Adam Harman, German Pioneer on the New River

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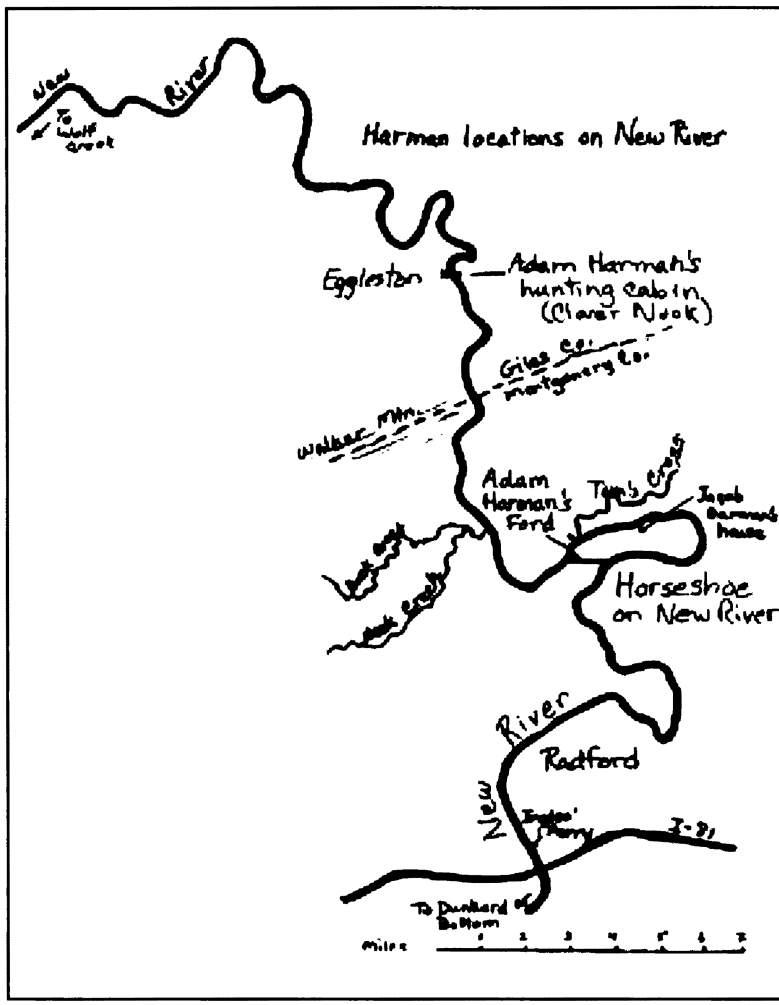
Along the New River near Eggleston, Virginia, limestone palisades, jagged and forbidding, jut skyward from the river's edge as high as 250 feet. Below the cliffs, the river plunges to an approximate depth of 100 feet, leaving the surface smooth and sparkling in the sunshine on a blue-sky day. In the early 1700s, the area was thickly forested with oak, chestnut, poplar, pine, and other trees. The majesty of the landscape must have been breathtaking to the early settlers. Or its ruggedness may have been daunting.

Despite dangers from bears, cougars, wolves, and other wild animals, not to mention threats from the indigenous people who resented encroachment on their lands, many immigrants ventured into the area as soon as the territory opened up to them with the signing of the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744. The treaty called for the Iroquois to relinquish claim to land lying between the Alleghenies and the Ohio and for colonists to extend the Great Road southwestward from Staunton to the New River. Many of the earliest settlers to migrate into this region were German immigrants: farmers, furniture makers, metalworkers, basket makers, potters, stonemasons, gunsmiths, and fraktur artists.[1] Along with the area's acclaimed Scots-Irish settlers, the Germans left their mark on the culture. One of the earliest of these German settlers was Heinrich Adam Herrmann, cited in early records as Adam Harman (also spelled Harmon, Herman, or Hermann).[2]

Adam Harman sometimes played a leading role but more often a supporting role in much of the drama of that time and place, includ-



Map of the important sites in the Harman's settlement in western Virginia.

ing the Mary Draper Ingles saga. His role in that particular event was fictionalized by James Alexander Thom in his best-selling historical novel, *Follow the River*.[3]

Several earlier accounts of the story have been recorded, from which Thom drew information, including one by Mary Ingles' son John Ingles, Sr., called *Escape from Indian Captivity,* written before he died in 1836 and preserved unpublished by his family until 1934. Ingles describes his mother's meeting with Harman near the end of her ordeal:

> It so happened that a man of the name of Adam Harmon and two of his Sones was at a place on New River where they had settled and raised some corn that summer securing their corn and Hunting. When my mother got to the improvement not seeing aney Howse began to Hollow Harmon on hearing the voice of a woman was a good deal alarmed on listening being an old neighbour of my mother and well acquainted with her voice said to his sones it certainly was Mary Ingles voice & knowing that she was taken prisoner by the Indians was cautious there might be Indians with her him and his sons Caught up their guns and run on to where my mother was & you may expect it was a Joyfull meating especialey to my mother.[4]

Later, John P. Hale, a descendant of Mary Ingles, elaborated on John Ingles' account in *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, first published in 1886.[5] As Mary Ingles descended from the cliffs, she came upon grounds that showed signs of human habitation:

> She saw no one, but there were evident signs of persons about. She hallooed; at first there was no response, but relief was near at hand. . . .
>
> She had been heard by Adam Harmon and his two sons, whose patch it was, and who were in it gathering their corn.

The site of the Harman cabin on New River, in current Giles County.

> Mrs. Ingles hallooed again. They came out of the corn and towards her, cautiously, rifles in hand. When near enough to distinguish the voice — Mrs. Ingles still hallooing, Adam Harmon remarked to his sons: "Surely, that must be Mrs. Ingles' voice." Just then she, too recognized Harmon, when she was overwhelmed with emotions of joy and relief — poor, overtaxed nature gave way, and she swooned and fell, insensible, to the ground.
>
> They picked her up tenderly and conveyed her to their little cabin, near at hand, where there was protection from the storm, a rousing fire and substantial comfort.[6]

Both John Ingles and Hale go on to describe the following days as Mary Ingles regained her strength under the care of the Harman men, who then took her to Dunkard Bottom where many of the settlers had gathered together in a fort. Later in his narrative, Hale adds,

> I regret that I do not know the after-history of Adam Harmon and sones, the pioneer settlers of this beautiful place; but from every descendant of Mrs. Ingles, now and forever, I bespeak proper appreciation and grateful remembrance of the brave, tender-hearted, sympathetic, noble Adam Harmon.[7]

Although Hale knew nothing about Adam Harman and his "after-history," the story of Harman and his two sons, presumed by the Harman family to be the two oldest — Adam, Jr., and Henry[8] — has been preserved in historical records and by their many descendants. Adam Harman's contribution to the settling of Southwest Virginia precedes and goes beyond the tale of Mary Draper Ingles.

Born in Germany in about 1700, Adam Harman immigrated to America in 1726, as did six brothers: Jacob, Valentine, Mathias, George, Daniel, and John.[9] Also accompanying Adam was his wife Louisa Katrina, whom he had married October 23, 1723,[10] and two young sons, Adam, Jr., born in Germany in 1724, and Henry, reportedly born on the Isle of Mann in 1726 during the journey to America. Early records of the Harman brothers in America can be found in and around Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, prior to 1734, in the form of land deeds and payment of quitrents.[11] In 1736, Adam Harman's name can be found in records in the area of Strasburg, Virginia, where his fifth son, Mathias was born.[12] His other children included George, Daniel, Christina, Catherine, Philipina, Valentine, Jacob, and a fourth daughter, name unknown.[13]

According to Moravian records, Adam's grandfather had suffered persecution in Germany for his Moravian religious beliefs, which may have led to the Harman family's departure from Germany.[14] Evidence indicates that the Harmans had strong religious convictions. Early in their stay in America, they were associated with the Lutheran Church, as Adam, Jacob, and Valentine are listed as founding members of St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, built in 1750 on land (Price's Fork, Montgomery County, Virginia) promised by James Patton and later donated by his estate.[15] For a time on the frontier before meetinghouses were built, the settlers held services in homes, and they enjoyed an occasional traveling preacher, including Moravians. During the French and Indian War, some of the Harmans moved into the Moravian community of Bethabara in North Carolina, as will be covered later in this article. In later years, many of the Harmans became Methodists.[16]

Along with many others, Adam Harman and at least four of his brothers — Jacob, Valentine, Mathias and George — journeyed into the New River Valley by way of a path through western Virginia called the Great Road, a path under dispute during the negotiations of the Treaty of Lancaster. The northern Indian tribes had been using the path for travel to the southern tribes for many years, and the treaty gave them the right to keep using it. The path angled southwesterly from Pennsylvania through the valley of Virginia into the Yadkin valley of North Carolina.[17] It was from this road that orders were given to build a road westward to the New River. After a two-month survey, James Patton and John Buchanan filed their report in the Orange County Court on May 24, 1745, advising to build a road from "Thom's Brook at Frederick County line" and naming a number of settlements along the way, including Beard's Ford, Thompson's Ford, Tinkling Spring, Beverly Manor, Campbell's Ford, and Cherry Tree Bottom "to Adam Harmon's on the New or Woods River."[18]

Although this record clearly shows Adam Harman on the New River as early as May 1745, some confusion has resulted from conflicting records regarding the date of his arrival. The Draper-Ingles records list Adam Harman among several others traveling with them into the area in 1748.[19] For many years, the Draper-Ingles families received credit for establishing the first English-speaking settlement west of the Alleghenies. However, John Newton Harman in his ex-

tensive research on the Harman family, *Harman Genealogy, Biographical Sketches and Historical Notes, 1700–1924*, quotes the Patton and Buchanan road report that confirms Adam Harman's place in the area earlier than the Draper-Ingles families.[20] In 1923, J. N. Harman sent this evidence to William E. Connelly, noted historian of the Mississippi Valley and president of the Kansas State Historical Society. Connelly confirmed Harman's record-changing evidence. The following quote is taken from a statement Connelly sent to J. N. Harman:

> [The Patton and Buchanan] report was made in 1745. It is an official record and is undoubtedly authentic and entitled to full credit. It establishes the fact that Adam Harman was living at Gunpowder Springs, now known as Eggleston Springs, in what is now Giles County, Va., in 1745. As his house was already occupied and so well known as to be mentioned as the terminal of this road being established by Orange County to the westward, it must have been erected prior to 1745.
>
> The date is three years before the accepted date of the founding of the settlement at Draper's Meadows.
>
> So the honor and distinction of having erected the first dwelling and making the first permanent settlement of English-speaking people in the Mississippi Valley goes to that sturdy pioneer, Adam Harman. For, though he was German in blood and spoke the German tongue, he also spoke English and was fully identified with the English westward movement in Virginia. He was fully associated with the English and was a citizen of Virginia and subject of Great Britain. His settlement was an English settlement.[21]

Since the record reveals that Harman had already established his home on the New River prior to 1748, one can only speculate as to why his name appears among the list of people accompanying the Draper-Ingles families on their southwesterly journey.

A point of further confusion arises concerning the location of Adam Harman's place cited in the survey. The *Giles County Virginia History of Families* cites the Patton and Buchanan survey as evidence that Harman had been living in present day Giles County "long enough for the place to be well known, even at that early date."[22] The Giles County history further explains that Harman's place was known as Gunpowder Springs[23] due to a strong sulphur odor from a spring nearby,

that Harman's settlement was a welcome stopover for families moving westward, and that from this settlement, "a trail was established up the river to Ingle's Ferry."[24] However, Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley note that the location mentioned in the Patton and Buchanan survey "probably was at the mouth of Tom's Creek . . . where there was a convenient ford."[25] The problem with the Gunpowder Springs location is that it is farther north along the New River than Tom's Creek. Despite strong evidence that Adam Harman built a blockhouse at Gunpowder Springs, there seems to be no record of his having owned land in present-day Giles County,[26] the place where he found Mary Ingles suffering from exhaustion and starvation as she neared the end of her journey in 1755.

A possible explanation for Adam Harman and his sons having been at the Gunpowder Springs location in 1755 is that they were on a lengthy hunting expedition known as a longhunt.[27] The Harmans were noted hunters and fur traders,[28] and their cabin near the Palisades was a hunting cabin — a hunting cabin with a cornfield. In fact, John Ingles refers to the place using those terms in his account of his mother's ordeal: "It so happened that a man of the name of Adam Harmon and two of his Sones was at a place on New River where they had settled and raised some corn that summer securing their corn and

Hunting."[29] The longhunters spent extended periods of time away from home, so they built cabins to meet their need for shelter.

Regarding the question of who established the first European settlement west of the Alleghenies, a number of German settlers are on record as having moved into the area prior to the Patton and Buchanan survey. In addition to the Harmans were a man named Frederick Starn and a group of Dunkards from the Ephrata community near Lancaster, Pennsylvania.[30] Kegley and Kegley note that there were "a number of families on the ground . . . when the Germans, the Dunkards, and the Harman group established themselves on the New River"[31] and that "the Draper's Meadow and New River settlements were contemporary, and the date should be about 1745."[32] Kegley and Kegley make no mention of the 1748 date cited by Hale and Johnston as the date that the Draper-Ingles families entered the area. Furthermore, they note that George Draper "resided at Draper's Meadows as early as 1746 when his name appears as a worker on the road from Adam Harman's over the river."[33] Other sources agree that the Draper family arrived in 1746,[34] and Patricia Givens Johnson asserts that "the first permanent European settlers to come into this area were Germans," who settled there prior to 1745.[35] Johnson adds that George Draper bought land on Tom's Creek and Strouble's Creek from "Adam Harman acting as James Patton's agent and Harman set no price 'but reffered them to make their Bargain or price with Col. Patton.'"[36] The settlement made by the Drapers, known as Draper's Meadows, was located in the vicinity of present day Blacksburg.

For all of these people, claiming a piece of land for themselves and their families was their priority. To secure ownership of lands, they had to meet requirements stated in land grants offered by the British government, the first of which was the Woods River Grant. Some key terms of the grant are summarized as follows:

> Any person who would purchase any part or parcel of the land before the next May court should have it at the rate of four pounds and five shillings per hundred acres, to be paid on the first day of May 1748 and the remainder on the first of April 1749 with interest from that date. Persons buying land had to settle, cultivate, improve, and live on it before April 15, 1748, and pay twenty-five shillings on taking it up. No person could sell or dispose of his right until he had been in possession of his patent or

> deed for six months. Each person taking up land had to mark it and "put up some logs" and mention the quantity of acres held. . . . Any person taking up land of any less quantity than one-thousand acres in one entire survey was to pay the surveyor's fee for such land."[37]

To obtain the grant of 100,000 acres, James Patton hired John Buchanan to survey the area.[38] Buchanan's records reveal that the Harmans were, indeed, living in the area of Tom's Creek on the New River.

Prior to his surveying trips, John Buchanan traveled throughout the region, starting on October 4, 1745, and returning home October 29. During this trip, Buchanan kept a journal recording his stops and the people he met along the way. Among them, he names Adam Harman and his brothers Jacob and Valentine. In addition, in the Woods River Entry Book, Buchanan records the following on October 17: "Adam Harman one place called Tom's place and one for Adam Harman Junior on Thorn Spring the land he is to Emprove on neither is he to sell or Dispose of it in anay shape, other wise his property is forfeited."[39] On October 18, Buchanan notes in his journal that he "had ye esteate of William Marks [Mack] apprised by Adam and Jacob Harmon — no other person could be had."[40] Buchanan asked Adam and Jacob Harman to appraise the estate of William Mack, for whom the present day Max (corrupted from Mack's) Meadows was named. Buchanan implies that the Harman men were asked to conduct the appraisal because no one else was willing or able to do it.[41] That same day, Buchanan notes that Adam Harman traveled with him to the home of Charles Hart,[42] a "squatter on the Springfield tract who thought he bought a right from George Robinson,"[43] one of the men to whom the Woods River grant was issued.[44] Harman tried to help Buchanan settle the dispute. Buchanan notes, "This morning before day Adam Harman and Hart had a long conference in Dutch about ye land."[45] Harman spoke both German and English.[46] On October 22, Buchanan records meeting with a group of people at the home of Jacob Harman, whose home was located on the big Horseshoe Bend of the New River.[47] On October 24 in the Wood's River Book Buchanan records that he "sold to Valentian Hermon 1,000 acres on ye head of great Pine Run" which he must "emediatly . . . settle & Emprove thereon or forfite his property."[48] Buchanan's notes provide

a valuable record showing names of those who lived in the area in the fall of 1745.

Later land-grant records show that surveys for Adam and Jacob Harman were completed in 1750.[49] According to a November 7, 1750, entry in these records, Adam Harman claimed 500 acres "in Augusta county on the southwest side of New river known by the name of the 'Horseshoe'" in addition to 500 acres in the same county on the east side of New River beginning at the mouth of Tom's Creek.[50] Augusta County Entry Book 1 lists as its first entry, "1750, Adam Harman, 400 acres at a large spring 6 miles above Wolf Creek, on New River."[51] Additional records from 1750 list Adam Harman among several men who "were to have 100,000 acres on the New and Holston rivers and the waters of each."[52] Also in the same year, James Patton's papers show that Adam Harman, Jacob Harman, Valentine Harman, and Valentine Sevier "obtained a grant for 7,000 acres lying on both sides of the Blue Stone Creek, beginning about three miles from where the said creek runs into Wood's River, thence up the same and its several branches."[53] During this time, Adam Harman maintained a convenient ford at the lower end of Harman's Bottom on the horseshoe of the New River.[54]

Although Adam Harman received patent for his land at the mouth of Tom's Creek on November 7, 1752, records show that he failed to pay quitrents and to cultivate and improve the tract; consequently, William Thompson, James Patton's executor, "brought suit to the lieutenant governor to obtain a new patent," which he accomplished on September 25, 1762.[55] The suit apparently created enmity between the two men, which is implicit in the November 16, 1763, entry in the Augusta County Court Records ordering "Adam Harmon to be bound to peace toward Wm. Thompson."[56] In fact, the Harman name appears on grants in numerous places in the area, so many places that Kegley and Kegley observe, "It is apparent that the Harmans were interested in tracts of land on Pine Run, Walker's Creek, Bluestone, Sinking Creek, as well as the tracts on Tom's Creek and the Horseshoe, but their large selections were more than they could 'settle and improve' and as a result most of their claims were forfeited."[57] One might also infer, given the danger from attacks on the settlements perpetrated by Shawnee warriors, which intensified with the start of

the French and Indian War, that the Harman families may have abandoned their tracts for that reason as well.[58]

This unrest began with raids on property. In April 1749, Adam Harman earned the dubious distinction of being the first settler to have his cabin raided by Indians and his skins stolen:

> A party of seven Indians robbed the house of Adam Harman, probably on New river, of nine deer skins and one elk skin; that the next day six Indians robbed the same house of fourteen deer skins and one elk skin; and that the day following a number of Indians came and took away seventy-three deer skins and six elk skins. This shows also that game was abundant and that Harman was a famous hunter. This was said to have been the first depredation by the Indians on the whites west of the Alleghany.[59]

This attack created or intensified friction between Adam Harman and Jacob Castle, another German immigrant who is listed in Augusta County Court Records Order Book 1 on November 19, 1746, as one of the road builders to the Adam Harman place with Adam Harman as overseer.[60] Harman suspected Castle of instigating the raid.[61] A note in the records seems to reverse the action, however. On April 22, 1749, Augusta County Court brought charges against "Valentine and Adam Herman for violent robbery of the goods of Jacob Castlean."[62] In addition, in Original Petitions and Papers Filed in the County Court, 1749, jailor John Cunningham is ordered "to keep the following . . . Adam and Valentine Herman."[63] A few weeks later, on May 17, 1749, Adam Harman brought charges against Castle "for threatening to aid the French" and Castle was "ordered to be arrested and brought before the court on next Monday."[64] A few days later, on May 22, Castle was "acquitted in charge of treason in going over to assist the French."[65] Whether the raid was instigated by Castle or not, raids such as the one on Harman's place signaled worse times to come for the settlers along the New River as rivalries between the British and the French increased in the Ohio Valley. When the French and Indian War erupted in 1755, bloodshed extended southward into the New River Valley.

At the time of this dispute, "Adam Harman was captain of foot and overseer of the main road through the community. . . . He had charge of the road to the river and over the ridge to the Roanoke."[66] Apparently the dispute did not damage his trustworthy reputation,

for between the raid on his furs in 1749 and his rescue of Mary Ingles in 1755, he served in significant ways to help defend the region from French-instigated Indian attacks by Shawnee warriors. On August 19, 1752, he "qualified Captain of a Troop of Horse" and his brother "Jacob Harman "qualified Cornet."[67] In October 1754, when the General Assembly enlisted the aid of local militias, Adam was designated a captain and Jacob an ensign of a "troop of horse" under Colonel James Patton. According to Kegley and Kegley, "For the residents of the New and Holston Rivers, 1755 was probably the worst year of the war. The murder of some of the citizens, the capture of others, and the loss of [General William] Braddock's army [on July 9] caused much alarm."[68] Despite the fact that Governor Robert Dinwiddie had taken measures to ensure the safety of the settlers, such as sending Captain Andrew Lewis and a group of forty or fifty men "to Augusta county to protect the frontier," the vicious attacks persisted. The governor then sent "blank commissions . . . by Colonel Patton for officers for a company of fifty men for the further protection of the inhabitants."[69] Despite the governor's efforts, the attacks continued unabated:

> Most of the outrages . . . were committed on New River and Holston. From October 1754 to August 1755 twenty-one individuals were killed, seven wounded and nine taken prisoner. Among those killed were Lieutenant [William] Wright and Colonel Patton, both being caught without guards. Lieutenant Wright and two of his soldiers were killed on Reed Creek on July 12, and the Draper's Meadow massacre in which Colonel Patton was killed took place on July 30 or 31. In this Massacre Casper Barger, Mrs. Eleanor Draper and a young Draper child were killed. James Cull was wounded, Mrs. Mary Draper Ingles and two children, Mrs. Betty Draper, and Henry Leonard, were taken prisoners.[70]

These murders and kidnappings terrorized the settlers, and most of them fled from their homes to safer, more populous places and, to quote the Kegleys again, "the Holston, New River, and Greenbrier settlements were practically abandoned. This left the Roanoke and James River country the southwestern frontier and thus it remained until the close of the war."[71]

The mass exodus created problems keeping the local militia, of which Adam Harman was a member, together and active. When Colonel John Buchanan reported this to Governor Dinwiddie, the gover-

Cliffs — the Palisades — along the New River in Giles County, Virginia, near the site of Adam Harman's cabin.

nor replied, indignantly, that those who would not stay to defend their homes should not expect help from him.[72] Despite the governor's remonstrance, as the Kegleys recount, the "exodus from the lands on the Western Waters was dramatic. . . . There was difficulty on the roads and ridges, 'for the crowds were flying as if every moment were death.'"[73] Whether Adam Harman continued to serve with the militia, or whether he also fled, is not known for certain. His family circumstances suggest that he may have stayed. By this time, his wife Louisa Katrina was deceased, having died March 18, 1749.[74] Furthermore, his sons were as yet unmarried, and men without family responsibilities sometimes take greater risks than those with wives and children. Evidence indicates that some of the Harmans stayed, an ill-fated decision, for in 1756 Jacob Harman and a son were killed by Indians on Neck Creek.[75] The following year, Valentine Harman was killed by Indians on the New River.[76]

Adam's wilderness experience and prior examples of risk taking certainly would suggest that he was not hiding from danger. Was he part of the ill-fated Sandy Creek expedition of 1756 led by Andrew Lewis? This expedition set out with objectives to punish the Shawnee

The New River, flowing north through Giles County, Virginia, viewed from the palisades near Adam Harman's settlement.

for attacks on the settlements and to establish a military presence at the mouth of the Big Sandy. The path this group traveled from Fort Frederick crossed the New River below the Horseshoe[77] and went through Burke's Garden and on toward the Big Sandy.[78] William Preston kept a journal of the events. He reported bad weather, lack of supplies, and disgruntled men who nearly mutinied, and the expedition ended in failure to reach either goal.[79] Without a list of the more than 200 white men on this expedition, we cannot determine positively that Adam Harman was one of them.

If Adam left, stayed, or was a part of the Sandy Creek campaign is in question, but he was certainly in the area by 1758 when he served as one of thirty-five men accompanying Captain Robert Wade from Fort Mayo to the New River.[80] Captain Wade's trip resulted from a series of actions to quell the Shawnee terror strikes against the English settlements. First, the governors of Virginia and of North and South Carolina realized the importance of establishing good relations with their neighbors, the Cherokee and Catawba, long-time enemies of the Shawnee. The governors wanted cooperation from the Indians in building forts. Thus in December 1755, Governor Dinwiddie sent

Robert Byrd and Peter Randolph to meet with the Cherokee and ask their cooperation in building a fort on the Holston and New rivers. In return the Cherokee could recover the deserted lands and preserve grain left behind when the settlers fled.[81] Governor Dinwiddie also asked the Cherokee to send warriors to help protect the Virginia frontier, but the Cherokee did not want to leave their villages unprotected. They wanted assurance that the forts would protect their women and children as well as the white settlers. To assuage their fears, Governor Dinwiddie offered to build forts for the Cherokee. To accomplish this, he sent Andrew Lewis with a group of men to Chota to build a fort, which they completed by July 1756, but because the governors never sent soldiers to man the fort, the Indians tore it down fearing that their enemies would take control of it.[82]

When the Cherokee finally sent a contingent of warriors into Virginia in 1757 to help fight the French and Shawnee, the warriors became impatient with delays and inaction, and many of them left. Later, Governor Dinwiddie appealed for more help from the Cherokee, so more warriors were sent in early 1758. Then in May, a large group of Cherokee returning home, led by Moytoy of Settico, decided to "recover" horses they had lost doing battle with the French by taking them from setters along their route. Their action offended the settlers, who pursued the Indians, and a battle ensued. To get revenge for their losses, the Cherokee attacked and killed nineteen whites in North Carolina. Both whites and Cherokee were confused about whom they could trust and tensions escalated.[83]

At this point, Captain Wade's group, which included Adam Harmon, was sent to hunt down enemy Indians, but the march served only to increase tension and add to the confusion on whom to trust. On August 12, 1758, Captain Wade left Fort Mayo and set out in search of Shawnee or renegade Cherokee. A portion of John Echols' account of what happened follows. :

> Next morning being Wednesday the 16th. Inst, we Sent our Spyes and hunters to Spy for Enemy Signs, & to hunt for provisions. But the body of the Company Tarryed there. . . . Next morning Thursday the 17th Inst, we sent out hunters as usual, & in the afternoon some of them came in & informed us that they had seen signs of Indians at Drapers' Meadow. . . but one of our men not coming in that night disappointed us — next morning Being

Fryday the 18th. Inst. Some of the men were sent to Look for the man that was Lost — & the Rest remained there. . . . The Capt. and Wm. Hall and Adam Hermon, and two or three more went off & Left the men under my Command and ordered that we should be in Readyness for a march as soon as he returned — Soon after the Captain was Gone, the man that was Lost Came in. . . . But when the Captain came to the place where the sign was Seen, he Tels us that he saw a Shoe track among them, which caused them to believe that it had been white men after their horses — So the Captain nor none of the men, that was with him returned that night, But went a hunting — Next morning being Saturday 19th Inst. the Captain not coming gave us a great deal of Uneasyness. . . . I ordered the men to keep a Verry Sharp Look out, and Likewise to be in order to march next morning, by SunRise, — I was Determined to stay that night & if the Capt: did not come, to march off after him — Soon after we had come to a conclusion about it Some of the men Spyed five Indians Very near to us. . . . I was a Lying down in the house when I heard the news — I Rased up and presented my Gun at one of the Indians, But I heard some of our Company that was in another house, Cry out, Don't Shoot —

I Stopt at that and askt them what they were & I beleive they said Cheroke, but Stood in amaise, & Reason they had, for I suppose there was 20 Guns presented at them, we went up to them & Examined them — they said they were Cherokees, I made signs to them to show me their Pass, But they had none, — They had with them 5 head of horse Kind & Skelps, that appeared to be whitemens. . . . Some of the Company insisted to fall upon them and Kill them, for they said they believed they were Shawnees, & that they were Spyes. . . but I said I was determined to keep them till the Capt: came. . . . After Capt: heard the opinion of the people, he past sentence of Death upon them; but there was one Abraham Dunkleberry, hunter that we let off who said they were Cherokees, yet he agreed that they were Rogues. . . . next morning Being Sunday 20th Inst, upon what Dunkleberry had said the Capt: let them have their Guns & let them go off — which displeased some of the Carolina men — so much that they swore if they were not allowed to kill them, they would never go Ranging again, for they said it was to no purpose to Rang after the Enemy, & when they had found them, not to be allowed to kill them. . . .

> Upon consideration of their having no pass, nor white man, & by reason of their steal of horses, they did not appear any waise Like friends, so the Captain told them to be Easy, and after Dunkleberry was gone, we would go after them and Kill them...the Capts: orders was for 12 of the best men to follow them and Kill them and the remainder of the Company to go to the Dunker Fort which was about half a mile below us. . . . The men that followed them were Adam hermon, Daniel Hermon, Wm. Hall, Ric'd Hall, Jun'r, Tobias Clapp, Philip Clap, Joseph Clapp, Benj. Angel, David Currie, Ric'd Hines, James Lyon & my self — 13 of us — We followed them and overtook them at a peach orchard — jest as they were leaving it, we watched our opportunity, and fired at them and followed them up till we Killed 4 of them, and wounded the other — we Skelpt them that we killed, & then followed the other — he bled verry much, he went into the river and to an Island — but we could not find where he went out. . . . Next morning being Monday 21st Inst. we packed up in order to march homeward, for signs of Indians was plenty & we had but little amunition but before we left the fort, we were Sworn — the words of the oath Do not remember exactly, but the Intent of the thing was not to tell that we ever heard them say that they were Cherokees without required to swere — so left the fort and marcht till dark & took up Camp at a Plantation upon a Branch of the Little River. . . . I Rem'n Yrs. &., John Echols.[84]

This incident left the remaining Cherokee warriors in Virginia fearful for a safe return to their homes, so they petitioned Governor Dinwiddie for "promises that their people would not be molested in Virginia."[85] More misunderstandings on both sides resulted in increasing distrust and hatred between whites and Indians. As for Adam Harman's involvement from this point, there is no evidence.

Further records involving Adam Harman can be found at the Moravian settlement in North Carolina. Many Moravian journal entries record the unrest caused by Indian attacks, such as the following involving Adam Harman, referred to here as "the elder Herrman":

> 1763, Aug. 22. A man from New River came to the doctor for treatment of a wound received from an Indian. He brought a letter from our friend the elder Herrman, which said that since the last alarm, they had seen no more of the Wild men. They, the Herrmans, had built a fort where they and several other fami-

> lies were living together. They were expecting a guard of 100 men from Virginia.[86]
>
> 1764, Feb. 10. From New River comes our friend, the elder Herrman, and his son, Adam. The rest of their families will follow next week. Herrman says that by spring that there will be no families left on New River, for by the King's Declaration the land must be returned to the Cherokees.
>
> Feb. 29. The Herrman families, who have been staying at the mill, moved away today. They will settle near our east line.[87]

Other entries record happier events in the life of Adam Harman and his family:

> 1764, April 21. Yesterday the elder Herrman and part of his family arrived. Today the rest came, accompanied by many wedding guests, for Daniel Herrman wished to be married to Billy Bughsen's daughter by Justice Loesch. About forty people had to be cared for in the Tavern tonight, but all went with reasonable quiet.
>
> April 22. Easter Sunday. (The usual services were held). In a separate service the little sons of Adam and Henry Herrman were baptized. The children are the grandsons of our friend, the elder Herrman. Adam's son, six weeks old, received the name of Valentine; the other a year old, was named Henry.[88]

The following entry records news of Adam Harman's death and establishes that he had returned to the New River:

> 1767, Mar. 2. Captain English from New River, was here, on his way to Georgia. . . . He confirmed the report about the murder [by the Indians on the New River]. He also told us that our old friend Adam Herrman died there four weeks ago.[89]

These invaluable records left by the Moravians give a glimpse into the difficulties Adam Harman encountered in his efforts to locate his family in a safe place where the happy events such as marriage and baptism could continue unmolested, yet he also returned to the wilderness, which he must have loved, and spent his last days there.

After his father's death, Adam Harman's son Henry recorded in his father's old German Bible, which is now housed at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, "My father, Adam Herman, died in

the fall of the year 1767. The blood of Jesus Christ cleanses us of all our sins. My Lord Jesus, yours forever. Yours I am in life and in death eternally."[90] This date conflicts with the Moravian records by several months, yet the year is consistent.

The life of German immigrant Heinrich Adam Hermann, better known in historical records as Adam Harman, was a lively and eventful one. Evidence reveals that he took great risks in transporting his family from Germany to the Colonies and then to the wilderness along the New River in Virginia; that he dreamed big and did not always have the ability or means to carry out his dreams; that he was not always a congenial neighbor; that he was a man who showed courage in dangerous times; and that "the brave, tender-hearted, sympathetic, noble Adam Harmon" of John P. Hale's account could also be a man of violence, if necessary. He was firm in his resolve to help settle the new frontier of Virginia, firm in his resolve to establish a place for his family there. He lived during an age when immigrants such as he were hungry for land of their own, and they were willing to risk their lives to obtain it. Adam Harman's legacy is perhaps best noted in the lives of his descendants, many of whom still live in the Appalachian region of Southwest Virginia, eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia, and North Carolina where their progenitor hunted and farmed and fought to secure a place for them. They have been farmers, preachers, soldiers, teachers, engineers, doctors, lawyers, miners, artists, writers, and more — all the solid citizenry that has made the region the backbone of the United States of America.

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Endnotes

1. "Southwest Virginia's German Heritage on Exhibit at Ferrum College," *Ferrum News*, 06 June 2001. Accessed 02 July 2007 <http://www.ferrum.ed/news/ArchivePreMay02/germanarts.html> According to this web site, Fraktur is defined as "hand drawn and watercolored documents created on the occasion of births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths."
2. John P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, 3rd ed., ed. Harold J. Dudley (Radford, Va.: Roberta Ingles Steele, 1971, first published 1886). The original German spelling of the name Harman was Hermann, but spelling of the name was anglicized in America. Hale spells it Harmon, with an "o" in the second syllable, but most descendants of Adam Harman spell the name with an "a" in the last syllable. See John Newton Harman Sr., *Harman Genealogy (Southern Branch) with Biographical Sketches and Historical Notes, 1700–1924* (Radford, Va.: Commonwealth Press, Inc., 1925, reprinted 1983), p. 11. I will use the Harman spelling unless quoting from a source that uses a different spelling. See also David E. Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory* (Huntington, W.Va.: Standard Printing and Publishing Co., 1906), p. 33. The entire text of this book is available on Google Books.
3. James Alexander Thom, *Follow the River* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981), p. 358.
4. John Ingles Sr., *Escape from Indian Captivity: The Story of Mary Draper Ingles and son Thomas Ingles*, 2nd ed., edited by Roberta Ingles Steele and Andrews Lewis Ingles (Radford, Va.: no publisher, 1982), p. 16.

5. Although the accuracy of Hale's work is in question, his comment about the "after-history of Adam Harmon and sones" quoted herein segues into the rest of Adam Harman's story.
6. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, p. 82.
7. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, p. 91.
8. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 68.
9. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 47.
10. Harman Family Bible, stored at Virginia Historical Society, The Center for Virginia History (Copies of these records are in the author's possession); Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 50.
11. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, pp. 49, 51.
12. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 49.
13. Harman Family Bible; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, pp. 50–1.
14. Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Verona, Va.: McClure Printing Company, Inc., 1973), p. 89; Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventures on the Western Waters*, vol. 1 (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, Inc., 1980), p. 223.
15. Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 30; see also Johnson's photo of St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, between pages 100 and 101; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 23.
16. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 23–4.
17. The earliest map of this road is the Fry-Jefferson Map (first edition completed in 1751) discussed in Mary B. Kegley, *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road, 1745–1796* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Sheridan Books, Inc., 2008), pp. 4–5.
18. Ann Brush Miller, *Historic Roads of Virginia, Orange County Road Orders, 1734–1749* (Orange County Historical Society, Virginia Highway and Transportation Research Council, n. d.), p. 109; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 49; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 217; Kegley, *Finding Their Way*, p. 7.
19. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, p. 16; Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements*, p. 10.
20. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 55.
21. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 57.
22. Giles County Book Committee, *Giles County Virginia History of Families* (Pearisburg, Va.: Giles County Historical Society, 1985), p. 195; hereafter cited as Giles County.
23. Today the town bears the name Eggleston in memory of Colonel William Eggleston, who owned a resort in the area following the Civil War.
24. Giles County, p. 195.
25. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 218.
26. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 218.
27. For further information on the long hunters and their effect on the region, see Ted Franklin Belue, *The Long Hunt: Death of the Buffalo East of the Mississippi* (Mechanicsburg, Penn.: Stackpole Books, 1996). Mary B. Kegley also includes a chapter on "The Long Hunters" in *Finding Their Way*, pp. 35–6.

28. Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 89; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 52; Ulysses S. A. Heavener, *German New River Settlement, Virginia*, (publisher unknown, 1929), p. 7. A limited preview of Heavener's book can be found on Google Books.
29. Ingles, *Escape*, p. 16.
30. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 11; Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, pp. 85, 89.
31. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 9.
32. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 9.
33. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 212.
34. Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 94; **Heavener, p. 12.**
35. Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 89.
36. Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 94.
37. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 9.
38. A reference to John Buchanan's journey was made in *The Smithfield Review*, vol. 6, p. 95.
39. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, 10.
40. Goodridge Wilson, *Smyth County History and Traditions*. (Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, Inc., 1932), p. 14. (The entire text of Buchanan's journal is in Wilson's book.); Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 10.
41. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 10.
42. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 10; Wilson, *Smyth County History*, p. 14.
43. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 9; Wilson, *Smyth County History*, p. 11.
44. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 8.
45. Wilson, *Smyth County History*, p. 14.
46. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 223. Because Adam Harman spoke both German and English, he seems to have fit in with the English-speaking settlers better than some of the other Germans who did not speak English.
47. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 10; Wilson, *Smyth County History*, p. 15.
48. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, pp. 11, 219; Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 89.
49. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, pp. 12, 218; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 52.
50. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, pp. 52, 329; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 218.
51. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 52; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 182.
52. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 13.
53. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 13; Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 90.
54. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 49.
55. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 219.
56. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745–1800.* (Roselyn, Va.:

The Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912), p. 110. The entire text of this book is available on Google Books.

57. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 219.
58. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, pp. 15, 177.
59. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 52. Reference to this incident occurs also in Charles Kerr, William Elsey Connelley, and Ellis Merton Coulter, *History of Kentucky*, vol. 1 (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1922), p. 78. The entire text of this book is available on Google Books.
60. Patton and Buchanan Survey Report, Augusta County, Virginia, Order Book 1, 1745–1747, p. 130; Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, p. 23; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 49.
61. Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements*, p. 10.
62. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, p. 433; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 177.
63. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, p. 432.
64. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, p. 38; Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, p. 65.
65. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, p. 38.
66. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 177. Harman (*Harman Genealogy*, p. 52) also notes that Adam Harman was a constable and an overseer of the road on the New River.
67. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement*, p. 53.
68. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 54.
69. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 54
70. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 55. Other accounts of the Draper's Meadows massacre can be found in Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, pp. 29–31; Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, pp. 201–6; Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements*, pp. 19–20; Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870* (Richmond, Va.: J. L. Hill Printing Co., 1903), pp 56–7. The entire text of this book is available on Google Books. Also Ellen Epperson Brown examines various versions of the story in "What Really Happened at Drapers Meadows? The Evolution of a Frontier Legend," *The Smithfield Review*, vol. 7 (2003): pp. 5–21.
71. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 55.
72. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 55.
73. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 56.
74. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 50.
75. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 222; J. A. Waddell, *Waddell's Annals of Augusta County Virginia from 1726 to 1871*, 2 ed. (Rockwood, Tenn.: EagleRidge Technologies, 2006), p. 155. (Original work second ed. published 1902), http://www.roanetnhistory.org/bookread.php?loc=WaddellsAnnals&pgid=45.
76. F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Va.: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), p. 128. Waddell, *Waddell's Annals of Augusta County*, p. 155, shows a different year; he quotes William Preston's journal, which lists the date of Valentine Harman's death as March 1756. A limited text of this source is available on Google Books.

77. "Captain William Preston and the Journal of the Sandy Creek Expedition, 1756," *Draper Manuscripts*, IQQ p. 123, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.
78. Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, edited and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites with notes by Lyman Copeland Draper (Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1912), p. 82. The entire text of this book is available on Google Books.
79. "Captain William Preston, " *Draper Manauscripts* IQQ p. 123; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 57.
80. Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 53; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 60.
81. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 56.
82. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 58.
83. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, pp. 59–60.
84. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, pp. 63–6. The complete text of John Echol's journal from Capt. Wade's march is transcribed in Summer's *History* on pages 62–6. A summary of this incident can be found in Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 60.
85. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 61.
86. Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Vol. I, 1752–1771*. (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1922), p. 274; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 320; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 223.
87. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, p. 285; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 320; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 223.
88. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, p. 286; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 320–1; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 223.
89. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, p. 358; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 321; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventures*, p. 223.
90. Harman Family Bible; Harman, *Harman Genealogy*, p. 70.