts that took a variety of forms. She was a poet, organizer, ardent advocate for education, and civic leader among women in Virginia. She encouraged her family's altruism as well. For example, the Huffmans and the Beales made a joint early twentieth-century gift of a new organ to Trinity Episcopal Church in Buchanan.

In 1893 Beale hosted the Virginia Building (a Mount Vernon replica) at the World's Fair in Chicago, the Columbian Exposition. In the three years leading up to the Expo, Beale officially campaigned for funds and artifacts to "see to it that every industry in which woman is engaged is represented in its most perfect specimen."[8] In a pamphlet published in 1890 she discussed the difficulty the commonwealth had in making a decent showing at the 1876 Centennial Expo due to the effects of Reconstruction. She asserted her ability and expressed her desire for assistance. Beale urged Virginia's women to realize their potential, writing

> [W]e see that [in] other states, statistics are being gathered illustrative of woman's help in the moral and intellectual progress of the state, as well as her more material interests. Have Virginia women been idle in these noble fields? Have they not with tongue and pen urged reforms, suggested expedients, educated and encouraged to higher aspiration? Is there nothing in the way of the garden, the dairy, the orchard, or of domestic ordering, that has received special impress at her hand?[9]

Lucy Preston Beale traveled at least as far as Charlottesville and northern Virginia in her efforts to increase the participation of women. A newspaper report credited her with being "an inspiration for the success of the cause she advocates with such zealous, yet discriminating enthusiasm."[10] Furthermore, she "saved the state some expense furnishing several

counterparts from the household belongings of old Smithfield."[11] Also, in support of her mission she "visited the real Mount Vernon the previous summer as she planned its reproduction."[12]

Beale garnered a positive review for her part in Honor Virginia Day at the World's Fair. *The Chicago Daily* reported:

> [S]everal hundred persons attended the reception. Mrs. Lucy P. Beale, the hostess of the mansion, delegated the work of receiving ... the band furnished music, refreshments were served, not overlooking the traditional beaten biscuit and Smithfield ham, reminiscences were indulged, relationships were traced, and stories were told. At 8 o'clock Virginia Day closed with a display of fireworks. The final piece was a reproduction of the Mount Vernon mansion in lines of dazzling light.[13]

Subsequently, she answered a call from Governor O'Ferrall in 1895 to serve on the Board of Women Managers for Virginia at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta. Of the eight women nominated, Beale was chosen president and treasurer.[14] In preparing for this World's Fair, she edited a large-format booklet. In it, she expressed her hope for a "new South, the South of the practical, progressive age, awakened from the opulent torpor of ante-bellum days, polished and tempered by the fiery ordeal through which it passed."[15]

The Tercentennial of Jamestown in 1907 provided a final opportunity for Beale to serve and represent Virginia. In addition to hosting the Virginia Building, the occasion inspired her to write poetry collected in a volume of collaborations from other commonwealth and national contributors. At the Tercentennial, Beale and her daughter Lucy, then 21, worked side by side. Beale earned $75 per month for her work.[16]

Following the expositions, Beale received high praise. In the *Washington Post* a writer acknowledged:

> Mrs. Beale combines rare tact and diplomacy with a fund of sound common sense, and won golden opinions at Atlanta and Chicago, where she piloted and engineered the official functions with diplomatic ease. She recalls perhaps more than any other, the days when Mrs. James Madison, another Virginia woman, the wife of the fourth President of the United States became the first lady of the land and inaugurated a new era of social life in Washington.[17]

In 1922, after many successful years of service, she traveled to inspect the Preston family papers that had been deposited at the Wisconsin State Historical Society. *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* notes that she "had family recollections ... [that] she related for the Society's benefit" that they preserved.[18] Beale's colorful oral histories contribute to the understanding of colonial southwestern Virginia.

After she died, Turner declared,

> There are many, many persons, but comparatively few personalities. There are many, many individuals, but comparatively few individualities. Mrs. Lucy Preston Beale was a real personality and possessed of a very rare spirit."[19]

He then cited her achievements in Chicago, Atlanta, and Jamestown "and on numberless other occasions, where she did honor to her family and to her State and Nation."[20] Lucy Beale Huffman commemorated and continued her mother's legacy of generous devotion and dedication when she gave Hollins the Beale Memorial Garden.

The Hollins alumni magazine noted a campus visit by the Huffmans in October 1929.[21] This visit occurred nearly half a year after her proposal to Matty Cocke, Hollins' president. With a fountain pen in longhand, Lucy Beale Huffman wrote that

> [the] vision of the Cocke family towards the education of the women of the south, and also the devoted and earnest work of those who love Hollins is the inspiration to me. I know that if mother were living she would be profoundly interested and an ardent worker toward your goal.
>
> With this is mind I thought that to perpetuate the memory of Lucy Preston Beale, I would like to give a garden to Hollins where she spent many happy days. Mother dearly loved flowers, and I feel that this would express her glorious spirit.[22]

In a telegram the following day, Cocke acknowledged the gift and concluded that the garden would be "a fitting and beautiful memorial to your mother who was a most loyal and devoted alumna."[23]

Huffman's only grandson recollected that she shared that same passion for gardens. In 2008, Benedict Smith recalled that like his great-grandmother,

> Granny Huffman also loved flowers! She had many flower gardens at their house .... Granny had a small greenhouse off the dining room where she fixed vases with flowers from the garden.[24]

Lucy Beale Huffman attended Hollins at the turn of the twentieth century, following her mother, sister, and cousins as students there. The $250 tuition for the 1901 session allowed Huffman to study English, composition, math, history, French, and piano. A small number of preserved letters present additional information about her generous nature. Correspondents thank her for gifts of flowers and money, and brief obituaries from 1949 recount her altruism. One local notice mentioned her gift of "the china and crystal which is used for parties, dinners, suppers, etc" at the Town of Buchanan Community House.[25] Likewise, the Hollins obituary saluted her passion for the school, declaring her "a very loyal supporter and friend of the College."[26] The brief article highlighted the gift and the popularity of the garden.

Recipients of Huffman's generosity are varied and many. In addition to Hollins, she contributed to Washington and Lee University, and continued giving her father-in-law's memoirs to libraries across the country after her husband passed away.[27]

Although Lucy Beale Huffman personally proposed the gift of the Beale Memorial Garden, her husband, Oscar, negotiated and managed the gift. Despite his control of the process, the gift has been referred to historically as a gift solely from his wife. After her proposal, correspondence regarding the garden passed between Oscar and different members of the Hollins staff and their landscape architect. Various letters were addressed to her, but any replies have not been archived at the school. Through these records, Lucy's desire for boxwoods remains the only indication of her involvement. Oscar Huffman composed clear and concise correspondence about his opinions regarding many details of the garden.

His 1941 obituary from the *New York Times* recounted his success in the tin can business that made him wealthy. Further, according to the obituary, "his hobbies were fruit growing and farming."[28] Smith agrees that his grandfather's passion was the fruit trees at his home in Connecticut.[29] The Commercial Club of Cincinnati, Ohio, remembered him in a memorial pamphlet as "kindly, humorous, devoted and loyal to his family, friends, and to the many charities which called on him and which he assisted on his own initiative; in all those with whom he came in contact, he inspired con-

Oscar Huffmann (center left) and Lucy Beale Huffmann (center right) in 1938 at the dedication of the Community House in Buchanan, Virginia. Photograph courtesy of Harry Gleason.

fidence and affection."[30] Locally, his 1938 gift of a brick building destined to become the Community House for the Town of Buchanan coincided with his wife's donation of dinnerware for use at the gathering place.

Born in 1876, Oscar Huffman was a native of Augusta County, Virginia, and educated at Washington and Lee University. He married Lucy Beale in the summer of 1907. Various industry-related publications indicate that Huffman was a successful businessman. His factories revolutionized the canning industry during the era between the world wars. By the late 1920s, his United States Can Company "advanced to third in its industry...and [did] an annual business of approximately ten million dollars."[31] In 1935, *Time* reported his income as $72,000.[32] An equivalent salary in 2009 would be a little more than $1,100,000.[33] In 2009 dollars, the garden's cost would be approximately $64,500.[34] The gift of the Beale Memorial Garden to Hollins, coinciding with the beginning of the Great Depression, illustrated the importance of memorializing Lucy Preston Beale and the combined generosity of mother, daughter, and son-in-law.

And yet Huffman's participation in the gift goes beyond the financial. He directed from Ohio and Roanoke the style, size, and content of the garden. Furthermore, he provided opinions on the cost and preliminary site work requirements.

The Creation, Evolution, and Restoration

In the summer of 2009, the orange-blossomed daylily features prominently in the Beale Memorial Garden. Daylilies, forming ever-enlarging clumps, jump the banks and alternately fringe both sides of the rock-lined creek. The most abundant plant in the garden, this species, *Hemerocallis fulva*, has narrow, frond-like leaves and long, slender, emerald stems stretching up to four feet that support a sequential fanfare of orange, carrot, and tangerine blossoms that open daily during the early summer months. The generous blossoms of the lily memorialize the people, past and present, involved with the creation and restoration of the garden.

Although Hollins maintains archives on the garden, some critical pieces of information remain missing. When Hollins' Fishburn Library flooded in 1985, approximately 40 percent of the archives were lost, including some documents related to the garden. Surviving archives reference a map and scale model that have unfortunately disappeared. But the Garden Club of Virginia and its landscape architect, William Rieley, retain records on the restoration that provide some clues about the original garden.

At the time of Lucy Huffman's offer, Hollins had undertaken a campaign drive to move from "private ownership to a corporation administrated by a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees."[35] Thus, a group comprised of the school's trustees, alumnae, and staff oversaw the Beale Memorial Garden donation. Members included Turner, Lucy McVitty, W. C. Stephenson, C. Edwin Michaels, D. D. Hull, and Kitty Settle Morgan. The committee partnered with Oscar Huffman and the landscape architect to create the garden.

The Huffmans selected Albert A. Farnham to design and implement the garden. A former town planner for Lynchburg, Farnham lived and practiced in Roanoke. Following the Beale Memorial Garden installation, he went on to teach at Virginia Tech[36] and design the grounds of the Hotel Roanoke.[37]

In a letter dated nearly a year after Lucy Huffman's offer, Turner wrote to her about Farnham's plans, stating that he "has done wonders and everybody who sees it is enthusiastic in praise and appreciation."[38] Letters

Beale Memorial Garden circa early 1930s. Photograph courtesy of the Wyndham Robertson Library of Hollins University.

documenting the initial planning stages between the Huffmans, the committee, and Farnham began in September 1929. To begin, Farnham wrote to Stephenson about the need for a topographical map of the area. By October 1929, Huffman balked at the cost of the map and clarified in a letter to Farnham that he and his wife had been considering a smaller area for a garden than Hollins thought ideal.

These discussions and negotiations led to questions about the size of the Huffmans' financial contribution and the area for the garden. Initially, the Huffmans and Hollins did not see eye to eye on either issue. By November 1929 a $3,000 figure was being discussed. However, Stephenson feared that "this amount would not be sufficient to start the garden we had in mind, so I think it is quite important that a very diplomatic reply be prepared."[39] His concerns had ceased by the spring of 1930. For unknown reasons, the Huffmans increased their pledged amount to $5,000.[40]

Farnham sought the Huffmans' input in the design process. At the very least, he knew "that Mrs. Huffman is desirous of using some boxwood."[41] Turner concurred with the idea of boxwoods, but Oscar Huffman, in a follow-up letter to Farnham, asserted that boxwood "would be out of the question, as I understand this runs into a great deal of money."[42]

Thus no boxwoods were installed initially. Farnham envisioned a larger landscape,[43] but in the end he developed a garden within the boundaries the Huffmans desired. Shrinking the size permitted the design and implementation to remain within budget.

In a page and a half letter addressed to Lucy Beale Huffman on November 20, 1929, Farnham details his vision for the space:

> [T]he possibilities which the stream affords are many.... [B]y diverting the stream into a series of pools and low cascades along which water loving plants could be grouped...this would beautify not only the banks, but would protect them by giving space for flood water. The treatment immediately on the stream and in the bed of the stream would be with rocks, ferns, Japanese iris, and other plants that thrive in damp places. On higher ground both sides of the branch, quantities of rhododendron and azaleas together with the better varieties of blooming shrubs should be used. Paths should be built and perhaps a small foot bridge here and there so that the garden would be properly used.[44]

Farnham's letter contains no sketch or map of the garden plan at Hollins but simply this short description of his initial ideas.

On behalf of the college, Turner expressed pleasure with the plans in a letter to Oscar Huffman on the eve of summer 1930:

> [Mr. Farnham] brought with him a very lovely model of the proposed Garden. This model is worked out to scale and shows the lay of the land and the general scheme of planting. It does not, however, show the detail of planting, that is, the type of shrub, plant, etc. that will be used. The banks of the stream, the walkways, the trees already there, etc. are shown. Surely it makes a beautiful picture and everybody here is interested and enthusiastic about it. As it happens the Tiger Lillies [sic] on the banks of the stream are in full bloom now.... Mr. Farnham's plans are really very lovely and comprehensive and all who have seen the model and have heard him discuss the plans are happy and enthusiastic over the prospects for a very beautiful spot on this campus.[45]

In addition to plants, Farnham's designs for the Beale Memorial Garden included a brick pathway and limestone rock wall. A Rockydale Quarry invoice for November 1930 showed that the garden required ten yards of rock[46] to create the wall.

The bulk of the planting and constructing the wall and path occurred from July to September 1930. Additional work happened in December and in the spring of 1931. During most months, Farnham employed about six laborers. Over the course of approximately fifteen weeks, the Beale Memorial Garden emerged around the streambed. The largest expenditure went to Hedge Lawn Nurseries for plant material. A separate nursery supplied one thousand tulip bulbs.[47] A Roanoke chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution commissioned Farnham to install a concrete bench with the following inscription:

In memory of Mrs. Lucy Preston Beale
Presented by Col. Wm. Preston Chapter DAR 1932

At the same time, suggestions for a celebration circulated. Turner concluded, "I am inclined to think that such a dedicatory service would be entirely appropriate," and in the same memo, he copied Farnham and included positive reviews of the garden from McVitty.[48]

Turner invited Lucy Beale Huffman to visit Hollins and judge the garden for herself. After nearly a year, two more letters about a dedication service appear in Turner's correspondence files. In March and April 1932, Turner revealed that Farnham has "the impression that Mrs. Huffman was not particularly keen about any 'to do' being made about the garden."[49] Others reached similar conclusions when Lucy Huffman apparently did not answer a letter from a committee member about the topic. Because Lucy and Oscar visited the Roanoke area up until 1940, it is possible they visited the garden, but no official confirmation of a visit was recorded. Although it had no formal introduction, "this area with its little brook, became an even more popular recreation ground"[50] for the Hollins' College community.

During the 1930s, eighteen flowering crab trees were planted as gifts from the Classes of 1932–34.[51] Subsequently, six editions of Hollins' promotional literature highlighted the garden during this decade.[52] However, in the next two decades, the Beale Memorial Garden continued to evolve, presenting challenges to its identity.

The 1940s brought minor changes beyond annual growth for the Beale Memorial Garden. At the beginning of the decade, Hollins' consulting architect W. Pope Barney of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, presented

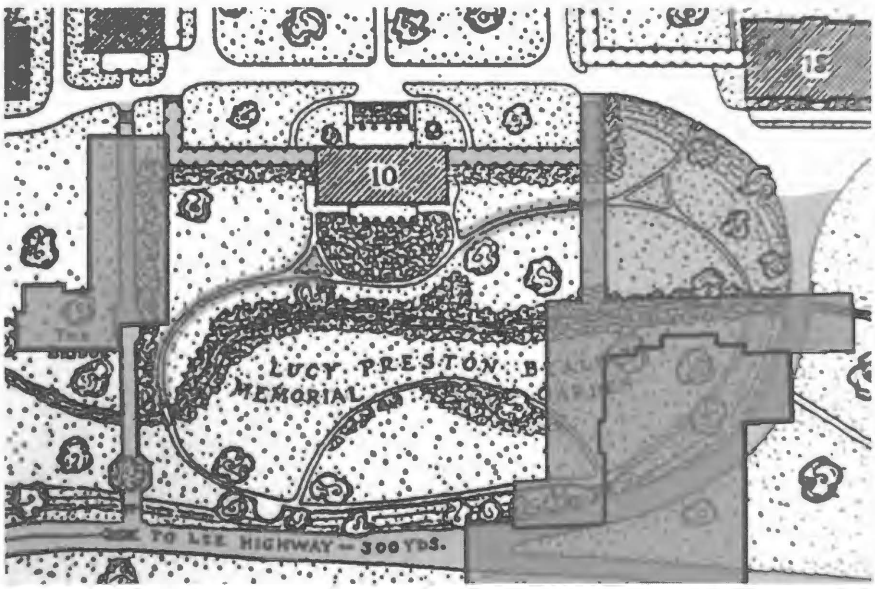


Illustration of Turner Hall and duPont Chapel encroaching on the Beale Memorial Garden. Shaded areas show the footprints of Turner Hall on the left and the duPont Chapel on the right. Illustration courtesy of William D. Reiley, landscape architect for the Garden Club of Virginia.

drawings of his comprehensive plan. He envisioned an enlarged garden with extensions to the east and west of approximately 400 feet. The proposal would nearly triple the size.[53] Barney's treatment reflected the size initially desired by Farnham. Conversely, some members of Hollins wanted buildings constructed within the garden's footprint; however, Chairman Charles F. Cocke and President Randolph opposed any encroachment on the site.[54] During the decade, the school considered future building needs but did not break ground on either the replacements for the library and chapel or a new dormitory. The school's Centennial Celebration of 1942 featured the garden and helped to maintain its identity.

At the dawn of the new decade, the garden continued to be recognized as

> a spot of particular charm for students, faculty, and visitors ... [that] contains many beautiful black ash and elm trees and an abundance of flowering shrubs. In the spring the area is a mass of redbud and dogwood, beneath which grow narcissus and daffodils.[55]

At this point, the garden remained undisturbed, but by the close of the decade it diminished in size and identity.

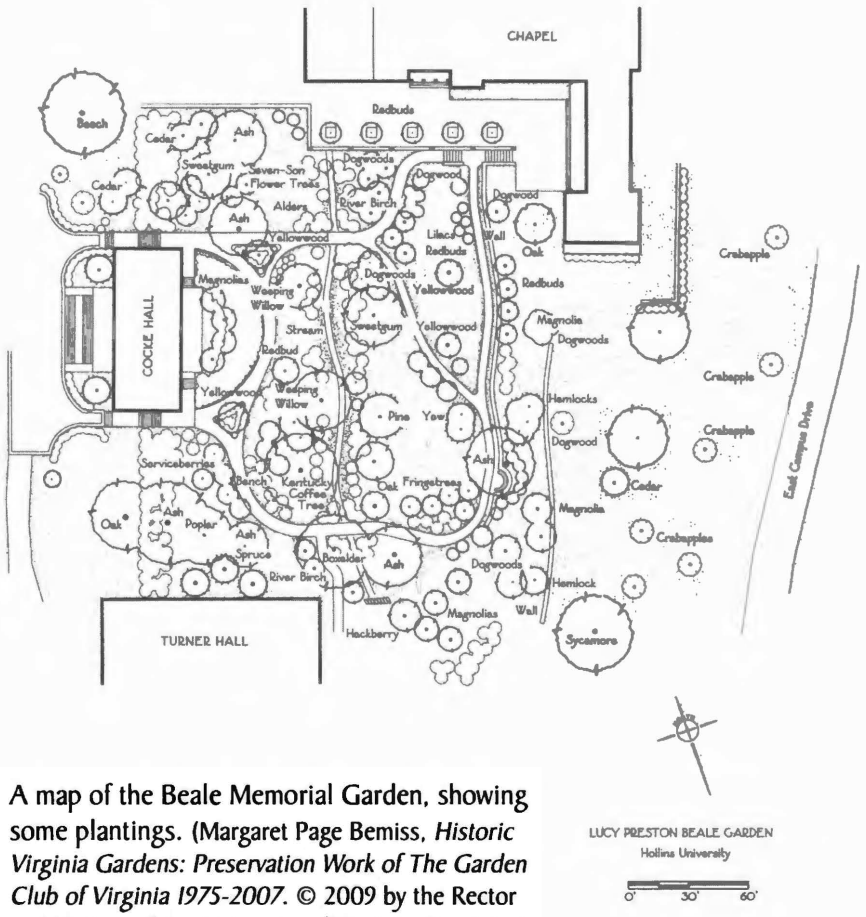
During the 1950s, construction of new buildings dramatically changed the layout of the Beale Memorial Garden. Two major factors enabled the changes. First, transformations came with new leadership at Hollins when John Everett became the president in 1950. Second, with the exception of Willard James, none of the people involved with the conception of the garden had either survived or remained closely tied to the school. The new development contrasted directly with Farnham and Barney's schemes: instead of expanding eastward and westward the Beale Memorial Garden shrank.

In 1952, Hollins erected Turner Hall on the western side; near the end of the decade, the completion of duPont Chapel on the eastern side eliminated approximately 3/8ths of the garden.[56] At last, however, boxwoods made their way into the garden by lining the chapel's terrace. The chapel construction created an identity crisis for the garden. By the 1970s, according to William Rieley, the club's landscape architect, "no one talked about the garden anymore as an identifiable location."[57] Members of the classes of 1962 and 1965, Carol Greene Donnelly and Anna Logan Lawson, respectively, have no real memory of the garden from their undergraduate days.[58] However, these women, as members of the Board of Trustees, steered the relationship between Hollins and the Garden Club of Virginia to restore the Beale Memorial Garden. The last major alteration, before the recent revitalization, happened in 1982. Additional landscaping given as memorials to Jane Moon Goodwin, a French major,[59] went into the garden. The back of the Lucy Preston Beale bench now reads

1982 Landscaping in Memory of
Jane Moon Goodwin '34

Plans for the plantings or the quantities and varieties of the plants do not exist in the Hollins archives. Interestingly, Goodwin studied at Hollins during the creation of the Beale Memorial Garden.

By 2002, the idea to renovate the garden circulated among members of the Hollins University community. Donnelly, a gardener and chair of the Buildings and Grounds Committee, found inspiration in the Garden Club of Virginia's work at Sweetbriar College near Lynchburg.[60] The Gar-



A map of the Beale Memorial Garden, showing some plantings. (Margaret Page Bemiss, *Historic Virginia Gardens: Preservation Work of The Garden Club of Virginia 1975-2007*. © 2009 by the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia. Reprinted by permission of the University of Virginia Press.)

den Club of Virginia has a history of "picking projects important enough to be part of the heritage of the commonwealth,"[61] and Lucy Ellet of the club's Restoration Committee worked on its behalf to promote the idea.[62]

In preparation, Donnelly visited previous Garden Club of Virginia restorations, including Smithfield Plantation. Lawson, chair of the Hollins Board of Trustees, shared Donnelly's passion for the project. The women kept the idea of the restoration alive by sharing their enthusiasm with other alumnae, Hollins' President Norah Kizer Bell, and other members of the board. By autumn, the club agreed to partner with Hollins, and architect Rieley of Charlottesville prepared plans to restore the garden.

In exchange for funding the restoration, the club made three promises and had the same number of major commitments from Hollins. First, the club required that the garden "must be open to the public on a regular basis, either seasonally, several days a week, or daily, including Historic Garden Week in Virginia"; second, that "further maintenance shall be at the obligation of the owner. Strict adherence to high standards of maintenance is required"; and last, "any future changes in the landscape design must be approved by the owner and GCV."[63] In return the Garden Club of Virginia would pay for the restoration, publicize the restoration, and install a plaque acknowledging the partnership.[64]

After spending around $150,000[65] and a year's worth of work, the restoration culminated in a landscape with reconnected paths, an emphasis on both the creek and native plants, and a renewed identity for the Beale Memorial Garden. Separately, Hollins paid for the renovation of the du-Pont Chapel terrace, a space that provides a vantage point for the garden.[66] In October 2006, the Garden Club of Virginia and Hollins rededicated the Beale Memorial Garden.

In pursuing the new design plan, Hollins approved an arrangement utilizing mostly native plants. Among others, Lee Cochran from Hollins' board and Bessie Carter, the club's restoration chair, favored this approach. Rieley's re-interpretation of plant choice supported a trend toward environmentally sound design. These plant selections deviated from Farnham's original plan but provided an opportunity for the best re-creation of the remaining twenty acres of the garden. In the 1930s, personal preference played the greatest role in plant selection. In the 21st century version, all parties agreed to

> the benefit of growing plants within the region they evolved [because] they are more likely to thrive under the local conditions, maintain and improve soil fertility, reduce erosion, and often require less fertilizer and pesticides than many alien plants. These characteristics save time and money and reduce the amount of harmful run-off threatening the aquatic resources.[67]

Hollins should see a reduction in the amount of time and energy needed to maintain the garden through the emphasis on the natural beauty of native plants.

Rieley noted in his comments at the October 18, 2006, ceremony that

> Farnham's plan embraced the stream valley, with graceful curving paths connecting the back of the Cocke building to the valley and climbing up the hillside beyond to give prospect points into the garden and stream below. It had ... a wonderful pastoral quality.[68]

He concluded that the garden was more of "a revitalization and adaptation"[69] than a strict reproduction or restoration.

Approximately six landscape installers worked to plant Rieley's selections. Nearly three-quarters of Rieley's perennial, shrub, and tree choices are native to Virginia or the southeastern United States. Additionally, many of these plants have generous displays of color and texture over the four seasons.

Accessibility to the Beale Memorial Garden improved with the regrading of the grassy area and the reconstruction of the pathways. The existing brick was reused to supply borders to the circuitous, crushed gravel paths. Before restoration, "the paths were not accessible even if you got into the garden."[70] Walkways link steps leading up to the duPont Chapel terrace and the Cocke Memorial Building. Additionally, the installation of two bridges, reminiscent in color and design of the longer one that existed where Turner Hall now stands, connect the pathway. The bridge design provided the circulation conceived by Farnham.

The re-creation of the stone wall provided a 36-inch-high border nearly the length of the northeastern portion of the garden. The wall tapers at each end to approximately 11 inches. Two stonemasons, working with Rockydale Quarry limestone, crafted the wall from blue, grey, and tan rocks.

New features included a wider creek to help alleviate flooding. Now the streambed has multiple rock borders that split it into unequal thirds. Improvements to the culvert under the duPont Chapel terrace and the adjacent manhole cover made them more visually appealing.

Notably, some plants that came out of the garden found new life. A craftsman transformed a diseased ash into bowls given to donors and other people closely connected to the restoration. Likewise, transplanted boxwoods from the duPont Chapel terrace conveniently camouflage the heating and cooling units at the Richard Wetherill Visual Arts Center.

Rieley concluded his remarks from the dedication by telling those in attendance that

> We cannot remain connected to the contributions of our predecessors through passive acknowledgement. I have come to believe that memorials that demand our care and that demand our attention are the ones that really connect us with those contributions and that reinforce our on-going responsibility to support them — even as they change, as all gardens and as all educational institutions do.[71]

The legacies of these Preston descendants will live on in the prolific, natural beauty of the Beale Memorial Garden.

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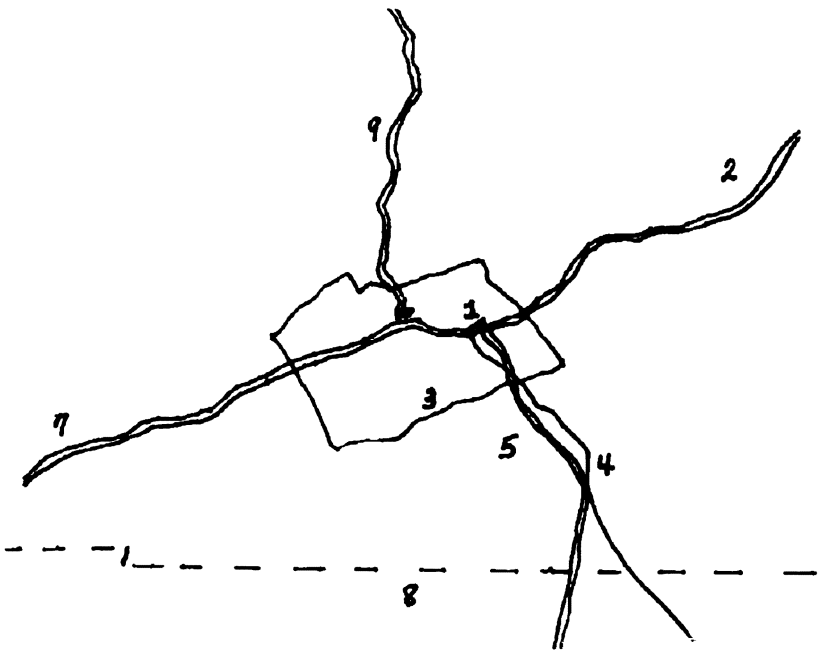


Figure 1. The drawing shows present Wythe County, Virginia, and highways that pass through it. All locations are approximate. 1: The site of the "big fort" known as Fort Chiswell; 2: present Interstate 81 north; 3: present Town of Austinville where the lead mines were located; 4: present State Route 52 from Fort Chiswell to North Carolina; 5: present Interstate 77 from Fort Chiswell to North Carolina; 6: present town of Wytheville; 7: Stalnaker's on Middle Fork of the Holston near Chilhowie; Interstate 81 south; 8: state line of Virginia/North Carolina; 9: present Interstate 77 north to West Virginia. Map prepared by Mary B. Kegley.

Fort Chiswell and Chiswell's Lead Mines of Wythe County, Virginia: A New Perspective

Mary B. Kegley

Built during the French and Indian War about nine miles east of the present town of Wytheville, Fort Chiswell and Chiswell's lead mines, nine miles south of the fort, were both named for John Chiswell (Figure 1).

Newer information, located in the 1980s in a Wythe County lawsuit dated 1827, as well as thorough investigation of the references regarding the beginning of the lead mines operation and the construction of the fort, present a new perspective and a clearer focus for these historic places. Despite the publication by this author of a detailed article, "The Big Fort," published in 1978, the *Wythe County Bicentennial History* in 1989, the third volume of *Early Adventurers* in 1995, and *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road 1745–1796* in 2008, this newest information has not yet reached the general public.[1]

Although there are many references suggesting that the fort was in existence in the 1750s,[2] no Colonial document has been located to indicate that the fort was built at that time. Similarly, the discovery of the mines and their production of lead have often been mentioned as having taken place in the 1750s, although without corroboration from contemporary records.

This article will trace the beginning of both entities to the 1760s where they are documented in the early Augusta County records. Other contemporary records written at, or close to, the time these events took place provide further evidence for a beginning date in the 1760s.

Fort Chiswell

In this section the author reviews the history of the fort, describes how it got its name, and corrects some commonly held misconceptions about the place. For example, research shows that it was not built to defend the mines, nor did it exist in the 1750s, but was constructed in 1760–61.

Both the fort and the mines were named for John Chiswell, son of Charles Chiswell of Eastern Virginia, who had an interest in minerals. Although William Byrd is usually given credit for assigning the names, there is no documentation to support this belief.[3]

Alexander Sayers' Camp

Dr. Thomas Walker chose the tract where the fort was built under the terms of the Woods River Company. Walker had the survey made in 1747 and obtained the patent to the original large tract of 1,150 acres known as "The Great Buffalo Lick." In 1758 he transferred 504 acres to Alexander Sayers through a bargain struck four years before. During the 1750s and 1760s the land was owned by Alexander Sayers, a name attached to the fort location prior to its construction.[4]

Because of the Indian attacks in 1754 and 1755, most settlers temporarily abandoned their holdings on the New and Holston rivers. During those years, a total of twenty-one individuals were killed, including the Augusta County leader, Colonel James Patton. Nine more were wounded and sixteen taken prisoner.[5] Following these attacks, a contingent of 340 men, including some friendly Indians, set out in 1756 on the so-called "Shawnee Expedition" to pursue and destroy the Shawnee. In February of 1756 this group was camped at Alexander Sawyers' [Sayers], a camp location mentioned several times in the later records. There was no mention of a fort at this time, although a military contingent was stationed there.[6]

Four years later, in September 1760, the location, approximately nine miles east of present Wytheville, was still known as Sayers' Camp. Numerous soldiers and Colonel William Byrd III encamped there in that year en route to Cherokee country in present Tennessee. Again, there was no fort mentioned, although Byrd was there with the army waiting for orders from Williamsburg. Proof that Byrd was at Sayers' Camp comes from a second-hand report received by Colonel Bouquet from Captain Ourry. It was then that Little Carpenter (also known as Attakullakulla) of the Cherokee nation brought Captain Stuart, a survivor from the attack on Fort Loudoun

in Tennessee, as well as three other unnamed white men, to Sayers' Camp. He then went home to the Cherokee nation, returning later.[7]

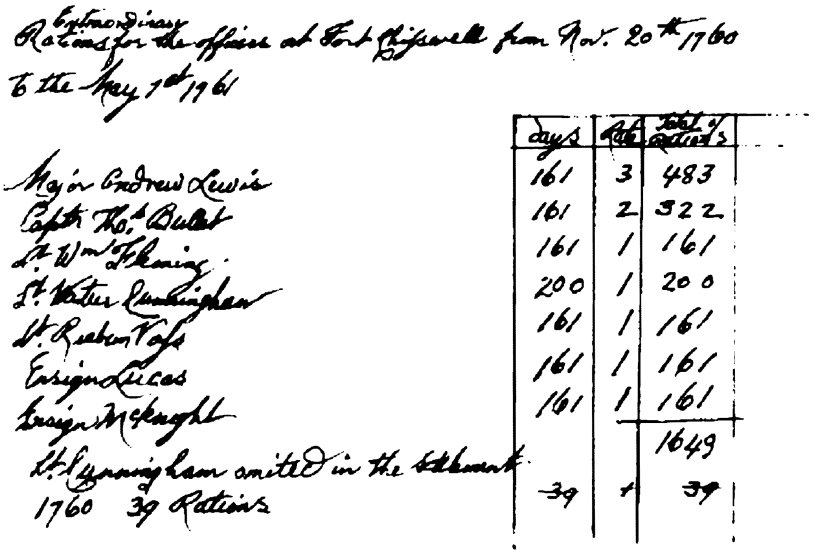
Byrd was still at Sayers' Camp in November 1760 when he was joined by Little Carpenter and thirty-two Cherokees, who brought in ten more prisoners from Fort Loudoun and the news that the Cherokees would suspend all hostilities until "the new moon in March," provided that the army would go no further and that the Indians would be allowed to return safely to their homes. The Cherokees promised to return to that post in the spring. In the meantime, the troops were to remain and be stationed "in such a manner as will best protect the Frontier."[8]

On and off for at least six years, the camp at Sayers was used as a military base and as a convenient place for the Cherokees to meet with Virginia officials. Their previous meeting place had been on the Middle Fork of the Holston at Stalnaker's until the Shawnee destroyed his trading center and took Stalnaker prisoner.[9]

The Camp Becomes a Fort

When did the camp at Sayers become Fort Chiswell? It is known and well documented that Byrd's officers — Major Andrew Lewis, Captain Thomas Bullit, Lieutenant William Fleming, Lieutenant Walter Cunningham, Lieutenant Reuban Vass, Ensign [Burton] Lucas, and Ensign [George] McKnight — remained at the Sayers' Camp and were provided with "rations extraordinary" (Figure 2) from November 20, 1760, until May 1, 1761.[10] These officers were in charge of a group of men who constructed the "big fort" in the fall and winter of 1760-1761. Major Lewis, senior officer in charge, was an experienced fort-builder, having constructed a fort for the Cherokee Indians one mile above Chota (in present Tennessee) only four years earlier. If they needed additional specific details, William Fleming, third in command in 1760, was known to have had among his more than 324 books, the authoritative manual on fortifications by Vauban.[11]

It appears from the evidence that Fort Chiswell received its name early in 1761, probably named by Byrd for his friend and partner John Chiswell, although no documented evidence has been found to support this idea. On March 5, 1761, the Council of Colonial Virginia received a letter dated February 7, 1761, with the heading "Fort Chiswell" from Thomas Bullit, one of the officers mentioned above, with a copy of a letter written to him from William Fleming, another of the officers. Fleming was


Extraordinary
Rations for the officers at Fort Chiswell from Nov. 20th 1760
to the May 1st 1761

	days	Rate	Total of Rations
Major Andrew Lewis	161	3	483
Capt. Tho.s Bullet	161	2	322
Lt. Wm. Preston	161	1	161
Lt. Walter Cunningham	200	1	200
Lt. Robert Poage	161	1	161
Ensign Lucas	161	1	161
Ensign McKnight	161	1	161
			1649
Lt. Cunningham omitted in the Settlement			
1760 39 Rations	39	1	39

Figure 2. "Rations Extraordinary" for the officers at Fort Chiswell from November 20, 1760, to May 1, 1761.

requesting instructions regarding the expected visit from the Cherokees, who were coming to the fort in March.[12]

This letter is the first documented reference to the name Fort Chiswell. No other Colonial record written at or near the time of construction has been located, in spite of extensive inquiries. The letter itself has not been located; it is only referred to in the Council records. To this author's knowledge the first time that any extensive research was carried out to determine when the fort was built occurred in the early 1970s, and later in 1976 and in 1977, by this author in preparation for the archeological excavations and for the article "The Big Fort."

This evidence indicates that the army needed a fort location en route to the Cherokee country. A site with a large spring and a mill east of the current town of Wytheville was chosen. In 1761 there were no known settlers living on the Holston River and very few residing on the New River or its branches. The military apparently agreed with the Cherokees and promised not to travel farther. Instead the army stayed where they were and built the fort. In the summer and early fall of 1760 the place was called

Sayers' Camp and as early as February 1761 the name was changed to Fort Chiswell, indicating that the fortifications had been completed. From that time forward the place was known by the name of Fort Chiswell.

The Cherokees and the Virginia Military at Fort Chiswell

On May 12, 1761, a few months after the fort was named, Adam Stephen with the detachment under his command was en route to Fort Chiswell. He reported that, ten days earlier, 200 Cherokees who were encamped about a quarter of a mile from Fort Chiswell had been attacked in the night, supposedly by some Northern Indians. Six Indians were killed and a "great many wounded." The next day up to 50 women and children were delivered to Major Lewis for their protection, and Lewis set out to determine who had hurt them.[13]

On June 10, 1761, after the Council received information from John Chiswell and Thomas Walker, it made plans to purchase prisoners from the Cherokees. Chiswell and Walker were to proceed to the Great Island of the Holston (now Kingsport, Tennessee), intending to store the "chief part of the provisions" at Fort Chiswell.[14]

In June, 138 soldiers, probably the ones who had stayed over the winter to construct Fort Chiswell, were stationed at the fort. By the end of June 1761, more than 650 soldiers of Byrd's Army were encamped there en route to Stalnakers on the Middle Fork of the Holston, where they were to build a block house and entrenchments to secure themselves and their provisions.[15] The records clearly show that Fort Chiswell, located on the Great Road, was a large military outpost for the French and Indian War and would serve as the same later for the Revolution.

What Did the Fort Look Like?

On April 22, 1796, Louis Philippe, later King of France, traveling through this part of America, gave us the only known description of the fort. Quoting from his diary: "We halted at Fort Chiswel to have a horse shod. To the left of the road there was a big fort torn down since the peace."[16] Until the diary was translated and published in English in 1977, the exact description had been tentative. Some said a blockhouse with cabins inside a palisade; others told this author that there was no such thing at that site. Another author has claimed that it was "not a large affair" and was built as a "refuge from Indians in time of peril." He concluded by saying that "after the fashion of most frontier forts, it was a rude blockhouse."

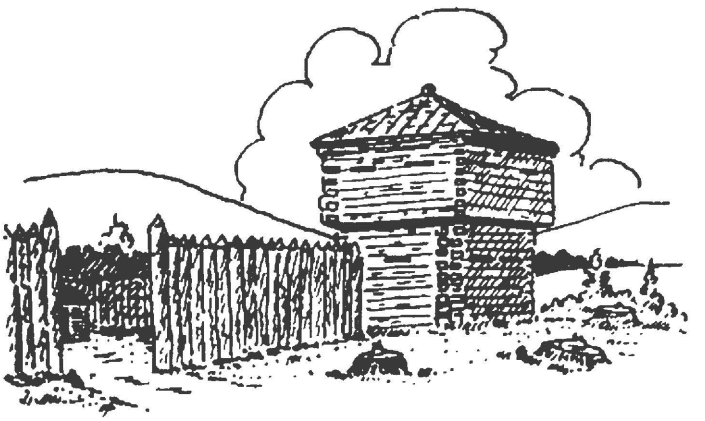


Figure 3. A typical frontier blockhouse, drawn by J. R. Hildebrand.

Fess Green added undocumented "mess halls, stables, a powder mill and blacksmith and wagon shops."[17]

Limited archeological excavations in 1976 revealed a powder magazine still containing powder, lead, and flints from frontier times. With only a day or two before the dirt was moved to make a ramp leading to Interstate 81, the investigation could determine little else, such as size, the presence or absence of palisades or other bastions.[18] It is unlikely that the exact details will ever be known.

In spite of identifying eighty-one forts, stockades, and blockhouses used to defend the frontier, Louis K. Koontz in *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763* fails to give Fort Chiswell, the major fortification between Vause's and the Long Island of the Holston, more than five lines of description. The construction date of 1758 and his location at the meeting point of "the Richmond and Valley of Virginia trails," at the forks of the road are also incorrect.[19] These anomalies are discussed in more detail below.

Some forts on the frontier were merely a small fortified cabin or even just a single blockhouse. Big forts could be pentagonal with sides ranging from 60 to 500 feet in length with pointed bastions at each corner. The bastions were used to store such provisions as pork, corn, and flour, as well as lead, flints, and powder. After 1773, and highly successfully in the 1780s, James McGavock operated an ordinary, a mill, and a trading post for the travelers coming to Fort Chiswell. Following the dissolution of Fincastle County in 1776, and the creation of Montgomery, Washington, and

Kentucky counties, the Montgomery division used the fort for their first courthouse beginning in 1777. More than a year later a courthouse was constructed on the site.[20]

Where was the Fort, and did it protect the Lead Mines?

It has often been written that Fort Chiswell stood at the intersection of the road to Philadelphia (Great Road) and the road to Richmond. This statement is geographically incorrect, as the road to the south of the fort led to the New River in Wythe County and eventually to North Carolina.[21] See Figure 1. Author after author has repeated such statements without realizing the actual destination of that road. There were several easterly routes and possible pathways that connected to the Philadelphia road, but none were at Fort Chiswell. One could go to what is now the City of Roanoke and through what is now Bedford County, which would take the traveler to Manchester (or south Richmond) by way of Appomattox and Farmville. Today the more northerly route could be through Augusta and Albemarle counties to Louisa and Henrico counties. A middle route lay across the mountain at Buena Vista and through the counties of Amherst, Buckingham and Cumberland to reach Richmond.[22]

Park Rouse, Jr., in *The Great Wagon Road*, states that "Fort Chiswell was a palisade built by the colony of Virginia in 1768 to protect the western frontier and the strategically important lead mines." He placed the mines not far from Castle's Woods, a location in present Russell County more than seventy miles from Wythe County.[23] Fleenor and Carter, in *The Forts of the Holston Militia*, indicate that Fort Chiswell was between Marion and Wytheville, and that the mines (or the fort, it is not clear) were near Wytheville.[24]

Did the "big fort" protect the lead mines? This statement has often been made, but Fort Chiswell, an army outpost, is approximately nine miles from the lead mines and therefore likely to have had little to do with protecting the mines. Nonetheless, the owners of the mines were aware of the need for protection during the wars that came to the frontier at different times. In land records made during the French and Indian War, and during the Revolutionary War, references are made to blockhouses at the mines. Certain pensioners were often stationed there. There are no details regarding the size of these blockhouses, but they were generally two-story log structures where the second story overhangs the first. From this information it is clear that the mines had their own protection, a fact discov-

ered by this author, giving a new perspective to the Lead Mines and Fort Chiswell story.[25]

Courthouse Locations

In 1773 when the officers of Fincastle County held their first meeting at the lead mines (present-day Austinville), there were complaints and suggestions pertaining to the choice of the location for a courthouse. It was placed on a hillside near the mouth of Mine Mill Creek near the New River and became the center of activity for four years. No town developed at that location in those early days. The records show that the courthouse was not on the "leading" or Great Road, had no convenient spring, had little pasture, and was "very scarce of timber."[26]

When the new county of Montgomery was formed, the decision was made to locate the courthouse at Fort Chiswell where James McGavock, then the owner of the property, offered land for a town. Although the town did not develop, the courthouse, a prison, an ordinary, a spring, and the "big fort" remained on the hillside for many years. Here the judges and other court officials met at the new courthouse; soldiers mustered for duty and guarded the fort and especially the person and property of McGavock; Tories sneaked around in the night destroying property during the Revolution; and thousands of travelers would visit on their way to Kentucky, all before the fort was torn down sometime in the 1790s.[27]

In summary, what began as a meeting place for a military expedition in 1756 at Alexander Sayers' Camp, four years later became a military rendezvous for the Virginians and the Cherokees. In February 1761, when the name Fort Chiswell first appears in Colonial records, the camp was turned into a military headquarters for the army. For the next thirty years, the "big fort" stood on the hillside catering to soldiers and travelers, and serving as a political center for the original Montgomery County.

In numerous accounts, the dates, location, and connection to the lead mines have been in error. Yet the fort and the mines are often intertwined in the published accounts because many believed the fort was built to protect the mines, although research has proven that the mines had their own protection.

Lead Mines

In this section the author reviews the early history of the lead mines and describes how successful production was finally established by Welsh

miners and how the lead mines came to be owned by the state of Virginia and operated by its agents in the wake of the John Robinson scandal.

Location of the Lead Mines

The lead mines, located on the south side of the New River in the vicinity of the present town of Austinville in southern Wythe County, were often referred to as Chiswell's, sometimes Chisel's mines. See Figure 1.

The date when lead was discovered may never be known exactly; no report of such an event appears to have been made at the time. The dates during the 1750s when the mines were said to have been discovered by Chiswell are undocumented guesses.[28] However, on May 6, 1760, John Chiswell was granted permission to have 1000 acres surveyed on both sides of the New River at the location of the mines. At the same time, John Robinson, Esqr. was allowed to take up 1000 acres on both sides of the New River, joining John Chiswell's land.[29] The survey for Chiswell was completed on October 31, 1760, at a time when general surveying was halted because of the French and Indian War. The survey was "lodged" in the Land Office on March 27, 1761.[30]

When Did Mining Begin?

Where and when did Chiswell begin work at the mines? It is generally not disputed that the first location of lead mining was at a place known as Chiswell's Hole, a cave-like horizontal mine entered from the New River itself. The majority of the lead was located on the south side of the river in a much more convenient site where variations of vertical mines predominated. Because the request for the land grant was filed in 1761, work probably began soon after. In fact the Moravians in their diary suggested that the work began in that very year although no exact date has been found in their records.[31]

In November of 1986 when cataloging Wythe County Chancery cases, this author discovered a case dealing with the mines. Among the most important discoveries was William Bell's deposition which gave us further insight into the situation. He said that "he work'd at the sd. Mines in the employ of the sd Chiswell for the space of two years and during that time sundry attempts was made to smelt ore and make lead, but could not make any until the sd. Chiswell went [to] England and brought out sundry Welshmen."[32]

It is clear from Bell's statement that the people employed were not experts in the production and processing of lead ore. The men hired abroad by Chiswell were often referred to as the "Welsh miners" although it appears that they were hired in the City of Bristol, across the Bristol Channel from Wales. They were named in Bell's deposition and other documents in the lawsuit. They were William Herbert (who became superintendent of the mines and who brought his wife and her maid), Jno. Jenkins married to William's sister Mary Herbert, David Herbert [Sr.], William's father who came with his wife, and another son named David Herbert Jr., Roger Oats, Charles Devereaux (spelled many different ways), Evan Williams, and "sundry others" who were not specifically named in the lawsuit. With experienced helpers, Chiswell and his new employees soon could produce lead; and according to William Bell, after their arrival at the mines "they made a large quantity of lead annually for the space of three years and near a half."[33]

As mentioned in the lawsuit, Chiswell traveled to Bristol, England, and made an agreement there with William Herbert and others on April 25, 1763. Under the terms of the contract, Chiswell agreed to pay their passage, promised them work for seven years, and agreed to pay their return expenses if they decided to leave at the end of three years. Herbert's salary, paid quarterly, was 130 pounds sterling. He was also to have a rent-free house for his family, proper outbuildings for his cattle, and twenty acres of pasture. The group arrived sometime in June 1763. In the fall of that year, the Moravians reported that wagonloads of lead were being exchanged for flour in North Carolina, as there was no grist or flourmill yet in operation at the mines.[34]

The lawsuit documents that mining began in 1761, without success. In 1763 after the arrival of the Welsh miners, who were well acquainted with lead and coal mining in the British Isles, production was so successful that large quantities could be traded.

Although the mines were often called Chiswell's mines, Chiswell, William Byrd, and John Robinson formed a partnership as co-owners of the lead mines at a time undetermined by Colonial records. These three gentlemen were the first owners of the lead deposits, although Governor Fauquier had an early interest, later dropping out of the company.[35]

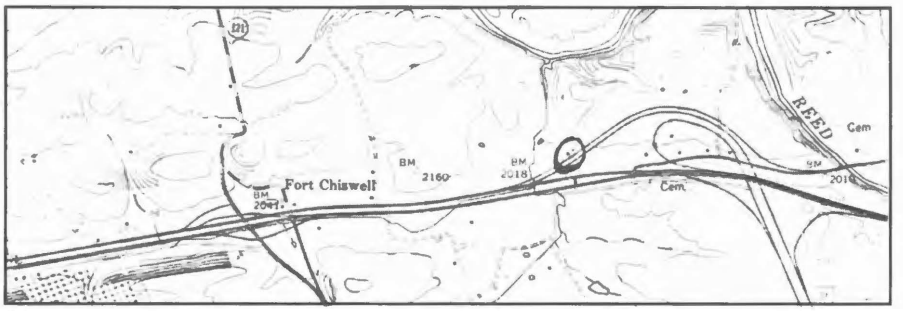


Figure 4. The hand-drawn circle on this map, on the Interstate ramp connecting I77 with I81, represents the approximate location of the "big fort" known as Fort Chiswell. The name Fort Chiswell on the lower left of the map represents the name of the interstate exit.

The Tragic Year of 1766

A series of tragic events that took place beginning in 1766 greatly affected the mine operations, the workers, and the colony of Virginia. Two of the three partners who owned the mines, John Chiswell and his son-in-law John Robinson, Speaker of the House and Treasurer of the Colony of Virginia, died that year.[36]

Chiswell's death was preceded by an incident at Cumberland County Court House, where Chiswell killed Robert Routledge with his sword. He was subsequently charged with murder and scheduled for trial. It is generally believed that Chiswell took his own life on October 14, 1766, rather than stand trial.[37]

Following Robinson's death on May 11, 1766, the discovery that he had illegally loaned £8,085 of the colony's money to the Lead Mines Company, and other significant amounts to many of his friends, forced the Virginia government to recover those sums. With two of the three owners of the lead mines dead, William Byrd was left to face a confusing and difficult situation at the mines. These tragic events also resulted in the dismissal of the Herberts and the Welsh miners on June 21, 1767, when they were told to return tools and housing accommodations given them by Chiswell as part of their employment agreement. They were also refused the wages owed to them, and denied the return trip to Bristol, England, as promised in the contract of 1763.[38]

Because of the illegal actions of Treasurer Robinson, many years were required for the lead mines to repay the money loaned to them. Several op-

eratives worked the mines on behalf of the government during the Revolutionary War. In the 1790s, Moses Austin and his brother Stephen operated the mines for a few years before Moses left for Missouri. In the early 1800s the mines were sold to Thomas Jackson and David Pierce.[39]

Aftermath

Locating the mines in their proper place, researching land records pertaining to the mines, and in 1986 finding information in a lawsuit with details of operation and workers helped establish with certainty when the mines began operation and gave a new perspective to the otherwise conflicting information. Mining began in 1761 but, being unsuccessful, John Chiswell went to England to find the Welsh miners who upon arrival in 1763 brought success to the operation.

From the records, it is evident that the establishment of Fort Chiswell and the operation of the lead mines were contemporary events in the early 1760s. Both the fort and the mines were named for John Chiswell. The fort survived into the 1790s, when it was torn down. The Montgomery County court buildings remained at the Fort Chiswell site for many years. When Wythe County was formed from Montgomery County in 1790, a new arrangement was made for each of the county court locations. Wythe County's courthouse was built at the new county seat, which would become Wytheville, and Montgomery County's new courthouse was built at what would become Christiansburg.[40]

About 1901, the remaining log house on the property burned. The only surviving evidence at the location is the spring, an early road to the mill site, and a hole in the ground where the mill itself once stood. The name, however, has survived and was given to the community that surrounds Exit 80 off Interstate 81, extending on both sides of the interstate and to the south on Route 52, which leads to the New River. There is no town of Fort Chiswell, and no remnants of the fort can be seen because of highway construction. There is no marker at the site.

As for the mines, the lead deposits discovered by John Chiswell were surrounded by tragedy affecting both the colony and the workers. Eventually, lead was left in the ground and zinc became the product most economically feasible to market. In the vicinity of Austinville and Ivanhoe, the population of the once-flourishing mining towns was greatly reduced

and nearly died out when all mining operations ceased on December 31, 1981.[41]

Acknowledgments

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Also my thanks to Hayden H. Horney, Clerk of the Wythe County Circuit Court who gave me an opportunity to read hundreds of Chancery cases as I was cataloging them for the court. Of special importance to this article was the lead mines case that tells the story of the beginning of the operation of the mines. Thanks, Hayden.

Dr. Susan Kegley made many very helpful suggestions to improve the clarity of the text, especially for those not familiar with the area. A big thank you to Susan.

Endnotes

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10. William Fleming Papers, Reel 432, Library of Virginia, Z-12.
11. "Library of Col. William Fleming," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, No. 6, (July 1897), 162.
12. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 182.
13. Waddell, Tottenham, and Kent, eds, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 5: 476, Stephen to Bouquet, May 12, 1761.
14. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 184, 189; Archibald Henderson, *Thomas Walker and the Loyal Company of Virginia* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1931), 64–65.
15. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 189; Jeffrey Amherst Papers, Virginia Historical Society shows a Return of the Regiment of Foot from William Byrd to Amherst, June 7, 1761; Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941), 22.
16. Louis Philippe, King of France, *Diary of My Travels in America*, translated by Stephen Becker (New York: Delacorte Press, 1977), 52. The peace treaty referred to was the one following the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794.
17. William Hendy Shephard, "Colonel John Chiswell, Chiswell's Lead Mines, Fort Chiswell," a thesis (University of Virginia, 1936), 51; interviews by the author with historian Arthur M. Kent, who was born a short distance away and kept records of what others in his family and neighborhood understood about the original fort; Fess Green, *Wilderness Road Odyssey* (Blacksburg, Va.: Pocahontas Press, 2003), 132–3.
18. *Roanoke Times*, September 4, 1976; *Daily Press*, Newport News, October 17, 1976. The author was present part of the time at the two excavations and provided historical data to the archeologists.
19. Louis K. Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754–1763* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, repr. 1992, originally printed 1925 by Johns Hopkins Press), 114.

20. Kegley, "The Big Fort," 6–30; Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800* (Abingdon, Virginia: Privately printed at Kingsport Press, Tenn., 1929), 676, 688, 690; Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier*, 99–100.
21. Lyman Chalkley, "Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 30, no. 6 (April 1922), 183; Speed, *The Wilderness Road* (New York: Burt Franklin, reprint 1971), 12; Austin, "Southwest Virginia Lead Works," 19–20.
22. Route 460 to 360 to south Richmond; Route 250 or more recently Interstate 64 through Albemarle; Route 60 from Buena Vista to Richmond.
23. Park Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road* (Richmond, Dietz Press, reprint, 2004), 109, 121.
24. Fleenor and Carter, *The Forts of the Holston Militia*, vi, 2.
25. Augusta County Entry Book 1, 44, shows that Chiswell entered additional land, one of the tracts of 400 acres "at the block House on the east side of the New River;" Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 220–1, 225, 251; Mary B. Kegley, *Revolutionary War Pension Applications of Southwest Virginia Soldiers* (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 1997), 26; Byrd requested five thousand acres at the lead mines in 1764.
26. Betty E. Spillman, Shirley P. Thomas, and Ann Brush Miller, *Fincastle County Road Orders, 1773–1776* (Charlottesville: Virginia Transportation Research Council, 2007), 3.
27. Kegley, "The Big Fort," 6–30, especially 18–25; Summers, *Annals*, 676.
28. Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870* (Richmond, Va.: J.L. Hill Printing Company, 1903), 69; Summers says 1756, which was the date most often given. No references are given. The mines locally celebrated the 200th anniversary of the discovery in 1956. Other dates noted are 1750, 1757, 1759 with no documentation; The Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission dates the mines at 1756; the K-39 highway marker gives that date. Raus McDill Hanson, *Virginia Place Names, Derivations, Historical Uses* (Verona, Va.: McClure Printing Company, 1969), dates the mines in 1757 and identifies their discoverer as James, not John, Chiswell; Fess Green, *Wilderness Road Odyssey*, page 132, dates the discovery in 1755.
29. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 157, 158.
30. Augusta County Survey Book 1, 91; Augusta County Entry Book 1, 44; for a sketch of Chiswell's life see Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 249–53.
31. Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Reprint (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1968), 1: 234.
32. Herbert *v* Farrell et al., 1827–02 HCC was a case heard in the High Court of Chancery and finalized in 1827. However, most of the facts pertain to the contract signed by the Welsh miners and the money owed to them as a result of their agreement with Chiswell made in 1763.
33. *Herbert v. Farrell et al.*; Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 273–89, for a sketch of the Herbert family.
34. *Herbert v. Farrell et al.*; Fries, *Records*, 1: 248, 276.
35. Kegley, *Bicentennial History*, 327–40 for details concerning the lead mines.

36. Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 252; William Minor Dabney, "John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses and Treasurer of Virginia" (Thesis, University of Virginia, 1941), 71.
37. Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 249–53.
38. Dabney, "Robinson," 68, 71, 74. According to Dabney the total illegally loaned was £110,761.7.5; according to Tinling, *Correspondence*, 2: 611, the total amount owed was £130,000, with £100,000 of it owed by Robinson's estate and £14,921 owed by William Byrd.
39. Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, vol. 3, for sketch of Austins, Herberts, Jacksons, and Pierces.
40. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, 1: 210; Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers in the Town of Evansham, the County Seat of Wythe County, Virginia, 1790–1839*, vol. 4 in the Early Adventurers series (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 1998), 8.
41. Kegley, *Wythe County Bicentennial History*, 340–3; Paul Dellinger, "Out of Zinc," *Roanoke Times and World News*, December 6, 1981.

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The Fincastle Resolutions*

Jim Glanville

Introduction

Despite their status as the most significant pre-Revolutionary political statement to emanate from Virginia's western frontier, the Fincastle Resolutions have never been the subject of the formal scholarly study which their status both for regional and Virginia history clearly warrants. The need for a formal work is apparent when we note that the most significant published document describing the resolutions is the text of a public address, lacking any footnotes or citations, made thirty-five years ago to celebrate the 200th anniversary of their adoption.[1] Local writers have tended to vastly over inflate the significance of the resolutions.[2]

The freeholders of Fincastle County[3] met on 20 January 1775 in present-day Wythe County, Virginia. They elected a committee (called the county's "committee of safety" by Harwell[4] and other authors) of fifteen men "in obedience to the resolves of the Continental Congress." These fifteen men subscribed to Congress's resolves and undertook to see that they would be punctually executed. They then adopted a written address to "the Delegates from this Colony who attended the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia" and stated that their address was "unanimously agreed to by the people of the county." The address and its preamble, which were published twenty-two days after their adoption in Williamsburg in Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*,[5] are reproduced in Appendix A.

Long tradition calls this publication the "Fincastle Resolutions," though it would be more accurately termed "The 1775 Address of the People of Fincastle to the Virginia Delegates to the Continental Congress." Long tradition likewise calls the fifteen members of the Fincastle County committee the "signers," a usage which is retained here for convenience

and brevity. Lacking a hand-written copy of the Fincastle Resolutions, historians must rely entirely on the version published in the *Virginia Gazette*, which prints the names of the committee members. Thus, it is not definitely provable who, or indeed if anyone, signed on 20 January 1775, who perhaps signed later, or who consented to having his name published as a signer — without having actually been present on 20 January. However, at this time of intense and growing American self-awareness, men, especially men of the frontier, were certainly ready and eager to place their names on strongly worded documents as demonstrated here.

This article examines the resolutions themselves; the context in which they were written; the recent experiences of the signers; the resolves written two months earlier in November 1774 at Fort Gower (Appendix E) in the future Ohio; the resolutions written by the committees of three other frontier Virginia counties (Pittsylvania,[6] Augusta, and Botetourt: appendices B, C, and D); the political and family connections that linked the signers to the tidewater Virginia establishment; and the "land-hunger"[7] of contemporary Virginians of all social classes. The political opinions of the officers who fought in Dunmore's War, as expressed in the Fort Gower Resolves, were well known to some of the signers of the Fincastle Resolutions, and probably to the committees of the counties of Pittsylvania, Augusta, and Botetourt.

An ever-present background theme to this article is that the collective drive among the signers to acquire western land, and the concomitant conflicts with Indians, deeply influenced the political views of the signers.[8] A theme not developed here, because it was revealed only several years later, is that in contrast to the views of the most prominent signers, a significant fraction of the region's population held strongly loyalist opinions.

On a minor though interesting matter, this article challenges the conventional wisdom that the Fincastle Resolutions were adopted at a meeting that took place at the Lead Mines. While we may never know for certain where they were adopted, an excellent circumstantial case can be made that their adoption occurred ten miles away at James McGavock's ordinary (tavern and hostelry) at Fort Chiswell, Virginia.

Fincastle County December 1772 – December 1776

Fincastle County (Figure 1) existed as a Virginia political jurisdiction for just four years. On 1 December 1772 legislation split Botetourt County into two parts: a smaller Botetourt and a new county called Fincastle.[9] Leg-

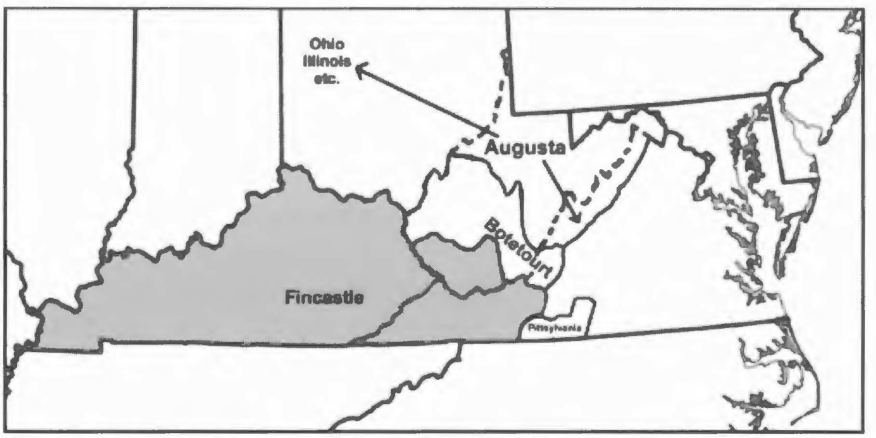

Figure 1. A sketch of the western counties of the colony of Virginia in 1774–1775 superimposed on the boundary outlines of the present-day United States with part of the boundary of the future West Virginia shown dashed. Fincastle County is shown shaded. Fincastle County in 1774–1775 consisted of all of modern Kentucky, southern West Virginia, and western Virginia. Botetourt County consisted of three present-day Virginia counties and the present-day central counties of West Virginia. Augusta County consisted of a band of present-day counties along Virginia's present northwest border, the present-day northern counties of West Virginia, and the vast area of the Ohio and Illinois territories to the west.

islation ended Fincastle County four years later on the last day of December 1776[10] when it was divided into the counties of Kentucky (in the west), Montgomery (in the northeast), and Washington (in the southeast).

The county was perhaps named for Viscount Fincastle, one of the many titles of Virginia's then-governor, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, but other suggestions have been offered. The originally-formed Fincastle County was ultimately divided into all the counties of Kentucky, the counties of southern West Virginia, and the Virginia counties of Giles, Montgomery, Floyd, Pulaski, Carroll, Wythe, Bland, Tazewell, Smyth, Grayson, Buchanan, Russell, Washington, Dickenson, Wise, Scott, Lee, and part of Craig.[11]

The Virginia County Resolutions

In March 1774, at a time of growing unrest in the American colonies, the British parliament passed an Act closing the port of Boston. Other "Coercive Acts," aimed principally at Massachusetts, soon followed. On 13

May Bostonians met at Faneuil Hall, resolved to boycott all British goods, and called on the other colonies for support and assistance. Virginians were closely following events in Massachusetts through a Committee of Intercolonial Correspondence established a year earlier.[12] On 24 May 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses adopted a resolution naming 1 June, the day the port of Boston was to be closed, as a Virginia day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

Two days later Governor Dunmore dissolved the House of Burgesses. The following day, on 27 May, eighty-nine members of the just-dissolved House of Burgesses met at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, formed an "Association" to defend "the constitutional rights and liberty of British America" and proposed an annual "general congress" of the colonies. They also formed a new non-importation association.[13]

Four days later, on 31 May, the newly-constituted Association issued a summons to all the members of the former House of Burgesses to attend a Virginia convention to be held on 1 August 1774 in Williamsburg. The summons noted an oncoming "alarming crisis" and said the convention would deal with matters of "lasting importance to all America." This summons of delegates to the first Virginia Convention further noted: "We fixed this distant Day in Hopes of accommodating the Meeting to every Gentleman's private affairs, and that they might, in the mean Time, have an Opportunity of collecting their sense of their respective Counties."[14] The call for collecting the sense of the counties was a significant democratic event that had not previously occurred in the colony of Virginia — men being invited to instruct their representatives — which set the stage for the later formation of county committees. The consequent county meetings were one-time events at which some men in each county typically adopted resolutions and prepared instructions for those they elected to send as delegates to the forthcoming convention. The meetings began a process by which at least fifty-nine of the sixty-five jurisdictions in Virginia adopted resolutions over the ensuing ten months.

The adoption of Virginia county resolutions occurred in two waves. The first wave was during the summer of 1774 at individually-called meetings prospective to the August Williamsburg convention. The second wave was during the fall and winter of 1774–1775 when county meetings not only made resolutions but had the additional purpose of forming committees — in response to the October 1774 call for such committees by the

First Continental Congress. Because the Fincastle men spent most of 1774 engaged in frontier Indian warfare, as described below, Fincastle County was among the latecomers in adopting resolutions.

These second-wave county committees were extremely important. Harwell remarks "...the formation of county committees to support American liberty and carry through the recommendations of the Continental Congress was the beginning of truly American self-government in an independent America."[15] Further information about the Virginia meetings and committees of 1774 and early 1775 — in addition to Harwell's book and the primary documents in *Revolutionary Virginia* — can be found in the articles by Coleman,[16] Bowman,[17] and Hack.[18] Soon after his return from his western war, Governor Dunmore demonstrated that he fully understood the future implications of the Virginia committees when he wrote on 24 December 1774 to Lord Dartmouth in England:

> Every County, besides, is now arming a Company of men, whom they call an Independent Company, for the avowed purpose of protecting their Committees, and to be employed against Government, if occasion require. The Committee of one County [Spotsylvania] has proceeded so far as to swear the men of their Independent Company, to execute all orders which shall be given them from the Committee of their County.[19]

Actions of the Virginia Counties during the Summer of 1774

Though their objectives were the same, the counties that acted in the summer of 1774 did not act uniformly. All that held recorded meetings listed the men who were present, most issued resolves or a statement of resolve, most gave instructions to the men who would be their delegates to the August Convention in Williamsburg, and all sent a record of their actions to Williamsburg to be published in an issue of one of the Virginia Gazettes.[20] Table 1 lists the forty jurisdictions known to have acted during the first wave. The resolves and instructions of thirty-one of these were printed on the referenced pages in volume I of *Revolutionary Virginia*,[21] and the records of nine (labeled <4 August 1774) have apparently been lost to history because publisher Clementina Rind lacked space to print them in her *Gazette*,[22] as she reported on 4 August 1774.

The lengths of the documents published by the counties varied, as shown by the page counts listed in column 3 of Table 1. Thus, the Fairfax

Table I. Resolutions and Instructions Issued by County and Corporate Freeholders and Others*
1 June - 4 August 1774

Jurisdiction(s)	Date of Meeting	Reference pages	Author(s)
Accomack	27 July 1774	111–112	No record
Albemarle	26 July 1774	112–113	Thomas Jefferson
Amelia	<4 August 1774	109	No record
Buckingham	28 July 1774	113–114	Not known
Caroline	14 July 1774	114–116	Not known
Chesterfield	14 July 1774	116–118	Not known
Culpeper	7 July 1774	118–120	Not known
Dinwiddie	15 July 1774	120–122	Not known
Dunmore	16 June 1774	122–123	Not known
Elizabeth City Co. & Hampton Town	25 July 1774	123–124	Not known
Essex	9 July 1774	125–127	Not known
Fairfax	18 July 1774	127–133	George Mason/ George Washington
Fauquier	9 July 1774	134–135	Not known
Frederick	8 June 1774	135–136	Not known
Fredericksburg Town	1 June 1774	137	Not known
Gloucester	14 July 1774	137–138	Not known
Hanover	20 July 1774	139–141	Not known
Henrico	15 July 1774	141–142	Not known
James City County	1 July 1774	143	Not known
King George	<4 August 1774	109	No record
King William	<4 August 1774	109	No record
Lancaster	<4 August 1774	109	No record
Lunenburg	<4 August 1774	109	No record
Mecklenburg	<4 August 1774	109	No record
Middlesex County	? July 1774	143–145	Not known
Nansemond County	11 July 1774	145–145	Not known
New Kent County	12 July 1774	147–149	Not known
Norfolk County and Borough	9 July 1774	149–150	Not known
Northumberland	<4 August 1774	109	No record

*Summarized from *Revolutionary Virginia*, volume I, pages 109–68.
The symbol "<" means "occurred prior to"

Table I. Resolutions and Instructions..., continued

Jurisdiction(s)	Date of Meeting	Reference pages	Author(s)
Orange	<4 August 1774	109	No record
Prince George County	? June 1774	150–152	Not known
Prince William Co. & Dumfries Town	6 June 1774	152–153	George Mason
Princess Anne County	27 June 1774	153–155	Not known
Richmond County	29 June 1774	155–157	Not known
Spotsylvania County	24 June 1774	158–159	Not known
Stafford County	? July 1774	159–162	Not known
Surry County	16 July 1774	162	Not known
Warwick	<4 August 1774	109	No record
Westmoreland County	22 June 1774	163–165	Richard Henry Lee
York County	18 July 1774	165–168	Not known

*Summarized from *Revolutionary Virginia*, volume I, pages 109–68.
The symbol "<" means "occurred prior to"

County Resolves, which represent one of the most extensive and radical specimens,[23] cover seven pages. The Fairfax Resolves asserted that Virginia could not be treated as a conquered country, demanded the application of the British constitution in Virginia, proclaimed that taxation and representation are inseparable, demanded that American grievances be redressed, and so on, concluding with the 26th resolve that all twenty-six resolves be sent to Williamsburg for publication. At the other end of the scale, the Fredericksburg actions were limited simply to concurring in "every proper measure" to support the rights and liberties of the town of Boston, appointing the committee's members and clerk, and determining to keep a record of its proceedings.

Pledges to risk "our lives and fortunes" on behalf of King George were frequent (Buckingham, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Richmond, Surry, etc.), as were expressions of support for Boston (Accomack, Albemarle, Caroline, Culpeper, and many others). "Venal" or "evil" ministers in England were objected to (Dunmore and Essex, etc.). Acts of Parliament were condemned as "violating the most sacred and important rights of Americans" (Caroline), "repugnant" (Dunmore), "unjust, arbitrary, and unconstitutional" (Chesterfield), "tyrannical" (Essex), etc. Objection to taxation

without representation was a common theme (and explicitly Fairfax's sixth resolve). Many jurisdictions resolved not to import commodities (the non-importation policy) from Britain, with tea prominent among such items specifically mentioned. Almost all the jurisdictions concluded by electing delegates to the upcoming Virginia Convention and ordering that their resolves or actions be published.

Several jurisdictions concluded their meetings with hearty rounds of toasts to the King, his Queen, his family, reconciliation with Britain, sundry prominent personages, and, significantly, to American liberty. The freeholders of Westmoreland County managed twelve rounds of toasts, but were outdone by those of Princess Anne County, who stretched their toast making to sixteen rounds.

Sixty-five jurisdictions were represented in the House of Burgesses in 1774.[24] By August of that year, the records show that forty-one jurisdictions had definitely acted, four had probably acted, and among the remaining twenty others, some may have acted. Many of the men who played prominent roles during these summer 1774 meetings would subsequently become office-holders on their respective, later-formed county committees.

Taken collectively, the resolutions and instructions adopted by the jurisdictions during the summer of 1774 clearly reveal the hardening of Virginia opinion against British rule in the colony.

Actions of the Virginia Committees during the Winter of 1774–1775

The First Continental Congress formed an "Association" of all the colonies at its meeting in Philadelphia in October 1774 and recommended the election in each county and town of a committee to enforce the terms of the continental association. In November 1774, the formation of standing Virginia county committees began under the authority of, and following the recommendation of, that Congress.

The broad political situation in the winter of 1774–1775 was even more inimical to British rule than it had been in the summer of 1774. Subsequent to the actions of the forty jurisdictions listed in Table 1, the Continental Congress had acted, and Thomas Jefferson's influential pamphlet *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*,[25] which had been published in August, had become widely known in Virginia and elsewhere.

Table 2. Resolutions and Instructions Issued by County Freeholders 13 December 1774 – 27 March 1775*

Jurisdiction	Date of Meeting	Reference page(s)	Action taken
Amherst	<20 March 1775	336	Action presumed, delegates at convention
Augusta	22 Feb. 1775	298–300	Resolves: See Appendix C
Bedford	<20 March 1775	336	Action presumed, delegates at convention
Berkeley	<21 March 1775	336	Action presumed, delegates at convention
Botetourt	11 March 1775	324–325	Resolves: See Appendix D
Brunswick**	<25 March 1775	274–275	Tried a man for anti-Americanism
Charlotte	13 Jan. 1775	234	Only elected its committee
Cumberland**	10 March 1775	232	Encouraged manufactures
Fincastle	20 Jan. 1775	254–255	Resolves: See Appendix A
Goochland**	<11 Feb. 1775	285	Sold improperly imported goods
Hampshire	<27 March 1775	337	Action presumed, delegates at convention
Isle of Wight	13 Jan. 1775	235–236	Organized itself and planned meeting
King and Queen	9 Jan. 1775	227	Only organized itself
Louisa	<21 March 1775	337	Action presumed, delegates at convention
Northampton	13 Dec. 1774	243	Called for a committee to be organized
Pittsylvania	26 Jan. 1775	268–269	Organized and made resolves.
Southampton**	<9 March 1775	319–321	Committee met, action unknown
Sussex	<3 March 1775	311	Elected convention delegates
Williamsburg City	23 Dec. 1774	208	Only elected committee

* Summarized from *Revolutionary Virginia*, volume 2, pages 208–337.

** These four counties (and perhaps others listed above) had probably elected Committees during summer 1774, but evidence to that effect has not survived.

The symbol "<" means "occurred prior to."

Nineteen additional Virginia jurisdictions (Table 2) acted between 13 December 1774 (Northampton) and 27 March 1775 (Hampshire). The forty listed in Table 1, together with the nineteen listed in Table 2, make a total of fifty-nine of the colony's sixty-five jurisdictions that had acted. There is no surviving record of action by any of the remaining six. Chronologically, the Fincastle Resolutions ranked forty-sixth out of those fifty-nine. Collectively, with the sharp exception of Virginia's four western counties (Augusta, Botetourt, Fincastle, and Pittsylvania), the second wave of actions of the county committees and their published resolutions were far less impressive than the first. The committees of the four western counties published by far the most significant statements in support of American liberty. Each of these counties acknowledged the work of the Continental Congress, demonstrating that they knew they were now acting under a national mandate rather than just under a Virginia mandate, as had been the case during the first wave of resolutions.

As noted above, at least four of the counties listed in Table 2 had probably elected committees during summer 1774, but no records of those events remain. On the record, Brunswick tried the merchant Alexander Love and acquitted him of violating the County Association; Cumberland sought to encourage manufactures; Goochland reported a sale of improperly imported goods; and Southampton County left a fifty-page record (of which the first thirty-eight are missing). All four of these counties were likely jurisdictions whose actions in the summer of 1774 were omitted from the *Virginia Gazette* for lack of space.[26]

Six jurisdictions acted quite casually. Charlotte merely elected its committee. Isle of Wight County resolved to have a chairman and to have a meeting, but records of that meeting have not survived. King and Queen County simply elected a chairman, a substitute chairman, and a clerk but made no resolves. Northampton only called on the sheriff and "two other gentlemen" to become their committee but made no resolves. Southampton elected delegates and resolved to collect funds for "the suffering inhabitants of the town of Boston." Sussex solely elected delegates according to a report of a single line in the *Virginia Gazette*. Williamsburg City did no more than elect its committee.

Five counties (Amherst, Bedford, Berkeley, Hampshire, and Louisa) sent delegates to the second Virginia Convention (20–27 March 1775) but left no records of any meetings at which their delegates were selected.

The four westernmost counties took decisive steps. The first action among the four western counties came when the Fincastle committee adopted its resolutions on 20 January 1775 (see Appendix A). In the first line of its preamble the Fincastle committee told that it acted in "obedience" to the resolves of the Continental Congress, following the precedent that the Williamsburg committee had set a month earlier. After constituting itself, the committee wrote an "address" to the seven members of the Virginia delegation who had attended the Continental Congress, apologized to them for its lateness in acting due to Dunmore's War (discussed below), and thanked them profusely for their services. The committee then asserted its love of King George III and, with an echo of Jefferson's *Summary View*, spoke of the British "compact, law, and ancient charters." After complaining that the "hand of unlimited and unconstitutional power" had come to the Virginia mountains through a "venal British parliament," they resolved to live and die in defense of their "inestimable privileges." The Fincastle Resolutions can be characterized as a high-minded appeal to principle and legal precedent; they are noteworthy for not proposing specific remedies and for failing to mention Boston.

The Pittsylvania (see Figure 1) committee met on 26 January 1775,[27] perhaps at a tavern in Callands,[28] and chose a committee of thirty-two men "agreeable to the direction of the General Congress." After electing its chairman and clerk, the committee members determined to be resolute in defending their liberties and properties and, if required, to die on behalf of their "fellow sufferers," the Bostonians. They next raised money for the General Congress, drank "patriotick toasts," and ordered their proceedings published,[29] which they were on 11 February 1775 (see Appendix B).

The Augusta (see Figure 1) committee met on 22 February 1775[30] in Staunton. The account of its election of delegates and their instructions was published in Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette* on 16 March 1775 (see Appendix C). Its words were forceful. The committee elected two delegates, who were instructed to "comply with the recommendations of the late continental congress." The committee did not adopt formal resolves but, while expressing loyalty to King George and respect for the "parent state," pledged its members' "lives and fortunes" to preserve American rights in the face of ministers, parliaments, or "any body of men on earth" by whom they were not represented. The committee also "entirely" agreed with "the gentlemen of Fairfax county," in a nod to the Fairfax Resolves of July 1774. Like that

of Fincastle, the Augusta committee did not mention Boston, although they did propose specific actions, including that the colonies should institute domestic production of commodities such as salt and steel.

The Botetourt[31] (see Figure 1) committee published its instructions to its delegates in Hunter and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* on 11 March 1775[32] (see Appendix D). They were brief and forceful. They called the King's ministers "a set of miscreants," who had "cruelly and tyrannically invaded our rights," and said that to "the honest man of Boston," the "hunter on the Allegany" must offer support with his gun, tomahawk, and life. The committee offered "ardent" acknowledgments to Virginia's delegation at the late Continental Congress and concluded that should the measures contemplated by the Congress fail, then the men of Botetourt would "stand prepared for every Contingency."

The actions of the Fincastle committee should not (as they almost always have been) be viewed in isolation. Rather, they should be examined in relation to the actions of the committees of Augusta, Botetourt, and Pittsylvania (and of the officers at Fort Gower in November 1774, as described below). All four of these western counties acted late in the Resolution-making process, principally because of the involvement of their leaders and people in Dunmore's War, and together produced by far the most significant documents of the second wave. Each of the statements adopted by these four counties pledged (in varying language) that the men who adopted them would give their lives in the cause of American liberty.

The View from Fincastle County in 1774

In 1774 the future signers of the Resolutions were living in a frontier society that was little more than five years old. About 1750, early pioneers such as Stephen Holstein and Samuel Stalnaker reached the Holston River watershed in present-day Smyth County, with the latter engaging in Indian trade on behalf of James Patton. In 1760–61, William Byrd III, succeeded in August 1761 by Adam Stephen, commanded an army that eventually reached more than 1,000 men. This army marched as far as the Long Island of the Holston (at future Kingsport, Tennessee) where, in November 1761, Stephen concluded a treaty with the Cherokees. The traverse of this army is only slightly treated in the popular historical literature; however, it has been well described by academic historians.[33] During the two decades between 1750 and 1770 settlers moved into and back out of the region as Indian conflict waxed and waned. Settlement began in earnest in Southwest

Virginia, northwestern North Carolina, and the Northeast of the future Tennessee by about 1770.[34]

To briefly summarize the literature: Well-known traditional discussions of the 1774 view from Fincastle County include the books by Abernethy,[35] Sosin,[36] Tillson,[37] and Johnson,[38] along with articles by Isaac[39] and Crawford.[40] Major works of regional history that describe the early years during which Europeans entered the region include Summers,[41,42] F. B. Kegley,[43] Johnson,[44] and, most recently, M. B. Kegley.[45] Useful is Woody Holton's book (by an author with roots in Southwest Virginia) about the various and complex motivations for revolutionary fervor in Virginia.[46] Also useful is Greene's analysis of the origins of the Revolution in Virginia.[47]

The western Virginia frontier in 1774 was a complex social and political environment controlled by the two main forces of land-hunger and American Indian conflict — which were ineluctably entangled. The plight of the Bostonians and anger with British policies, except so far as they involved land, although readily acknowledged, were secondary issues for the frontiersmen in 1774. In addition to Indian conflict and institutionalized land acquisition, other issues on the frontier were individual land-grabbing and squatting, the local movement to set up independent governments, such as at Watauga,[48] competition for land grants among powerful groups, rivalry among the colonies for western land, English interests in western land, the oncoming Dunmore's War, and the incipient Tory movement. However, Tory sentiment in Southwest Virginia had not yet in 1774–1775 much manifested itself; it appeared quite strongly a few years later.[49]

As an illustration of the dominance of conventional land acquisition in the minds of Fincastle frontiersmen, consider the work of William Preston's surveyors John Floyd, Hancock Taylor, and James Douglas, who were busy in April–June 1774 making the first ever land surveys in the future state of Kentucky. Consequent to these surveys, six future Fincastle Resolutions signers took up Kentucky tracts: Arthur Campbell, William Christian, William Ingles, William Preston, William Russell, and Evan Shelby. Other prominent persons taking up Kentucky tracts at this same time included William Byrd III, William Fleming, Patrick Henry, and George Washington.[50] A recruiting circular published by William Preston of Smithfield Plantation on 20 July 1774 calling for men to fight Indians illustrates the role of Indian conflict in the western frontier and the attitude of the frontiersmen toward Indians:

> ... Lord Dunmore has called upon me to [raise] two Hundred & fifty Men ... in Defence of our Lives and Properties, which have been so long exposed to the Savages. ...[W]ithout all Doubt [success will] enable his Lordship to reward every Volunteer in a handsome manner, over and above his Pay; as the plunder of the County will be valluable, & it is said the Shawnese have a great Stock of Horses. ... This useless People may now at last be Obliged to abandon their Country Their Towns may be plundered & Burned, Their Cornfields Distroyed; & they Distressed in such a manner as will prevent them from giving us any future Trouble; Therefore I hope the men will Readily & cheerfully engage in the Expedition as They will not only be conducted by their own Officers but they will be Assisted by a great Number of Officers & Soldiers raised behind the Mountains whose Bravery they cannot be Doubtfull . ...The Eyes of this & the Neighbouring Colonies are upon us, The Governor of Virginia calls for us, Our County [Fincastle] is ready to pay, & support us; & all the [counties] behind the great Mountains are willing to Join in Assisting us. Our Cause is good; & theirfore we have the greatest Reason, to hope & expect that Heaven will bless us with Success in the Defence of ourselves, & families against a parcel of Murdering Savages.[51]

John Alden offers a counterbalance to William Preston's caustic views:

> ... the southern Indian was often temperamental and untrustworthy; occasionally he was dishonest and vicious. With all his faults, however, he compares favorably with the white man with whom he had most frequent contact, the outlaw, the ne'er-do-well, the rum seller, the squatter, and the land speculator. If he had the faults of the barbarian, he had his virtues also.[52]

Virginia Governor Dunmore considered the land-hunger of the Virginians to be insatiable:

> ... I have learnt from experience that the established Authority of any government in America, and the policy of Government at home, are both insufficient to restrain the Americans; and that they do and will remove as their avidity and restlessness incite them. They acquire no attachment to Place: But wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature; and it is a weakness incident to it, that they Should for ever immagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already Settled.[53]

Fincastle County and Dunmore's War

In 1774 the key event that occupied the months of July–November in western Virginia was the military campaign known to history as Dunmore's War.[54] It was a campaign by the colony of Virginia against the Indian tribes based in Ohio intended to neutralize permanently the depredations of those tribes along Virginia's western frontier. The War had profound consequences for the people of Fincastle County.

John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, Viscount Fincastle, and so on, was a Scot who had been appointed governor of Virginia in 1771 and who turned out to be the last British governor of the colony. He campaigned against the western Mingo and Shawnee Indians and personally led one of two wings of the Virginia army.[55] For his northern wing of the army, Dunmore collected men from the northern counties of western Virginia: Hampshire, Dunmore (later Shenandoah), Augusta, and West Augusta. For the southern wing of the army, Andrew Lewis collected men from Fincastle and Botetourt counties. By the end of September, Dunmore and 700 men had moved by canoes and flatboats down the Ohio to Fort Fincastle (modern Wheeling). There they joined men led by William Crawford and Adam Stephen, making a force of about 1,500 men. Meanwhile, having gathered 1,000 men at Camp Union at the Great Levels (present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia), Lewis left from there to advance up the Kanawha Valley to the Ohio River.

The southern wing of the army, under the command of Andrew Lewis, clashed first with the Indians at the confluence of the Kahawha and Ohio Rivers and bore the brunt of the fighting at the Battle of Point Pleasant on 10 October 1774. Both the frontiersmen and the Indians suffered heavy casualties in a hard fight that lasted all day. In the end, the Indians withdrew. After Lewis and his men had regrouped, both wings of the army advanced westward into modern-day central Ohio to threaten Indian towns, and on 20 October 1774 Dunmore and the chiefs concluded "The Terms of our Reconciliation," known afterward as the "Treaty of Camp Charlotte." The Indians gave Virginia hostages as part of the reconciliation, and we have been left with an interesting account of some of them.[56] As a consequence of the battle, Indian power in the Ohio country went into a steep decline.[57]

Historians have long speculated about Dunmore's motives for his war. Among them must have been the desire to secure Virginia from Indian

Figure 2. Blockhouses, such as the one re-created in Natural Tunnel State Park (near Duffield, Virginia) shown at right, were the last line of retreat for frontier settlers. At the far right, "Captain Joseph Martin, who is present with the militia forces from Martin's Station, and Captain Boone conduct a parlay with Atta Kul Kulla, Oconostota, and others." Taken by the author at the re-enactment "siege at the Wilderness Road Blockhouse," May, 2009.

attacks; his public and private land interests in the Ohio country; his wish to promote Virginia interests in the region over those of the rival colony of Pennsylvania; and, perhaps, he simply enjoyed the adventure of campaigning and wanted to get out of Williamsburg. Holton has argued[58] that land speculators provoked the war with the plan of forcing the Shawnee and Mingo Indians to cede title to Kentucky land to Virginians.

The signers of the Fincastle Resolutions were doubtless strongly influenced by their experiences during Dunmore's War. Six[59] of the fifteen signers participated directly in the war; all the others were engaged in the defense of their home regions of Fincastle County — a critically important role, as the absence of so many men of fighting age on a western campaign left the Fincastle people weakened and exposed to Indian attacks.[60]

The assessment of Robert L. Scribner captures the ironic operation of the law of unintended consequences in Dunmore's legacy to American history:

> Born under an unlucky star: at least insofar as his intentions deviated from the results of his deeds, the peer-governor of Virginia by the terms of his convention staunchly served the cause of American independence. He pro-

vided that in the spring of 1775 there should be concluded at Fort Pitt a treaty embracing all the tribes of the Ohio country. Thereby he assured peace on the frontiers. By that peace, which was to last for three years, he freed for employment elsewhere the rifles that helped tatter an Anglo-German army at Saratoga and, coupled with Washington's audacious attack at Germantown, brought France to play a decisive role in the war. And by temporarily stopping Indian incursions into Kentucky, he opened the lands there to a flood of white settlements that formed the base for operations against British control in the Old Northwest. These would not be His Lordship's last contributions to the American cause, but they would be his greatest; and although he would not have wished it, nor is it likely to occur, should there be a day in which space is provided in Independence Hall for portraits of stepfathers of the republic, his should be most conspicuously mounted.[61]

The Fort Gower Resolves

In almost the final act of Dunmore's War, the Governor's officers composed a revolutionary statement (called Dunmore's Officers' or the Fort Gower Resolves) that served as a precursor to the Fincastle Resolutions.

After Dunmore had concluded the Camp Charlotte treaty, he and much of the army moved back to the Ohio River to a rude log blockhouse called Fort Gower, located at the confluence of Hockhocking Creek and the Ohio (about 12 miles SW of present-day Parkersburg, West Virginia). Fort Gower was constructed across the Ohio from land owned by George Washington,[62] and Dunmore and the troops probably reached there by about the third or fourth day of November.

The Fort Gower document (reproduced in Appendix E) consists of a preamble and two resolves drawn up at that place on 5 November 1774 at a "Meeting of the Officers under the Command of his Excellency the Right Honourable the EARL of DUNMORE," and "for the Purpose of considering the Grievances of BRITISH AMERICA." The only signature on the document was that of the clerk, Benjamin Ashby. No hand-written copy is known to exist, and our primary source is the version published on 22 December 1774 in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*.[63] After expressing the *de rigeur* loyalty to the king, the first resolve states "... we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American Lib-

erty." In the second resolve the officers praise their field commander, Lord Dunmore. The preamble remarks that the officers previously lacked news from Boston or Philadelphia, asserts that the army can "shoot with any in the known world," and that it will use that ability "to maintain and defend [America's] just Rights and Privileges" and for "the Honour and Advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular."

After being four weeks in the field and away from communication with the coast, the men of Dunmore's army were no doubt thirsting for information about current events. We have on the authority of Daniel Morgan that the army heard about the actions of the Continental Congress when it got back to Fort Gower and before it adopted its Resolves. Morgan said:

> After we had beat [the Indians] and reduced them to order and were on our way home, we heard, at the mouth of the Hocking, on the Ohio, that hostilities were offered to our brethren, the people of Boston. We as an army immediately formed ourselves into a society, pledging our honors to assist the Bostonians, in case of a serious breach, which did take place on the 19th of the following April at Lexington.[64]

Despite the obvious connections between the Fort Gower Resolves and the Fincastle Resolutions (they were adopted only 10 weeks apart and by some of the same men), they have rarely been linked by historians. Margaret Campbell Pilcher compared excerpts from the two documents in 1895,[65] and Agnes Graham Sanders Riley discussed them in consecutive paragraphs in 1985 in a biographical article about William Campbell.[66]

Who were the officers present at the adoption of the Fort Gower Resolves? In the most useful discussion of the Resolves, John Robbins[67] tells that some of the officers present at Fort Gower were: George Rogers Clark, Daniel Morgan, Michael Cresap, Ebenezer Zane, William Russell, William Harrod, Simon Kenton, and Simon Girty — a group of men whose names would become very familiar during the next seven years of the Revolution. Robbins tells further that the Resolves were published in at least five colonies, and that it was Angus McDonald who took a copy of the Resolves to Williamsburg for publication (on 22 December 1774). In addition to their American publication, the Resolves were read in the House of Lords in London by the Marquis of Rockingham during a parliamentary debate in March 1775, only four months after their adoption on the Ohio frontier.[68]

The available records do not make it clear which of the Fincastle signers were present at Fort Gower on 5 November to concur in those Resolves. We know William Christian was not there because he left for William Preston's Smithfield Plantation around 1 November, and was there on 8 November.[69] William Russell, on the other hand, was present, as he says so in a letter to William Preston.[70] In a postscript to the same letter Russell tells Preston: "N. B. I have Inclosed for your satisfaction, an Address of the Officers with my Ld. considering the greivances of British America, which I shall be glad you wood send to Colo. Christian." Thus the Fincastle signers Russell, Preston, and Christian surely knew of the Fort Gower Resolves. Lyman Draper[71] and Agnes Graham Sanders Riley[72] propose that William Campbell was actually present. Walter Crockett, William Ingles, and Evan Shelby also could have been present at Fort Gower on 5 November as no known evidence places them elsewhere on that date.

Probably Colonel Adam Stephen, Dunmore's second-in-command of the northern wing of the Virginia army, was the principal author and promoter of the Fort Gower Resolves. Stephen was an officer with a demonstrated record of favoring American rebellion, and he maintained a correspondence with Richard Henry Lee of Westmoreland County. Near the start of Dunmore's campaign, on 27 August 1774, Stephen wrote to Lee, who was soon to depart for Philadelphia to attend the Continental Congress, saying

> The fate of America depends on your meeting, and the eyes of the European world hang upon you, waiting the event. ... I expect that ... matters will come to extremity. It appears to me, that [the British] intend to irritate America into rebellion, and then govern us like a conquered people."[73]

Stephen wrote again in a similar vein to Lee in February 1775. Stephen's biographer, Harry Ward, is a proponent of Stephen's authorship of the Fort Gower Resolves and argues that the language and phrasing of the Resolves implicate Stephen.[74] Ward also points out that before adopting their Resolves, the officers had undoubtedly learned of the Continental Congress's actions, particularly its adoption of the Suffolk Resolves and its "Declaration and Resolves," published in Philadelphia on 14 October 1774.

Why are Dunmore's War and the Fort Gower Resolves not better known in American and Virginia history? The best answer to that question has been provided by Warren Hofstra, who wrote: "Events at Point

Pleasant, Camp Charlotte, and Fort Pitt were soon overshadowed by the American Revolution and largely lost to the larger narrative of American history."[75]

Incidentally, concerning the frontiersmen practiced and skilled at using rifles who were at Fort Gower, John Robbins says trenchantly that compared with men using inefficient, British-issued, Brown Bess muskets, "... the frontier riflemen and their leaders would stand and fight just as quickly and much more lethally than their brethren, the Minutemen in Massachusetts." This point was exceedingly well demonstrated by the men of Fincastle County seven years later in 1781 at the Battle of King's Mountain.

December 1774

The Fincastle Resolutions were probably drafted in December 1774. It was likely not much earlier because several of the signers were still on their way back from participating in Dunmore's War, and it could not have been much later because they were adopted on 20 January 1775.

The known documentary record does not tell if any of the signers were in eastern Virginia between the end of Dunmore's War and the adoption of the Fincastle Resolutions. However, several of the signers had family connections to Patrick Henry. For example, toward the War's end, signer Christian's wife (Henry's sister) had traveled east for her safety and was living at her brother's home in Scotchtown, in Hanover County. While she was there, in late October 1774, her brother returned home from an absence of seven weeks in Philadelphia, where he had been attending the first Continental Congress.[76]

In 1767 William Christian, then about twenty-five years old, had traveled east from his family home near Staunton in Augusta County to Hanover County to study law with Patrick Henry.[77] By January 1768, Christian had been "making addresses" to Patrick Henry's sister Anne, as her father said in a letter to Israel, Christian's father.[78] The couple married sometime in the spring of 1768. Around that time, Patrick Henry's father-in-law, John Shelton, was threatened with bankruptcy. In consequence, Henry first made Shelton large cash advances and later acquired an interest in Shelton's land on Moccasin Creek in the Clinch River watershed and other tracts on the Holston River.[79]

In a search for Shelton's tracts in which he had an interest,[80] Patrick Henry traveled through southwestern Virginia in 1768,[81] where it was said Henry gained a deep personal knowledge of the region and came to ap-

preciate its importance for the future expansion of Virginia. He apparently traversed the entire length of Southwest Virginia as far as modern-day Bristol on the Virginia-Tennessee state line. Along with him on this land inspection tour went his brother William Henry and his law student William Christian, who was by then probably already Henry's brother-in-law.[82]

Around 1770, signer Thomas Madison, an Augusta County resident in 1769 who became a Botetourt County resident in 1770 when that county was formed, married Patrick Henry's youngest sister Susanna. Documentary evidence about Madison is sparse. Only a sketch of him seems to be extant. It is certain, however, that he was elected to the vestry of Augusta County in 1769[83] and admitted to practice law in Botetourt County in 1770.[84]

Patrick Henry is clearly a prominent candidate to have influenced the Fincastle signers. He had significant present and future family connections with four of the signers. Here's what Patrick Henry's biographer Robert Douthat Meade has to say in general about leaders of revolutions and in particular about Henry's brothers-in-law:

> Throughout history revolutions have usually been the work of determined minorities. Rarely has the leadership come from the lowest class. There is no more formidable organizer of revolution than an aristocrat, or at least a man of the middle class with some education and the character to help him cling to a principle; witness Julius Caesar or Oliver Cromwell, and now Patrick Henry. On his secluded plantation during that winter of 1774–1775, almost crushed by family troubles, Henry could not then carry the ball of revolution as did Samuel and John Adams. Nor was the British yoke felt as heavily in Virginia; in Massachusetts, not only was the chief port of Boston closed but the city was garrisoned and other liberties were suspended. Yet early in the new year there were signs that Henry's political principles were still spreading through receptive associates, especially friends and relatives, and that they were contributing to the mounting reaction against the ministerial policy.
>
> After the concrete action of the First Continental Congress, early that fall, a flock of other resolutions was passed in various Virginia counties and Whig sentiments were bandied about through publication in the *Virginia Gazettes* and by word of mouth. At a meeting in distant Southwest Virginia of the Fincastle freeholders on January 20, 1775, Henry's brother-in-law, Colonel William Christian, was elected chairman of the committee to see that the boycott of British goods was properly executed. Other committee

> members whom Henry must have influenced, directly or indirectly, included another of his brothers-in-law, Captain Thomas Madison, and his future brother-in-law, young Captain William Russell ....[85]

We amplify Meade's above list of brothers-in-law by pointing out that William Campbell of Fincastle was the first husband of Elizabeth Henry and that he would marry her in April 1776.[86] William Russell would become her second husband only after Campbell's death in 1781.

As we have seen, William Christian, returning from Dunmore's War, was at Smithfield Plantation on 8 November 1774. However, his wife Anne, to escape the potential dangers of an exposed frontier, had earlier fled east from the Christian family home at Mahanaim[87] (at Dunkard's Bottom in present-day Pulaski County[88]) to her brother Patrick Henry's home, in Hanover County. Clear proof of Anne Christian's presence at her brother's home comes from a letter so-stating written by her sister-in-law[89] and from two letters she herself wrote.[90] Quite likely, William Christian traveled to Scotchtown in October or November in 1774 to see his wife, whom he had not seen since his departure several months earlier on Dunmore's campaign. If so, Christian surely would have discussed the political affairs of America with the newly-returned-from-Philadelphia Patrick Henry. It is also conceivable that around this time Henry had contact with other signers. For example, we know nothing about the whereabouts or movements at this time of Thomas Madison. However, as Henry's brother-in-law, he probably would have been in regular contact with Henry.

William Christian's Ride

Whether or not he was in eastern Virginia before Christmas of 1774, William Christian was definitely there immediately after the Fincastle Resolutions had been signed, and his journey to Williamsburg has been philatelically immortalized (Figure 3). Surely the Fincastle committee is the only one whose activities have been so honored, despite the fact that we don't actually know whether he rode or walked.

About Christian's ride, Robert Douthat Meade wrote that:

> Henry's beloved brother-in-law, Colonel Christian, is known to have been in Williamsburg just before the Fincastle Resolutions were published on 10 February 1775, in Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*. He probably brought them on the long trip to the low country. Since Christian was a delegate to the [second] Virginia Convention the next month, there is strong reason to believe

Figure 3. William Christian's antecedents came from the Isle of Man. Shown at the right is the "Carrying the Fincastle Resolutions" stamp. Isle of Man Post Office Authority. American Revolution Bicentennial 1776–1976: Commemorating Col. William Christian 1976; Date of Issue — 12 March 1976. Printed by Waddingtons Security Print Ltd. The stamp carries the legend: "William Christian carrying the Fincastle Resolutions to Williamsburg." It depicts a mounted, galloping horseman over a shadowed copy of the *Virginia Gazette* against a backdrop of mountains. In addition to "our" William Christian, the other well-known Christian from the Isle of Man is Fletcher, the mutineer of H.M.S. Bounty. Used with permission.

> that at Scotchtown or elsewhere he talked over with Henry the ominous political events. ... Outside the family circle, Henry had few intimates, and there was no group of men who would offer him more staunch advice — or be more receptive to his daring plans — than his frontier kinsmen.[91]

About the Signers of the Fincastle Resolutions

Table 3 summarizes key information about the signers and links to footnotes that list biographical sources. In connection with the 200th anniversary celebration of the Fincastle Resolutions, Mary Kegley wrote a short collective sketch of the signers.[92] Her sketch was written against a tight deadline and was published without citations. That omission is in part corrected here, as many of her carefully researched studies of individual signers are cited in the footnotes that accompany Table 3.

Several of the signers occupy significant places in Virginia and American history. William Preston played a crucial role in the surveying and development of western lands, exerted great influence in eighteenth century colonial affairs, supervised a large plantation, and founded a dynasty whose progeny would supply leaders for the South for a century or more. William

Table 3. Brief Sketches of the Fifteen Signers Footnoted with Biographical Citations

Arthur Campbell[93]	1743–1811. Born in Augusta County of Scots-Irish descent. For three years an Indian captive during the French and Indian War. He moved to Southwest Virginia circa 1768. Aged about 32 when he signed. Later Lieutenant Colonel of Washington County militia, justice of the peace, and member of the House of Delegates. Campaigned against the Cherokees. Land magnate. Later active in the movement to form the State of Franklin.
William Campbell[94]	1745–1781. Born in Augusta County of Scots-Irish descent. Moved to Aspenvale about 1769. Aged about 30 when he signed. Inherited the Salt Works from his father. He married Elizabeth Henry, the sister of Patrick Henry, in Henrico Parish on 2 April 1776. He was a justice of the peace in Fincastle and Washington counties. Aggressive opponent of Tories. He was at the Battle of Point Pleasant. Later he became known as the "Hero of King's Mountain," where he commanded the overmountain army.
William Christian[95]	1743–1786. Born near Staunton in Augusta County of Manx descent. Moved to Dunkard's Bottom about 1772. Aged about 32 when he signed. Married Anne Henry about 1768. Commanded the Fincastle men at the Battle of Point Pleasant. Member of the House of Burgesses. Land magnate. Later he was Colonel of the First Virginia regiment. Campaigned against the Cherokees in 1776. Moved to Kentucky in 1784 and was killed by Indians in 1786. It is often said, probably wrongly, that the town of Christiansburg, Virginia is named after him.[96]
Walter Crockett[97]	Circa 1735–1811. Birthplace uncertain, perhaps the future Augusta County. His father was born in County Donegal. Moved to Southwest Virginia about 1768? Aged about 40 when he signed. Served in Dunmore's War. Served as a justice of the peace successively for Augusta, Bo tetourt, and Fincastle counties. A Captain of militia in Fincastle County. Later became the first Clerk of Court of Wythe County. Built a mill. Delegate to the 1778 Virginia Convention. Served four terms in the Virginia General As sembly.
Charles Cummings[98]	1746–1818. Born in County Donegal. Moved from Augusta to the Holston in 1772. Aged about 29 when he signed. Presbyterian minister. Licensed to preach at the age of 19 the same year he married Millicent Carter. Called to the congregations of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring on the Middle Fork Holston on 2 June 1772.

Table 3, Brief Sketches..., continued

William Edmondson[99]	1734–1822. Born in Maryland of Irish descent (possibly Huguenot). He moved first to Rockbridge County and then to Lodi on the Holston Middle Fork in the 1770s. Aged about 41 when he signed. Lieutenant Colonel of the Fincastle Militia. Served in Dunmore's War. Fought at King's Mountain. Was for many years a sheriff.
William Ingles[100]	1729–1782. Father born in Ireland. Place of birth unknown. Moved to Stroubles Creek circa 1753. Established Ingles' ferry in modern-day Radford about 1762. About age 46 when he signed. Married Mary Draper the Indian captive. At the Battle of Point Pleasant. Served as a justice of the peace for Augusta, Botetourt, Fincastle, and Montgomery counties. Owned many thousands of acres of land across a wide region stretching to western Kentucky.
Thomas Madison [101]	1746–1798. Born in Augusta County. Moved to Southwest Virginia about 1773. Aged about 29 when he signed. Married about 1770 Susanna Henry, sister of Patrick. Admitted to practice law in Botetourt County in 1770 and in Fincastle County in 1774. Associated with the Madison Lead Mines Company. A Thomas Madison lived in Saltville in the late 1770s but it is not clear if this was the same man.
James McGavock[102]	1728–1812. Born in County Antrim. Had land surveyed near modern Roanoke in 1754 and moved to Fort Chiswell in the 1770s where he ran an ordinary, mill, and trading post. Aged about 47 when he signed. Served during Dunmore's War but did not go on the western campaign. Was a justice of the peace in Botetourt, Fincastle, Montgomery, and Wythe counties. Operated a tavern at Fort Chiswell.
John Montgomery[103]	1717–1802. Born in County Donegal. Moved to Reed Creek in present Wythe County, possibly as early as 1756. Served as a captain during the French and Indian War. Aged about 58 when he signed. Served during Dunmore's War but did not go on the western campaign. He was a justice of the peace in Botetourt, Fincastle, and Montgomery counties. Later he served a term in the Virginia General Assembly and was sheriff of Montgomery County.
William Preston[104]	1729–1783. Born in County Donegal, crossed the Atlantic at the age of nine with his uncle, James Patton. Married Susanna Smith in 1761. Moved from Staunton to Greenfield about 1763 and to Smithfield about 1774. Aged about 46 when he signed. Owner of the Smithfield Plantation. A major figure in Virginia history. Involved in land deals with leading eastern Virginians. Surveyor, member of the House of Burgesses, Colonel of militia, holder of many high offices. Land magnate. A prolific correspondent who left a voluminous documentary record.

Table 3, Brief Sketches..., continued

William Russell[105]	1735–1792. Father born in England. He was born in modern Culpeper County. Moved to the Clinch River settlements about 1770. Became a justice of the peace when Fincastle County was organized. Aged about 40 when he signed. He was at the Battle of Point Pleasant and at Fort Gower. Second husband of Elizabeth Henry.
Evan Shelby[106]	1720–1794. Born in Wales. Served as a scout during the Braddock campaign in 1758. Moved to Bristol about 1771. Aged about 55 when he signed. He was a merchant, farmer, and cattle raiser. He was at the Battle of Point Pleasant. His son Isaac became governor of Kentucky.
Daniel Smith[107]	1748–1818. Born in Stafford County. Moved to Southwest Virginia about 1770. He conducted early surveys on the Holston watershed. Aged about 27 when he signed. He was a Captain of Militia in Fincastle County. He defended the Clinch Settlements with Daniel Boone during Dunmore's War. He moved to the Cumberland settlements after the war. Later U.S. senator from Tennessee.
Stephen Trigg[108]	1742–1782. Born in Bedford County. Moved to Dunkard's Bottom about 1770. Aged about 33 when he signed. Became a merchant at New Dublin. Married William Christian's sister Mary and was associated with his father-in-law (Israel) in business. He was a Captain of Militia in Fincastle County and served as a justice of the peace for Augusta and Botetourt counties. He moved to Kentucky in 1777 and was killed at the Battle of Blue Licks.

Campbell's military role at the Battle of King's Mountain immortalized him, and it is at least arguable that without that victory the Revolution would have failed. The roles of Daniel Smith and William Christian are also noteworthy.

As cited in the endnotes to Table 3, three of the signers – A. Campbell, Preston, and Smith – have been the subjects of full-scale biographies. Russell and McGavock have been the subjects of genealogical biographies. Christian and Russell have been the subjects of master's theses. Thus, extended works have been published about six of the fifteen. Most of the signers were either immigrants or first-generation Americans. Four (Cummings, McGavock, Montgomery, and Preston) were born in Northern Ireland. One (Shelby) was born in Wales. Two or three (A. Campbell and W. Campbell, and possibly Crockett) were born in Augusta County to Scots-Irish parents. Ingles also seems to have been of Scots-Irish descent.

Four (Madison, Russell, Smith, and Trigg) were possibly of English stock. Christian was of Manx descent. Edmondson has been variously said to have been of Scots-Irish or Huguenot descent.

All were active in military affairs, most as officers, some as suppliers and provisioners of the forces; even Cummings was the "fighting parson." Their military prowess was honed in the ghastly arena of Indian fighting and for many of them it provided an intensely personal experience. Even those who did not go out and campaign actively against the American Indians spent much energy defending their homes, lives, and families against Indian attack.[109] As a teenager, Arthur Campbell was held for three years as an Indian captive in Detroit. William Russell suffered the loss of his son Henry to an unspeakable fate when his son and Daniel Boone's son (James) were tortured to death and buried in a common grave near Wallens Ridge, Virginia, in October 1773 while on an early venture into the Kentucky country.

All of the signers owned some land; most owned a lot of land and were involved in land speculation. Christian and Preston were first-rank land speculators. As a group, the signers formed the political core of the region, and they served Fincastle and its predecessor and derivative counties as justices, sheriffs, delegates, elected officials, militia officers, clerks, treasures, surveyors, and in other public positions of authority. They were newly made men in a newly made region and they acquitted themselves well.

Where Were the Fincastle Resolutions Promulgated?

The much-reported tradition (in dozens of secondary sources and scores of newspaper articles) that the Fincastle Resolutions were adopted at the Lead Mines is probably wrong. In the grand scheme of history, it is a small point as to where the adoption of the Fincastle Resolutions occurred. However, the point is an interesting one, and one which tells that this widely accepted local tradition of Southwest Virginia history does not pass the test of careful historical analysis. Credit is due to two earlier historians of Southwest Virginia who questioned the conventional wisdom: T. L. Preston[110] and P. G. Johnson,[111] both of whom wrote that the Fincastle Resolutions were adopted at Fort Chiswell[112] and not at the Lead Mines. A comprehensive reading of the available documentary evidence, and consideration of the geographic realities, together make it highly likely that the

Resolutions were actually signed ten miles distant from the Lead Mines at James McGavock's ordinary at Fort Chiswell.

In a display of political favoritism in late 1772, Governor Dunmore ordered that the court house for the newly-formed Fincastle County be placed at the Lead Mines on land owned by William Byrd III.[113] This decision was immediately challenged on 6 January 1773, at the first session of the county court, by William Preston and others who recommended to the governor that the court house be moved to Crockett and McCaul's land on the Great Road about ten miles west of Fort Chiswell, and just east of the present town of Wytheville, because it "lies on the Great Road that passes thro the County" and "it is well watered Timbered & Levell" and "it is much more Centrical than the Mines."[114] Preston continued his challenge in letters to William Byrd himself,[115] and to Edmund Pendleton, a leading figure in the Virginia Association.[116] In June 1774 Pendleton replied to Preston expressing sympathy for moving the court house, and telling Preston that he (Pendleton) would approach William Byrd III about such a move.[117]

Though composed of many of the same men as were officers of the county court, the Fincastle committee was not a court and certainly had no obligation to meet at the court house. The inconvenience of the Lead Mines as a meeting place (the mines were ten miles distant from the principal travel-way through the region: the Great Road) had been known for more than ten years. In consequence, James McGavock, who lived in the Fort Chiswell complex and became agent[118] for the fort probably as early as 1760, had "...made of his house a headquarters where committees and officials could congregate to transact their business."[119]

There is no extant record of where the Fincastle committee met when it adopted its resolutions on 20 January 1775. However, documents in the State Library of Virginia, reproduced and published by Harwell[120] in 1956, do tell exactly where the Fincastle committee met on several subsequent occasions. It met at Mr. James McGavock's (at Fort Chiswell) on 8 November 1775, and again there on 27 November 1775, and again there on 23 February 1776. On 4 April 1776 it met at New Dublin in present-day Pulaski County and at Fort Chiswell on 11 June 1776. There is in point of fact not one documentary record of the committee ever meeting at the Lead Mines, despite hundreds of later statements to that effect.

The closest documentary evidence to being a smoking gun is Draper manuscript 7ZZ6 reproduced in *Revolutionary Virginia*, volume 2, page 193. It is dated Fincastle County, 18 February 1775, signed by William Christian and Stephen Trigg, and reads:

> Whereas Delegates from each County & Corporation are to meet at Richmond Town near the falls of James River, on Monday the 20th. day of March to Represent them in Convention. Therefore the Freeholders of this County are requested to meet at Mr. McGavocks on Tuesday the Seventh day of March in order to Elect Two persons for that purpose.

So four weeks after the adoption of the Fincastle Resolutions we know that the committee that adopted those resolutions was called to meet at James McGavock's ordinary.

Today, the principal road that passes through the Wythe County remnant of Fincastle County is Interstate Highway 81, and the geographic reality is that a trip from the site of Fort Chiswell to the Lead Mines requires a 10-mile journey southward over country roads. Today, as in 1775, the need to sidetrack off the main route to get to the Lead Mines is identical.

To get to the Lead Mines from their homes (Figure 4), the signers[121] would have traveled the Great Road and thus would have naturally

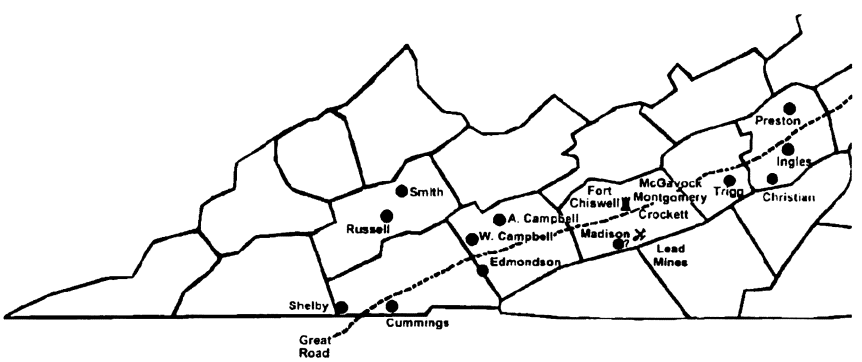

Figure 4. The homes of the signers in 1774–1775. Also shown are Fort Chiswell, the Lead Mines, and the Great Road, the principal travel route through the region. All the positions are approximate and shown against the outlines of the modern counties. Fourteen of the signers are at about the correct sites. Lacking direct evidence, the shown location of Thomas Madison is speculative.

congregated at McGavock's at Fort Chiswell. It is illogical that they would together travel as a party an additional ten miles to hold a meeting when they were already together at a congenial place, with good bread and whiskey as reported by a traveler who was there in March 1775,[122] and a place that had, as noted above, been designed to accommodate precisely such meetings.

Although not absolutely provable, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the Fincastle Resolutions were signed at McGavock's ordinary.

Who Wrote the Fincastle Resolutions?

Many writers have indulged themselves in speculating about who wrote the Fincastle Resolutions, but the fact is we do not know. They likely were not the work of a single individual. Their significance is that they reveal the collective view of many men on the frontier at an important moment in American history. As John Adams famously wrote in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, "The revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years, before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington."[123] The Fincastle Resolutions are surely an apt example of that revolution-in-the-mind at work.

"Tradition"[124] says that Reverend Cummings wrote them. Ira Redmond Roop posited[125] that committee clerk David Campbell and William Christian had the major roles. Patricia Givens Johnson observed that it is possible that William Preston, aided by the Smithfield schoolmaster Aaron Palfrenen, composed them.[126] T. L. Preston,[127] L. P. Summers,[128] and Mary Kegley (personal communication) hold the position that any one of the signers was sufficiently literate and intelligent to have been the author. The only thing perhaps to be added is that the writing of the resolutions was possibly influenced by one of Lord Dunmore's officers or by Patrick Henry or someone in his immediate circle.

If the subject of authorship were to be investigated, and such an investigation is hardly necessary, we should perhaps look to some scholar of textual analysis to make a detailed comparison of the language in the texts in the appendices here and other comparable documents from the period, such as the Fairfax Resolves.

Summary and Conclusions

In response to the Virginia Association's call that the men planning to attend might collect the "sense of their respective counties" in advance of

the convention to be held eight weeks later, forty Virginia jurisdictions held meetings between June–July 1774 and most adopted resolutions. Nineteen more, now responding to the authority of the Continental Congress, acted between December 1774 and March 1775, formed committees and, in the case of the western counties, made resolutions. Chronologically, the Fincastle committee acted forty-sixth of fifty-nine jurisdictions.

While thoughts of overturning British rule in the colony had surely occurred to the men of Western Virginia in 1774, they were far more occupied with fighting Indians, trying to acquire western land, and opening the future state of Kentucky for settlement. Making the statement of the Fincastle Resolutions was important to them, but it was only one of the important matters that claimed their attention.

The Fincastle Resolutions should be considered in relation to the Augusta, Botetourt, and Pittsylvania resolves. All four western counties acted late in the process because of the involvement of their leaders and people in Dunmore's War, but when they acted they produced by far the most important documents of the second wave of committee actions. The men of all four counties resolved that they would give their lives for American independence. All the counties acknowledged they formed their committees in response to the call of the First Continental Congress held in Philadelphia in October 1774.

The actions of the western committees should be placed in the context of the Fort Gower Resolves which concluded Dunmore's War. Many members of the Fincastle committee, and of the committees of the other western counties, knew about those Resolves. Several Fincastle committee members were likely present and assented to them when those Resolves were adopted.

Strictly speaking, the Fincastle Resolutions are not actually resolutions. As published, the record of the Fincastle committee is in the form of an address to Virginia's representatives to the Continental Congress. Where the terms *resolves* or *resolutions* are used, they refer to the work of the Congress, except at the very end where the Fincastle freeholders say that in the cause of liberty and loyalty "we are resolved to live and die."

No proof exists that the Fincastle resolutions were ever actually signed. They were adopted at James McGavock's ordinary at Fort Chiswell and not as tradition says at the Lead Mines.

Future Work

As ever in historical research, we seek more primary documents and to analyze the existing primary documents more comprehensively. For example, there are a least three extant letters written by William Preston[129] in late January 1775 that notably speak about land acquisitions and uniformly fail to mention the Fincastle Resolutions adopted just a few days earlier. More biographical work on the signers is desirable, especially on the less well-known signers, such as Thomas Madison, who remains something of an enigma. Possibly valuable, and certainly interesting, would be a detailed textual analysis of the resolutions comparing phrases within them with phrases in other documents — a study of this kind might shed light on the author of the Resolutions. Likewise, a comparative textual analysis of the writings of the signers might provide some hints about possible authorship.

Acknowledgments

Hugh Campbell suggested that the time was ripe for a scholarly examination of the Fincastle Resolutions. Mary Kegley read and commented on many portions of this work as it developed and on the first draft, and generously supported the efforts of the author. Brent Tarter commented on the first and second drafts; the mistakes and errors that remain are solely the responsibility of the author. John Robbins provided useful discussions. Christy Mackie and Wesley J. Campbell commented on the second draft. Cathy Carlson Reynolds transcribed the Edmund Pendleton to William Preston letter and also commented on the second draft. Several anonymous referees provided constructive criticisms that helped to improve the arguments made here. The staff of the Interlibrary Loan Office at Newman Library were, as always, supportive as were the staff of Newman Library Special Collections. Mr. Paul Ford of the Isle of Man postal authority granted permission to reproduce the William Christian stamp. Deena Flinchum gave strong and continuing support.

Appendix A[130]

The Fincastle Resolutions[131]

WILLIAMSBURG, February 10.

Fincastle, Jan. 20, 1775.

In obedience to the resolves of the Continental Congress, a meeting of the freeholders of this county was held this day, who, after approving of the association framed by that august body in behalf of all the colonies, and subscribing thereto, proceeded to the election of a committee, to see the same carried punctually into execution, when the following Gentlemen were nominated: Reverend Charles Cummings, Colonel William Preston, Colonel William Christian, Captain Stephen Trigg, Major Arthur Campbell, Major William Inglis, Captain Walter Crockett, Captain John Montgomery, Captain James McGavock, Captain William Campbell, Captain Thomas Madison, Captain Daniel Smith, Captain William Russell, Captain Evan Shelby and Lieutenant William Edmondson.

After the election the committee made choice of Colonel WILLIAM CHRISTIAN for their chairman, and appointed Mr. David Campbell to be clerk.

The following address was then unanimously agreed to by the people of the county, and is as follows.

To the Honorable Peyton Randolph, Esq; Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, junior, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, Esquires, the Delegates from this colony who attended the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia:

Gentlemen,

Had it not been for our remote situation, and the Indian war which we were lately engaged in, to chastise those cruel and savage people for the many murders and depredations they have committed against us (now happily terminated, under the auspices of our present worthy Governour, his Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Dunmore) we should before this time have made known to you our thankfulness for the very important services you have rendered to your country, in conjunction with the worthy Delegates from the other provinces. Your noble efforts for reconciling the Mother Country and the Colonies, on rational and constitutional principles, and your pacifick, steady, and uniform conduct in that arduous work, entitle you to the esteem of all British America, and will immortalize

you in the annals of your country. We heartily concur in your resolutions, and shall, in every instance, strictly and invariably adhere thereto.

We assure you, Gentlemen, and all our countrymen, that we are a people whose hearts overflow with love and duty to our lawful sovereign George III. whose illustrious house, for several successive reigns, have been the guardians of the civil and religious rights and liberties of British subjects, as settled at the glorious Revolution; that we are willing to risk our lives in the service of his Majesty, for the support of the Protestant religion, and the rights and liberties of his subjects, as they have been established by the compact, law, and ancient charters.

We are heartily grieved at the differences which now subsist between the parent state and the colonies, and most ardently wish to see harmony restored, on an equitable basis, and by the most lenient measures that can be devised by the heart of man.

Many of us, and our forefathers, left our native land, considering it as a kingdom subjected to inordinate power, and greatly abridged of its liberties. We crossed the Atlantick, and explored this then uncultivated wilderness, bordering on many nations of savages, and surrounded by mountains almost inaccessible to any but those very savages, who have incessantly been committing barbarities and depredations on us since our first seating the country. These fatigue and dangers we patiently encountered, supported by the pleasing hope of enjoying those rights and liberties which had been granted to Virginians and were denied us in our native country, and of transmitting them inviolate to our posterity. But even to these remote regions the hand of unlimited and unconstitutional power hath pursued us, to strip us of that liberty and property with which God, nature, and the rights of humanity, have vested us. We are ready and willing to contribute all in our power for the support of his Majesty's government, if applied to constitutionally, and when the grants are made by our own representatives; but cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to the power of a venal British parliament, or to the will of a corrupt Ministry.

We by no means desire to shake off our duty or allegiance to our lawful sovereign, but on the contrary shall ever glory in being loyal subjects of a Protestant prince, descended from such illustrious progenitors, so long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our religion, as Protestants, and our liberties and properties, as British subjects.

But if no pacifick measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies will attempt to dragoon us out of these inestimable privileges which we are entitled to as subjects, and to reduce us to a state of slavery, we declare, that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth, but at the expense of our lives.

These are our real, though unpolished sentiments, of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die.

We are, Gentlemen, with the most perfect esteem and regard, your most obedient servants.

Appendix B

The Pittsylvania Resolves[132]

THE freeholders of the county of Pittsylvania, being duly summoned, convened at the courthouse of the said county, on Thursday the 26th of January, 1775, and then proceeded to make the choice of a committee, agreeable to the direction of the General Congress, for enforcing and putting into execution the association, when the following Gentlemen were chosen members for the same, VIZ.

Abraham Shelton, Robert Williams, Thomas Dilliard, William Todd, Abraham Penn, Peter Perkins, Benjamin Lankford, Thomas Terry, Arthur Hopkins, Hugh Challus, Charles L. Adams, James Walker, William Peters Martin, Daniel Shelton, William Ward, Edmund Taylor, Isaac Clements, Gabriel Shelton, Peter Wilson, William Short, Henry Conway, John Payne, sen. Joseph Roberts, William Witcher, Henry Williams, John Salmon, Rev. Lewis Gwillam, Richard Walden, Peter Saunders, John Wilson, and Crispin Shelton.

The committee then proceeded to make choice of Robert Williams for their Chairman, and William Peters Martin their Clerk.

During the time of choosing the said committee, the utmost good order and harmony was observed, and all the inhabitants of the county then present (which was very numerous) seemed determined and resolute in defending their liberties and properties, at the risk of their lives, and, if required, to die by their fellow sufferers (the Bostonians) whose cause they consider as their own; and, it being mentioned in committee, that their county had never contributed their proportionable part towards defraying the expenses of the Delegates, who attended on our behalf at the General

Congress, that sum was immediately and cheerfully raised and deposited in the hands of Peter Perkins and Benjamin Lankford, Esquires, the Representatives for the said county, to be transmitted by them, to whom it ought to have been paid; after which the committee rose, and several loyal and patriotick toasts were drank, and the company dispersed, well pleased with the behaviour of those people they had put their confidence in.

Ordered, that a copy of the above proceedings be inserted in the Virginia News-papers.

WILLIAM PETERS MARTIN, Clk. of the committee.

Appendix C

The Augusta Resolves[133]

Mr. PINKNEY,

YOU are requested to give the following a place in your paper as soon as you possibly can: In doing do you will oblige your customers in Augusta county.

AFTER due notice given to the freeholders of Augusta county, to meet in Staunton for the purpose of electing delegates to represent them in colony convention at the town of Richmond, on the 20th day of this instant March, the freeholders of said county thought proper to refer the choice of their delegates to the judgment of the committee, who, thus authorized by the general voice of the people, met at the courthouse on the 22d day of February, and unanimously chose Mr. Thomas Lewis and captain Samuel M'Dowell to represent them in the ensuing convention.

Instructions were then ordered to be drawn up by the reverend Alexander Balmain, Mr. Sampson Matthews, captain Alexander M'Clenachan, Mr. Michael Bowyer, Mr. William Lewis, and captain George Matthews, or any three of them, and delivered to the delegates thus chosen, which are as follows:

To Mr. Thomas Lewis and captain Samuel M'Dowell.

The committee of Augusta county, pursuant to the trust reposed in them by the freeholders of the same, have chosen you to represent them in a colony convention, proposed to be held in Richmond on the 20th of March instant. They desire that you may consider the people of Augusta county as impressed with just sentiments of loyalty and allegiance to his majesty king George, whose title to the imperial crown of Great Britain

rests on no other foundation than the liberty, and whose glory is inseparable from the happiness, of all his subjects. We have also a respect for the parent state, which respect is founded on religion, on law, and the genuine principles of the constitution. On these principles do we earnestly desire to see harmony and a good understanding restored between Great Britain and America. Many of us and our forefathers left their native land, explored this once savage wilderness, to enjoy the free exercise of the rights of conscience, and of human nature: These rights we are fully resolved, with our lives and fortunes, inviolably to preserve, nor will we surrender such inestimable blessings, the purchase of toil and danger, to any minister, to any parliament, or any body of men upon earth, by whom we are not represented, and in whose decisions therefore we have no voice.

We desire you to tender, in the most respectful terms, our grateful acknowledgements to the late worthy delegates of this colony, for their wise, spirited, and patriotic exertions, in the general congress, and to assure them that we will uniformly and religiously adhere to their resolutions, prudently and generously formed for their country's good.

Fully convinced that the safety and happiness of America depend, next to the blessing of Almighty God, on the unanimity and wisdom of her councils, we doubt not you will, on your part, comply with the recommendations of the late continental congress, appointing delegates from this colony to meet in Philadelphia on the 10th of May next, unless American grievances be redressed before that time; and as we are determined to maintain unimpaired that liberty which is the gift of Heaven to the subjects of Britain's empire, we will most cordially join our countrymen in such measures as may be deemed wise and necessary to secure and perpetuate the ancient, just, and legal rights of this colony, and all British America.

As the state of this colony greatly demands that manufactures should be encouraged by every possible means, we desire you to use your endeavours that bounties may be proposed by the convention for the making of salt, steel, wool cards, paper, and gunpowder, and that, in the mean time, a supply of ammunition be provided for the militia of this colony. We entirely agree in opinion with the gentlemen of Fairfax county, that a well regulated militia is the natural strength, and staple security, of a free government, and therefore wish it might be recommended by the convention to the officers and men of each county in Virginia to make themselves masters of the military exercise, published by order of his majesty in the year 1764.

Placing our ultimate trust on the supreme disposer of every event, without whose gracious interposition the wisest schemes may fail of success, we desire you to move the convention, that some day, which may appear to them most convenient, be set apart for imploring the blessings of Almighty God on such plans as human wisdom and integrity may think necessary to adopt for preserving AMERICA happy, virtuous, and free.

Appendix D

The Botetourt Resolutions[134]

[Published 11 March 1775]

To Col. ANDREW LEWIS *and Mr.* JOHN BOWYER.

GENTLEMEN,

FOR your past service, you have our thanks, and we presume it is all the reward you desire. And as we have again committed you the greatest trust we can confer (that of appearing for us in the great Council of the colony) we think it expedient ye hear our sentiments at this important juncture. And first, we require you to represent us with hearts replete with the most grateful and loyal veneration for the race of Brunswick, for they have been truly our fathers; and at the same time the most dutiful affection for our Sovereign, of whose honest heart we cannot entertain any diffidence; but sorry we are to add, that in his councils we can no longer confide. A set of miscreants, unworthy to administer the laws of Britain's empire, have been permitted impiously to sway. How unjustly, cruelly, and tyrannically, they have invaded our rights, we need not now put you in mind. We only say, and we assert it with pride, that the subjects of Britain are ONE; and when the honest man of Boston, who has broke no law, has his property wrested from him, the hunter on the Allegany must take the alarm, and, as a FREEMAN of America, he will fly to his Representatives and thus instruct them: Gentlemen, my gun, my tomahawk, my life, I desire you to tender to the honour of my King and country; but my LIBERTY, to range these woods on the same terms my father has done is not mine to give up; it was not purchased by me, and purchased it was; it is entailed on my son, and the tenure is sacred. Watch over it, Gentlemen, for to him it must descend unviolated, if my arm can defend it; but if not, if wicked power is permitted to prevail against me, the original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender .

That our countrymen, and the world, may know our disposition, we choose that this be published. And we have one request to add, that is, that the SONS of WORTH and FREEDOM who appeared for us at Philadelphia will accept our most ardent, grateful acknowledgments; and we hereby pledge them our faith, that we will religiously observe their resolutions, and obey their instructions, in contempt of our power, and temporary interest; and should the measures they have wisely calculated for our relief fail, we will stand prepared for every Contingency. We are Gentlemen, your dutiful, &c.

The FREEHOLDERS of BOTETOURT.

Appendix E

The Fort Gower Resolves[135]

At a Meeting of the Officers under the Command of his Excellency the Right Honourable the EARL of DUNMORE, convened at Fort Gower*, November 5, 1774, for the Purpose of considering the Grievances of BRITISH AMERICA, an Officer present addressed the Meeting in the following Words:

* Situated the Junction of the Ohio and Hockhocking Rivers, 200 miles[136] below Fort Dunmore.

GENTLEMEN:

"Having now concluded the Campaign, by the Assistance of Providence, with Honour and Advantage to the Colony, and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our Country the strongest Assurance that we are ready, at all Times, to the utmost of our Power, to maintain and defend her just Rights and Privileges. We have lived about three Months in the Woods, without any intelligence from Boston, or from the Delegates at Philadelphia. It is possible, from the groundless Reports of designing Men, that our Countrymen may be jealous of the Use such a Body would make of Arms in their Hands at this critical Juncture. That we a[r]e a respectable Body is certain, when it is considered that we can live Weeks without Bread or Salt, that we can sleep in the open Air without any Covering but that of the Canopy of Heaven, and that our Men can march and shoot with any in the known World. Blessed with these Talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our Country in particular, that we will use them to no Purpose but for the Honour and Advantage of America in general, and of Vir-

ginia in particular. It behooves us then, for the Satisfaction of our Country, that we should give them our real Sentiments, by Way of Resolves, at this very alarming Crisis."

Whereupon the Meeting made Choice of a Committee to draw up and prepare Resolves for their Consideration, who immediately withdrew; and after some Time spent therein, reported, that they had agreed to, and prepared the following Resolves, which were read, maturely considered, and agreed to *nemine contradicente*, by the Meeting, and ordered to be published in the Virginia Gazette:

Resolved, that we will bear the most faithful Allegiance to his Majesty King George III, whilst his Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free People; that we will, at the Expense of Life, and every Thing dear and valuable, exert ourselves in Support of the Honour of his Crown and the Dignity of the British empire. But as the Love of Liberty, and Attachment to the real Interests and just Rights of America outweigh every other Consideration, we resolve that we will exert every Power within us for the Defence of American Liberty, and for the Support of her just Rights and Privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous, or tumultous Manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous Voice of our Countrymen.

Resolved, that we entertain the greatest Respect for his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Dunmore, who commanded the Expedition against the Shawanese; and who, we are confident, underwent the great Fatigue of this singular Campaign from no other Motive than the true Interest of this Country.

Signed by Order, and in Behalf of the whole corps,
BENJAMIN ASHBY, Clerk.

Endnotes

1. Thad Tate, "The Fincastle Resolutions: Southwest Virginia's Commitment," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* (1975), 9: 19–29. The text of an address given on 19 January 1975 at Fort Chiswell High School in honor of the 200th anniversary of the signing.
2. Over the years amateur historians and journalists in southwest Virginia have made many extravagant and totally unrealistic claims for the importance of the Fincastle Resolutions. Here are just two examples (out of dozens, maybe hundreds): "Magna charta [sic] in the Wilderness," Lula Porterfield Givens, *Highlights in the Early History of Montgomery County, Virginia* (Pulaski: Published by the author, 1975), 77; and "Wythe County In Virginia Birthplace, Independence," the headline to an article by Larry Schoenfeld, 19 June 1967, *Southwest Virginia Enterprise.*

3. Oversimplifying slightly: In 1735 Augusta County, Virginia, was created as the land extending to the Pacific Ocean lying west of a line more-or-less paralleling and running a few tens of miles east of modern-day Interstate Highway 81. In 1770, a line running northwesterly from present Amherst County to Detroit divided Augusta into a much reduced Augusta to the north and the newly created Botetourt to the south. In 1772, Fincastle County was created from the large, western part of Botetourt County. Short-lived Fincastle County lasted to the end of 1776, when it was divided into Washington, Montgomery, and Kentucky counties — with the latter eventually becoming the state of Kentucky. See: Martha W. Hiden, *How Justice Grew — Virginia Counties: An Abstract of their Formation* (Williamsburg: The Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957). The men who promulgated the Fincastle Resolutions all lived in the region we today broadly call Southwest Virginia.
4. The Virginia county committees described in this section were not contemporaneously called "committees of safety." However some authors so-refer to them. See: Richard Barksdale Harwell, *The Committees of Safety of Westmoreland and Fincastle: Proceedings of the County Committees, 1774–1776* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1956), 24. Brent Tarter (personal communication) points out that the habit of referring to the committees and sometimes the 1774 meetings as committees of safety is a convention that may date back to H. R. McIlwaine's publication of the records of the Cumberland and Isle of Wight County committee journals in 1919, when in the title to that pamphlet he called them committees of safety. That is an anachronistic and somewhat inaccurate style. It is more accurate to refer to the committees formed late in 1774 and in 1775 as county committees and not as county committees of safety.
5. Author unknown, "Proceedings of the Fincastle County Committee, January 20, 1775," *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 10 February 1775, 3. On line at Colonial Williamsburg at http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm.
6. Pittsylvania was not literally on the frontier in 1774, but it was one of Virginia's westernmost counties and its resolutions certainly showed a frontier spirit.
7. Richard O. Curry, "Lord Dunmore and the West: A Re-evaluation," *West Virginia History* (1958), 19: 231–42. "'Land hunger' can scarcely be over emphasized when explaining the grievances of Virginians against George III. As the cultivation of tobacco was the mainstay in the economic life of the colony, the planter aristocracy turned to land speculation as a means of extracting themselves from an overwhelming burden of indebtedness to British merchants," 232. People of the lower classes acquired western land more directly: by squatting.
8. Daniel M. Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1992), passim.
9. William Waller Hening. "An act for dividing the county of Botetourt into two distinct counties," in *The Statutes at large: being a collection of all the laws of Virginia,* volume 8, 1764–1773 (Charlottesville: Jamestown Foundation and the University of Virginia, 1969 [1823]), 600–1.
10. William Waller Hening, "An act for dividing the county of Fincastle into three distinct counties, and the parish of Botetourt into four distinct parishes," in *The*

Statutes at large: being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, vol. 9, 1775–1778 (Charlottesville: Jamestown Foundation and the University of Virginia, 1969 [1823]), 257–61.

11. Hiden, *How Justice Grew*, passim. See also Betty E. Spillman, Shirley P. Thomas, and Ann Brush Miller, *Fincastle County Road Orders ,1773–1776* (Richmond: Virginia Transportation Research Council, May 2007). On line at: http://www.virginiadot.org/vtrc/main/online_reports/pdf/07-r32.pdf.
12. William J. Van Schreeven, Robert L. Scribner, and Brent Tarter, compilers and editors, *Revolutionary Virginia, the Road to Independence*, in seven volumes (Charlottesville: Published for Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission by the University Press of Virginia, 1973–1985), 1: 89–92.
13. *Revolutionary Virginia*, 1: 93–100.
14. *Revolutionary Virginia*, 1: 101–2.
15. Harwell, *The Committees of Safety of Westmoreland and Fincastle*, 9.
16. Charles Washington Coleman, "The County Committees of 1774–'75 in Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (1896), 5: 94–106; "The County Committees of 1774–'75 in Virginia: II," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (1897), 5: 245–55.
17. Larry Bowman, "The Virginia County Committees of Safety, 1774–1776," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (1971), 79: 322–37.
18. Timothy Hack. "Shaping a Revolution: The County Committees in Virginia, 1774–1776." A paper written for the James Madison University course HIST 273, 2002. On line at http://www.jmu.edu/writeon/2002/hack2002.htm. Examined 7/14/09.
19. Peter Force, ed., *American Archives* (series 4, six volumes and series 5, three volumes), (Washington, D.C.: By the editor, 1837–1853), Series 4, 1: 1061–63. On line at http://dig.lib.niu.edu/amarch as document S4-V1-p1061–1063.
20. Several publishers issued *Virginia Gazettes*. It's a fairly complicated story. See the web site http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm.
21. *Revolutionary Virginia*, 1: 111–68.
22. *Revolutionary Virginia*, 1: 109.
23. Jeff Broadwater, *George Mason, Forgotten Founder* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 67, says that of the 31 documents listed in Table 1, "...the Fairfax Resolves were the most detailed, the most influential, and the most radical. ... Mason had reduced to writing ideas that were commonplace among colonial radicals, and somehow managed to do it in a way that was acceptable to most conservatives."
24. *Revolutionary Virginia*, 1: 109.
25. Thomas Jefferson, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*. Rev. Va. 1: 240–56. Robert L. Scribner, editor of *Revolutionary Virginia* 2, argued that the pamphlet was printed at Rind's press on Monday 8 August 1774, 242.
26. *Revolutionary Virginia*, 1: 109.
27. Hiden, *How Justice Grew*, chart 2, 83. At this date Pittsylvania County encompassed the territory occupied by the modern Virginia counties of Patrick, Henry, and present Pittsylvania.
28. Larrie L. Bucklen and Mary Kegley Bucklen, *County Courthouses of Virginia Old and New* (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 1988). These authors say that the Pittsylvania

courthouse was at Callands at the time of their resolves. Pittyslvania was divided in 1776 and the courthouse moved to present Chatham.

29. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 February 1775, supplement, 2, column 3.
30. Hiden, *How Justice Grew*. See chart 10 on page 86. At this date Augusta County encompassed the territory occupied by the modern Virginia counties of Alleghany, Bath, Page, Highland, Rockbridge, and Rockingham, present Augusta, and twenty-seven West Virginia counties, the modern states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, etc., and part of Pennsylvania.
31. Hiden, *How Justice Grew*. See chart 11 on page 87. At this date Botetourt County encompassed the territory occupied by the modern Virginia counties of Craig, Roanoke, and present Botetourt and twelve counties of West Virginia.
32. The date the Botetourt committee met is not recorded, but was doubtless 2–3 weeks before its instructions were published.
33. John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754–1775* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944); David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740–62* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Harry M. Ward, *Major General Adam Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989); John Oliphant, *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756–63* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001); Matthew Ward, *Breaking The Backcountry: Seven Years War in Virginia and Pennsylvania 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 2003).
34. Jim Glanville and John M. Preston IV, "Aspenvale Cemetery and Its Place in the History of Southwest Virginia," *The Smithfield Review* (2009), 13: 87–136.
35. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York: Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, for the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia, 1937).
36. Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763–1783* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967; paperback reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974).
37. Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier 1740–1789* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991).
38. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1976).
39. Rhys Isaac, "Dramatizing the Ideology of Revolution: Popular Mobilization in Virginia, 1774 to 1776," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. (1976), 33: 357–85.
40. B. Scott Crawford, "A Frontier of Fear: Terrorism and Social Tension along Virginia's Western Waters, 1742–1775," *West Virginia History*, New Series (2008), 2: 1–29.
41. Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870* (Self published, Richmond: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903).

42. Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800* (Abingdon, Va.: Self published, 1929).
43. Frederick B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938).
44. Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots.*
45. Mary B. Kegley, *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road, 1745–1796* (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 2008).
46. Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1999).
47. Jack P. Greene, "'*Virtus et Libertas*': Political Culture, Social Change, and the Origins of the American Revolution in Virginia, 1763–1766," in *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, ed. Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 55–108.
48. Max Dixon, *The Wataugans* (Johnson City, Tenn.: Overmountain Press, 1989).
49. Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779–1781* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1917); Brenda Lynn Williams, "Thorns in the Side of Patriotism: Tory Activity in Southwest Virginia, 1776–1782," MS thesis (Virginia Tech, 1984); Emory Evans, "Trouble in the Backcountry: Disaffection in Southwest Virginia during the American Revolution," in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate and Peter Albert (Charlottesville, Published for the U.S. Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1985), 179–212; Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk.*
50. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 146.
51. William Preston, "Volunteers for expedition called Out," A circular letter written from Smithfield 20 July 1774, 91–3, in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), Draper manuscript 3QQ139. "This letter is a rough copy, made by some inept Scribe, of the circular letter which Preston undoubtedly sent out to the captains of militia, and through them to the people in general The copy terminates abruptly." (Thwaites and Kellogg).
52. Alden, *John Stuart*, 334.
53. Lord Dunmore, "Affairs in Virginia: The Indian Expedition," Dunmore's official report to Lord Dartmouth, December 1774, Draper mss., 15J4-28, in Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War,* 268–395.
54. Sources for Dunmore's War include Virgil Anson Lewis' *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant: ... The Chief Event of Lord Dunmore's War* (Charleston, W.Va.: The Tribune Printing Company, 1908); Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*; Elizabeth Van Wrick, "Dunmore — Virginia's Last Royal Governor," *West Virginia History* (1947), 8: 237–82; Richard Orr Curry, "Lord Dunmore and the West"; Howard Wilson McKnight, *Great Valley Patriots: Western Virginia in the*

Struggle for Liberty (Verona: McClure Press, 1976); Patricia Givens Johnson, *General Andrew Lewis of Roanoke and Greenbrier* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 2nd. ed. 1994), 165–85; Warren Skidmore and Donna Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 2002).

55. Despite the increasingly revolutionary situation in Williamsburg, Dunmore left on July 10 and did not return until December 4.
56. Nicholas Cresswell wrote that in December 1774 he "Saw four Indian Chiefs of the Shawnee Nation, who have been at War with the Virginians this summer, but have made peace with them, and they are sending these people to Williamsburg as hostages. They are tall, manly, well-shaped men, of a Copper colour with black hair, quick piercing eyes; and good features. They have rings of silver in their nose and bobs to them which hang over their upper lip. Their ears are cut from the tips two thirds of the way round and the piece extended with brass wire till it touches their shoulders, in this part they hang a thin silver plate, wrought in flourishes about three inches diameter, with plates of silver round their arms and in the hair, which is all cut off except a long lock on the top of the head. They are in white men's dress, except breeches which they refuse to wear, instead of which they have a girdle round them with a piece of cloth drawn through their legs and turned over the girdle, and appears like a short apron before and behind. All the hair is pulled from their eyebrows and eyelashes and their faces painted in different parts with Vermilion. They walk remarkably straight and cut a grotesque appearance in this mixed dress." *Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1777* (New York: Dial Press, 1924), 49–50.
57. Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 137, comments: "Throughout the conflicts of the 1740s and 1760s the Ohio Indians had proved remarkably resilient in self-defense, but Dunmore's War initiated a long downward slide of Native American power in the American interior, which would culminate in the destruction of Indian society there in less than a half century."
58. Holton, *Forced Founders*, 33–4.
59. W. Campbell, Christian, Crockett, Ingles, Russell, and Shelby.
60. After Daniel Boone returned to Southwest Virginia from survey work in Kentucky in the summer of 1774, he started off to join the forces that had already left on Dunmore's campaign. However, William Russell ordered Boone back to Castlewood to defend the Clinch settlements. The miserable conditions and Indian attacks along the Clinch that fall, and the role of Boone and his wife Rebecca, have been recounted in John Mack Faragher's *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 102–6.
61. *Revolutionary Virginia*, "An Introductory Note," by the editors, 2:107–8.
62. William Crawford, "Letter to George Washington," from Stewart's Crossing, 14 November 1774, in *The Washington-Crawford letters: Being the correspondence between George Washington and William Crawford, from 1767 to 1781, concerning western lands*, ed. Consul Willshire Butterfield (Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co., 1877), 55–7. Crawford tells that he has returned from Dunmore's War and that he built a house on Washington's land across the Ohio River from Fort Gower.

63. Benjamin Ashby, clerk, "At a Meeting of the officers Under the Command of his Excellency...", *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 22 December 1774, 1-2 (Appendix E).
64. North Callahan, *Daniel Morgan, Ranger of the Revolution* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), 34. The Continental Congress had on 18 September endorsed and directed the printing of the radical resolves adopted by the delegates of Suffolk County, Massachusetts: *Revolutionary Virginia,* 2: xxii.
65. Margaret Campbell Pilcher, "The Spirit of Independence Shown Among the Pioneers of Western Virginia and the Carolinas in 1774," *The American Monthly Magazine of the National Society of the Daughters of the Revolution* (1895), 12: 124–5.
66. Agnes Graham Sanders Riley, "Brigadier General William Campbell 1745–1781," *Historical Society of Washington County*, Bulletin, Series II No. 22 (1985), 1–32, page 8.
67. John E. Robbins, "The Fort Gower Resolves November 5, 1774," in *Ohio in the American Revolution: A Conference to Commemorate the 200th Anniversary of the Ft. Gower Resolves*, ed. Thomas H. Smith (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1976), 21–6.
68. The Marquis of Rockingham et al., "Debate on the Bill to Restrain Trade," London House of Lords, 16 March 1775. During this debate the Fort Gower Resolves were read by Lord Rockingham. Reproduced in *American Archives*, ed. Peter Force (series 4, six volumes and series 5, three volumes) (Washington, D.C.: By the editor, 1837–1853,) series 4, 1: 1670–87.
69. William Christian, Letter to William Preston at Botetourt, from Smithfield, Tuesday 8 November 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, ed. Thwaites and Kellogg, 301–7. Draper manuscript 3QQ130.
70. William Russell, Letter to William Preston from Point Pleasant, 12 November 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, ed. Thwaites and Kellogg, 308–11. Draper manuscript 3QQ132.
71. Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain and the Events Which Led to It* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983 [1881]). Draper states that William Campbell was "...no doubt among the number at Fort Gower 'who made the declaration'," 381–2.
72. Agnes Graham Sanders Riley, "Brigadier General William Campbell," 1985. Riley states flatly that William Campbell "... had approved the Fort Gower statement in the Fall of 1774," 9.
73. Letter from Colonel Adam Stephen to Richard Henry Lee, "Ordered to the Ohio, by Lord Dunmore, which..." Reproduced in *American Archives*, ed. Force, series 4, 1: 3.
74. Harry M. Ward, *Major General Adam Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 110–2.
75. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 137.
76. Sarah Shelton Henry, "Letter to Mrs. William Fleming," written from Hanover to Fincastle, 15 October 1774, in *Patrick Henry, Life, Correspondence and Speeches*, ed. William Wirt Henry (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 1: 249.

77. Frances Erle Ford, "William Christian: a Frontiersman of the Valley of Virginia," Master's thesis (University of Virginia, 1934), 7.
78. William Wirt Henry, *Patrick Henry, Life, Correspondence and Speeches* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), 1: 122.
79. Robert Douthat Meade, *Patrick Henry: Practical Revolutionary* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1969), 229.
80. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish settlement in Virginia, extracted from the original court records of Augusta County 1745–1800* (Rosslyn, Va.: Mary S. Lockwood/Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912), 3: 462. The mortgaging of six plots by Shelton to Henry (technically Shelton signed over to Henry an "equity in redemption" — Mary Kegley, personal communication) totaling about 5,000 acres was recorded 10 November 1767 in Augusta County deed book Number 14.
81. The exact dates of this trip are not known.
82. Meade, *Patrick Henry* (1969), 230–1. Other modern-day places Henry and his party apparently visited were Roanoke, Dunkard's Bottom, and Seven Mile Ford.
83. Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia* (Richmond: Self published, 1886), 130.
84. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta*, 131.
85. Meade, *Patrick Henry*, 12.
86. William Campbell did not meet his future wife until late 1775 when he was posted to Williamsburg under the command of William Christian. Thus, he would have had no reason to travel to Hanover County in December 1774.
87. Frequently cited with the variant spelling Manahaim.
88. Now inundated under the waters of Claytor Lake.
89. Sarah Shelton Henry, "Letter to Mrs. William Fleming."
90. Anne Christian, "Letters to Ann Fleming," 3 and 15 October 1775. Quoted by Johnson, *William Preston*, 142. Because of William Christian's absence on the frontier, Anne Christian moved her family from her home, Mahanaim, to the Henry family home, Scotchtown, in Hanover County. She was there as early as 3 October and wrote to her sister-in-law that Patrick Henry had not yet returned from Philadelphia.
91. Meade, *Patrick Henry*, 13.
92. Mary Kegley, "The Resolutions: Who the 15 Signers Were," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* (1975), 9: 32–6.
93. Robert L Kincaid, "Colonel Arthur Campbell—Frontier Leader & Patriot," *Historical Society of Washington County Bulletin*, Series II, No. 1 (1965): 1–18; Hartwell L. Quinn, *Arthur Campbell: Pioneer and Patriot of the "Old Southwest"* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Publishers, 1990), a book length biography; Peter J. Kastor, "Arthur Campbell," *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, vol. 2, ed. Sara B. Bearss et al. (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2002), 554–6.
94. Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain and the Events Which Led to It* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983 [1881]); E. T. Crowson, "Colonel William Campbell and the Battle of King's Mountain," *Virginia Cavalcade* (1981), 30: 22–9; Agnes Graham Sanders Riley, "Brigadier General William Campbell"; Paul David Nelson, "William Campbell,"

Dictionary of Virginia Biography, ed. Sara B. Bearss et al. (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2002), 2: 583–5.

95. Ford, "William Christian: a Frontiersman of the Valley of Virginia"; Edward Sayle, "The Christians, Part 1," *Isle of Man Family History Society Journal* (1982), vol. 4; Ira Redmond Roop, "The life story of Colonel William Christian," *Montgomery News Messenger*, 1 March 1939; Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters: The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745–1800* (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1980), 1: 334–42; Gail S. Terry, "William Christian," *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, 3: 234–5.
96. For example, this is currently stated in the online encyclopedia at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christiansburg,_Virginia. Ford (*William Christian: a Frontiersman*, 1934) asserts the town was named after his father Israel Christian, and her status as a student of Thomas Perkins Abernethy gives her some credibility.
97. Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, vol. 3: *The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745–1805* (in 2 parts) (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 1995), 253–60 and 616–36; Marienne E. Julienne, "Walter Crockett," *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, 3: 563–5.
98. Mrs. James H. Mongle, "Sketch of the Rev. Charles Cummings," *Historical Society of Washington County, Virginia*, Bulletin 5 (1940): 39–43; Douglas S. Brown, "Charles Cummings: The Fighting Parson of Southwest Virginia," *Virginia Cavalcade* (1979), 28: 138–42; Monica Nadar, "Charles Cummings," *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, 3: 600–1.
99. Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, 402–3.
100. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1: 352–9.
101. Surprisingly, Thomas Madison has left a very slight documentary record. There is a short sketch of him in Robert Douthat Stoner's *A Seed-bed of the Republic – A Study of the Pioneers of the Upper (Southern) Valley of Virginia* (Roanoke: Roanoke Historical Society, 1962), 305–7. Stoner says that "with the exception of one short period" Madison was a lifelong resident of Botetourt County; however, Stoner cited no authority for this statement. That Madison was admitted to the Fincastle bar in 1774 is reported by Summers, *History of Washington County* (1903), 132. He was possibly living at the lead mines in 1775 (M. Kegley, personal communication).
102. Rev. Robert Gray, *The McGavock Family: A Genealogical History of James McGavock and His Descendants from 1760 to 1903* (Richmond: W. E. Jones, 1903); Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 698–723.
103. Agnes Graham Sanders Riley, "John Montgomery 1717–1802," *Historical Society of Washington County Bulletin*, Series 2, No. 5 (1967), 5–14; Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 723–6.
104. The literature dealing with William Preston is enormous. The two largest biographical works (both containing hundreds of citations) are: Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots*, and Richard Charles Osborn, *William Preston of Virginia, 1727–1783: The Making of a Frontier Elite*, Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Maryland, College Park, 1990).

105. Anna Des Cognets, *William Russell and His Descendants* (Lexington: Printed for the family, by Samuel. F. Wilson, 1884); Mary Katherine Thorp, "William Russell — A Revolutionary Patriot of the Clinch Valley," Masters thesis (University of Virginia, 1934); Mary Kegley, "William Russell," unpublished manuscript, 1975.
106. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, 48–9; see also Archibald Henderson, "Isaac Shelby: Revolutionary Patriot and Border Hero," *The North Carolina Booklet* (1917), 16: 109–44.
107. Smith has been the subject of a book length biography: Walter T. Durham, *Daniel Smith: Frontier Statesman* (Gallatin, Tenn.: Sumner County Library Board, 1976).
108. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1: 369–70.
109. Lawrence J. Fleenor and Dale Carter, *The Forts of the Holston Militia* (Big Stone Gap: Lawrence J. Fleenor, 2004). This book describes thirty-six forts, a number that itself testifies to the extent of settler-Indian conflict in Southwest Virginia during the eighteenth century.
110. Thomas L. Preston, *Historical Sketches and Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (Richmond: R. F. Johnson, 1900). Preston states on page 23: "Fort Chiswell has other claims to historical association. It was the meeting place, in all probability, of that band of 'West Augusta' patriots who were the first to resolve 'to resist the aggressions of England by force'."
111. Johnson, *William Preston*, 121.
112. Fort Chiswell was built during William Byrd III's 1760–61 campaign against the Cherokees. For a history of the fort see Mary Kegley, "The Big Fort," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* (1978), 10: 1–28. The map on page 7 shows the exact location of Fort Chiswell in relation to the modern highways I-77 and I-81. Construction of an interstate highway interchange circa 1975 totally changed the land contours where the fort once stood.
113. Council of Virginia, Meeting of 17 October 1772, in *Executive Journals of the Councils of Colonial Virginia*, ed. Benjamin J. Hillman (20 June 1754 – 3 May 1775), (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966), 6: 506–7.
114. Records of the first court of Fincastle County, 6 January 1773, order book number 1, page 5. Located in the court house of modern-day Montgomery County. See also page 3 in Betty E. Spillman et al., "Fincastle County Road Orders."
115. William Preston, Letter to Col. William Byrd III, from Fincastle 14 May 1774, *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia 1684–1776*, ed. Marion Tinling, 792–3. Draper manuscript 3QQ24. Tells that complaints about the location of the Fincastle Court House are "pretty general among the people." Preston writes: "The proposal of suffering the court house to be moved may be contrary to your private interest; but when the complaints of the people run high, ... would not be best to agree to a removal and have it placed as high in the country as possible [?]"
116. William Preston, Letter to Col. Edmund Pendleton, from Fincastle 14 May 1774. Draper manuscript 3QQ25 in Lyman Copeland Draper, Draper manuscript collection, 1727–1891, microfilm roll 110 (of 134). Preston "...asks that the petition of people on Holston be held over until the next assembly [because] the court-house [is] not centrally located."

117. Edmund Pendleton, Letter to William Preston, place not stated, 4 June 1774, Draper manuscript 3QQ36. The relevant paragraph reads: "It gives me concern to find your Court House is so inconvenient. If it is not too much trouble shall be glad to receive the Plan you mention, which I will lay before Col. Byrd & endeavor to prevail on him to give up the Court House; For tho I would wish to serve [Jn.] Robinson's estate, I cannot consent to do it at the expense of so many people's convenience, especially an people amongst whom I have an interest, & whom I think it my duty to assist when in my power."
118. William Hendy Shepherd, "Colonel John Chiswell, Chiswell's Lead Mines, Fort Chiswell," Masters thesis (University of Virginia, 1936), 52. Mary Kegley doubts this claim (personal communication).
119. Shepherd, "Colonel John Chiswell."
120. Harwell, *The Committees of Safety of Westmoreland and Fincastle.*
121. If Madison was living at the lead mines at the time of the signing, he would have been a sole exception. However, it is only conjecture that he was then living there.
122. William Calk, "The Journal of William Calk, from Prince William County, Va., to Boonesboro, Ky., from March 13, 1775, to May 2, 1775," in Thomas Speed, *The Wilderness Road* (Louisville, Ky.: J. P. Morton and Company, 1886), 32–8. On page 33 is: "Wedns 22nd [March 1775] We start early and git to foart Chissel whear we git some good loaf Bread and good whiskey."
123. John Adams, Letter to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, Mass., 24 August 1815, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Albert Ellery Bergh (Washington: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1904), 4: 346–9.
124. William Cecil Pendleton, *History of Tazewell County and Southwest Virginia: 1748–1920* (Richmond: Self published, W. C. Hill Printing Company, 1920), 342.
125. Roop, "The life story of Colonel William Christian," 4.
126. Johnson, *William Preston*, 161. Also, Richard Osborne, while remarking that the authorship is unknown, points out in his Ph.D. dissertation available on line (http://library.uncg.edu/ejournals/backcountry/Vol3No2/Osborn3.pdf, 1) that the language of the Resolutions is reminiscent of that used by William Preston in a letter to Edmund Pendleton.
127. T. Preston, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian*, 23.
128. Summers, *Annals*, 203.
129. William Preston, three letters: "Extract of a letter from Colo. William Preston to the Earl of Dunmore" from Fincastle County dated 25 January 1775, Patricia Givens Johnson Papers 1920–1986, collection Number Ms88-007, box 2, folder 4b (Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University); "Letter to George Washington," written from a place not stated 27 January 1775, Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers, 1774–1775* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1902), 5: 88–9; "Letter to George Washington," written from Fincastle 31 January 1775, *Letters to Washington*, 89–91.

130. The five transcriptions in Appendices A-E have been matched to the original versions that were printed in the several issues of the *Virginia Gazette*. With the exception of replacing many long s's (that look like f's) with s's (for example, addreffed was replaced by addressed), the punctuation, spelling, and capitalization of the originals have been retained.
131. Author unknown, "Proceedings of the Fincastle County Committee, January 20, 1775," *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 10 February 1775, 3; no hand-written copy of the Fincastle Resolutions is known to have survived. Brent Tarter, personal communication, July 2009, so this citation is the authoritative source of the Fincastle Resolutions. On line at http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm.
132. William Peters Martin, clerk, "THE freeholders of the county of Pittsylvania ...," *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), supplement, Saturday, 11 February 1775; on line at http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm.
133. Author unknown, "Mr. PINKNEY," *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 16 March 1775; on line at http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm. Van Schreeven et al. (*Revolutionary Virginia*, 2: 98), state that this document was adopted on Wednesday, 22 February 1775. The document as published by Pinkney is itself undated.
134. The Freeholders of Botetourt, "To Col. ANDREW LEWIS and Mr. JOHN BOWYER, *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), Saturday, 11 March 1775; on line at http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm.
135. Benjamin Ashby, clerk, "At a Meeting of the officers Under the Command of his Excellency the Right Honourable the EARL of DUNMORE...", *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 22, 1774, 1-2; on line at http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm.
136. Actually closer to 120 miles.

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Book Review

Edited by Tom Costa

Jonathan Sarris, *A Separate Civil War: Communities in Conflict in the Mountain South*, A Nation Divided: New Studies in Civil War History, ed. James I. Robertson Jr. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), ISBN: 0-8139-2549-5.

Brian D. McKnight, *Contested Borderland: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), ISBN: 0-8131-2389-5.

Since the influential publication of Kenneth Noe and Shannon Wilson's edited anthology *The Civil War in Appalachia* in 1997, scholarly interest in Civil War-era Appalachia has expanded. Recent works such as Noel Fisher's *War at Every Door* (1997), W. Todd Groce's *Mountain Rebels* (2000), John Inscoe and Gordon McKinney's *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia* (2000), Martin Crawford's *Ashe County's Civil War* (2001), and Robert Tracy McKenzie's *Lincolnites and Rebels* (2006) have moved the experiences of Civil War-era Appalachia from the margins of Civil War historiography to the subject's core. These works have collectively overturned aged stereotypical depictions of wartime Appalachia as a Unionist-dominated land occupied by a reclusive population that was disconnected from matters of regional and national economics and politics. While these historians have made significant contributions to the literature, their works have focused primarily on only two Appalachian sub-regions: East Tennessee and Western North Carolina. This lack of geographic diversity raises questions concerning whether the histories of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina represented the entirety of the Civil War-era Appalachian experience.

Jonathan Sarris's *A Separate Civil War: Communities in Conflict in the Mountain South* and Brian McKnight's *Contested Borderland: The Civil War*

in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia examine the Civil War-era history of two mountain regions previously ignored by scholars. Sarris's research focuses on two adjoining counties in Northeast Georgia — Lumpkin and Fannin. The book's thesis contends that in these Northeast Georgia counties "loyalty to the Confederacy depended in most cases upon local conceptions of allegiance, manhood, duty, kinship, and economics . . . . [That] depended upon a number of factors — ideological, economic, familial, and situational." (pp. 3-4) The Rebels and Unionists found within Sarris's work are not primarily motivated by ideology. For these mountaineers, the "Civil War was refracted through the prism of local perceptions." (p. 182)

Sarris's documentation of life and politics in Lumpkin and Fannin counties before, during, and after the Civil War is one of *A Separate Civil War*'s strengths. Few studies of Civil War-era Appalachia include accounts of both the antebellum and Reconstruction periods. The author's discussion of the area's antebellum history is a vital part of the book. While these counties shared a common geography and Democratic Party allegiances, "the two counties," Sarris argues, "responded differently to the war because of different histories, economic foundations, and demographic realities." (p. 7) The discovery of gold in 1829 in the area that later became Lumpkin County had a profound influence upon that county's antebellum development. By the start of the Civil War, Lumpkin was a commercially active community divided socially between affluent middle-class town dwellers and less affluent yeoman country farmers. Meanwhile, Fannin County was poorer, less developed, and largely disconnected from the rest of Georgia. Sarris contends that these differences uniquely affected each county's wartime experiences.

Lumpkin and Fannin opposed immediate secession but, nonetheless, provided the Confederate States of America with human and natural resources. Following the attack at Fort Sumter, approximately 25 percent of military-aged men in each county volunteered to fight in the Confederate army. These enlistment rates failed to convince outsiders that north Georgia mountaineers were devoted Confederates. In an effort to assuage these concerns, local pro-Confederates embraced regional stereotypes that depicted mountaineers as ferocious and violent — negative images that Lumpkin County businessmen had spent decades trying to erase — "to assure others of their allegiance to the Confederacy." (p. 63)

By 1863, a groundswell of opposition had formed among Fannin and Lumpkin residents who had become disillusioned with the Confederacy's management of the war. The passage of conscription and impressment acts caused widespread desertion and draft evasion among locals. Deserters returned home to protect their families and sought refuge in the region's mountainous environment. The Georgia State Line militia under the command of Colonel George W. Lee invaded the region in search of deserters and draft evaders. North Georgians, according to Sarris, "perceived the centralizing impulses of the Richmond government as a direct assault upon the community." (p. 74) The perceived illegality of the government's policies created waves of discontent that turned many pro-Confederates into avowed Unionists.

An internal civil war erupted throughout North Georgia during the final years of the Civil War. As the Union army pushed toward the region, many residents sought refuge within their lines. Unionist home-guard units formed to protect "Tories" from a variety of pro-Confederate forces. Intra-community combat pitted neighbor against neighbor and divided families into warring factions. The violence escalated with each brutal incident as arrests, bushwhacking, murders, and executions became routine events. Meanwhile, vigilantes such as John Gatewood entered the area and preyed upon civilians regardless of their political affiliation. The Confederacy's collapse brought an end to the violence, but "north Georgia's Civil War did not end in 1865," Sarris argues, "it simply shifted theaters — from the battlefield to the minds and memories of the participants." (p. 144)

Like *A Separate Civil War*, Brian D. McKnight's *Contested Borderland: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia* provides readers with a first look at a previously understudied Appalachian sub-region. McKnight's focus is central Appalachia and the Virginia and Kentucky counties located around the Cumberland Gap. This region's "location, geographic features, and mineral resources," argues McKnight, "made the central Appalachians a goal of both nations." (p. 1) *Contested Borderland* places Appalachia's geography within the context the region's Civil War experience. "The power of military force," asserts McKnight, "gave way to the power of geography" in the Cumberland Gap. (p. 2) The army that occupied the gap controlled major transportation routes into Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia and used the position as a staging point for launching invasions. Supply problems, however, hampered each army's defense of the gap. The region's salt

mines were vital to the Confederacy and a principal target for Union raiders. In September 1864, Union cavalry struck Saltville, Virginia. The raid failed to capture the town. Following the battle, Confederate soldiers from Tennessee murdered a number of wounded members of the Fifth Colored U.S. Cavalry. The massacre at Saltville remains one of the war's most controversial debates. The Confederates, according to McKnight, "simply killed for vengeance." (p. 213)

Contested Borderland displays the best characteristics of the "New Military History." Like George Rable's *Fredericksburg!* and Kenneth Noe's *Perryville*, McKnight blends accounts of important battles and troop movements with analysis of the communities and people of Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia. The Cumberland Gap, despite its perceived military advantages, was "a position of ultimate strength proved untenable for peripheral reasons, a factor that proved the norm throughout the region." (p. 2) The precarious nature of the gap's defenses mirrored the populace's shifting loyalties. Unionists in southeastern Kentucky and Confederates in southwestern Virginia clung to a fragile majority in each of their respective regions. Local allegiances waffled in favor of whichever side appeared most dominant at a given moment. Bands of guerrillas, bushwhackers, home guard units, and partisans battled each other and committed acts of violence against civilians as they struggled to control local affairs. Civilians, however, were far from passive victims. Locals, according to McKnight, "frequently chose to play an active role in the conflict by either offering his resistance or support to one or the other of the warring sides." (p. 232) Like the war described by Sarris in northeast Georgia, the conflict in central Appalachia created a series of private wars as men organized to fight neighbors and partisans that threatened their homes and families. McKnight concludes that the region's wartime violence personified a brand of fierce individualism typical of frontiersmen that likely influenced postwar hostilities among feuding mountaineers.

Contested Borderland is an exceptional example of historical research and writing. One of the book's few weaknesses is its failure to carry the narrative forward through the Reconstruction period. The reader is left wondering how the conflicts of the Civil War might have affected the region's subsequent history. McKnight offers some theories about the relationship between the region's wartime and post-bellum histories but neglects to fully explore those ideas. This criticism should not undermine the fact that

this is a superb piece of scholarship. Readers will simply want more out of McKnight than his project allowed.

Jonathan Sarris and Brian McKnight have produced a pair of beautifully written and persuasively argued works of local history that in combination fill-in a number of voids within the current historical literature. Local history is an invaluable historical methodology that has muddied existing master narratives of the Civil War period. As more local studies are produced, the need to synthesize this geographically diverse research into a narrative that will be attractive to larger audiences of readers becomes more apparent. Local scholars must take a step back and begin drawing connections among their works.

Sarris and McKnight's books overlap in a number of areas that allow for some meaningful comparisons to be made. For example, Unionist sentiment in both regions lacked the support of a majority of the population throughout the war. In each region, opposition to the Confederate government grew, starting in 1862, in response to the rebel government's perceived abuses and ineffective bureaucracy. Both authors skillfully differentiate the distinction between ideological Unionism and pragmatic war weariness. Despite escalating opposition, significant numbers of residents in each region remained loyal Confederate nationalists. The proximity of enemy forces, whether that enemy was Confederate, Union, or in some cases both, had an immediate effect upon the level of violence in each region. The arrival of the enemy carried with it a time of violent retribution, persecution, and bloodshed. The removal of enemy forces further continued each region's cycle of violence. Partisans, bushwhackers, thieves, and deserters filled the vacuum of authority that was created following each military occupation. Their violence was perhaps even more frustrating to locals who struggled to differentiate between friend and foe.

Ultimately, the image of wartime Central Appalachia and Northeast Georgia resembles that of numerous other communities scattered throughout the Confederacy. While factors such as geography and market access differentiated many Appalachians from their Southern kin, conscription, military occupation, partisan violence, and war weariness affected nearly all Confederates similarly regardless of their locale. If anything, local histories of the Civil War, especially those that do not lose sight of the war's national perspective, such as these two works, prove the consuming power of the war to inflict suffering and create division among large sections of the Confed-

erate populace. Southern Appalachia did not have a monopoly on disagreement and resistance to Confederate authority. Such issues contributed to the Confederacy's internal erosion in other parts of the South. Nor did geography shield Appalachia from some of the same types of violence, death, and hardship experienced by Confederates elsewhere, who likewise saw their homes develop into military theaters. Sarris and McKnight, as well as a number of other Appalachian scholars, have permanently undermined notions of Appalachian exceptionalism. Audiences who read these works will come away with a sense that Appalachia's Civil War was America's Civil War.

Scholars and history enthusiasts alike will enjoy *A Separate Civil War* and *Contested Borderland.* While Sarris and McKnight have shed light upon two important Civil War-era Appalachian sub-regions, other mountain areas remain noticeably absent. Scholars have yet to produce a history of northwest Georgia and north Alabama. Both areas experienced a number of major military invasions and Federal Army occupations. Fortunately, if interest in Civil War-era Appalachia continues to grow, these regions will not remain neglected for long.

Keith S. Hebert
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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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By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the new Great Awakening in America reached Virginia and Kentucky. ...These week-long revivals were not well received by the more austere Presbyterians. ... Denominations sometimes cooperated and sometimes competed. — pages 11–12

The men of Company G called themselves the Montgomery Fencibles, General Robert E. Lee called the regiment the "Harmless Fourth," and everyone else referred to the brigade as "Jackson's Foot Cavalry." ... By May 1863, the Stonewall Brigade had already etched itself onto the annals of history. However, its most spectacular and devastating battle was yet to come. At the crossroad of Chancellorsville ... — page 26

Hollins welcomed the newly created Beale Memorial Garden as a place of beauty for the campus. Seventy years later, Hollins partnered with the Garden Club of Virginia to rejuvenate the Beale Memorial Garden landscape. The recent restoration of the garden celebrated the generous gifts of the Huffmans in honor of Beale. — page 33

What began as a meeting place for a military expedition in 1756 at Alexander Sayers' Camp, four years later became a military rendezvous for the Virginians and the Cherokees. In February 1761, when the name Fort Chiswell first appears in Colonial records, the camp was turned into a military headquarters for the army. — page 60

Many of us...left our native land[,] crossed the Atlantick, and explored this then uncultivated wilderness...supported by the pleasing hope of enjoying those rights and liberties which had been granted to Virginians and were denied us in our native country ... We ...shall ever glory in being loyal subjects of a Protestant prince...so long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our religion, as Protestants, and our liberties and properties, as British subjects. But if no pacifick measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain...we declare, that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth, but at the expense of our lives. — pages 102–3