

The Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1.

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Introduction

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

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

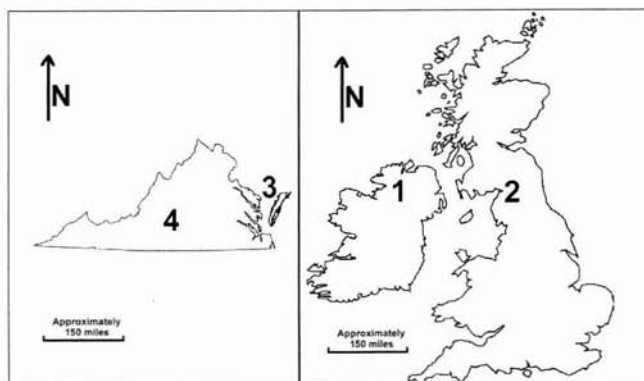


Figure 1. Location map showing the principal places associated with the life of James Patton in Virginia and the British Isles.

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

achievement was obtaining his “great grant” of 100,000 acres in 1745 on the Mississippi watershed, the first ever such grant made by Virginia. He is also noteworthy as the uncle³ of William Preston, who was Patton’s protégé and principal successor, as well as the founder of an American family dynasty that continues to the present day.⁴ As readers of the *Smithfield Review* will know, Patton was killed by Indians near the present Smithfield Plantation house in Blacksburg, Virginia, where a commemorative DAR brass plaque records the event. The exact location of his remains is unknown (Figure 4). However, having pointed out that Patton had a spectacular career after he became established in Augusta County, we note that that career is not the subject of this article.

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

Writings About James Patton’s Life Before 1737

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

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

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

Any study of James Patton properly begins with his biography. Patton's sole, published, biographer was the Blacksburg-based historian Patricia Givens Johnson.⁵ She recounts in the first chapter⁶ of her biography the received Patton-Preston family genealogy as recorded in the Lyman Draper papers⁷ and elsewhere, and as developed by Preston Davie.⁸ Johnson concluded, "Mystery shrouds James Patton's activities before [his] coming to America." One reviewer of her biography commented that Johnson

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



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

However, it is clear from Johnson's handwritten notes in her papers¹⁰ that she was highly skeptical of the asserted facts in Preston Davie's genealogical account of James Patton. Specifically, Johnson wrote to the curator of manuscripts at the Filson Club: "I see no real proof that Preston Davie gives of James Patton being the child of Henry Patton other than just a statement that he was."¹¹ Johnson's analysis and conclusion notwithstanding, an internet search today will produce hundreds of genealogy sites that assert without the slightest qualification that Henry Patton, husband of Sarah Lynn, was the father of James Patton.

The three earliest Patton-Preston family histories date from the period 1833-1843—a hundred years later than Patton's time of arrival in Augusta County (Figure 4). The first of these early family histories is by Patton's great-nephew Francis Preston, who wrote of his grandmother, Patton's sister: "I remember her well, though she was old, a well looking sensible old lady: Her maiden name was Patton, the sister of Col. James Patton who settled in Augusta—a great land speculator."¹² However, while Francis Preston wrote about his grandmother and about the death of James Patton, he did not write about Patton's origins. The second early family history was written by John Brown (1731-1803), who was the husband of Margaret Preston (the second daughter of James Patton's sister) and thus a great-nephew of Patton. Brown stated that James Patton was from Donegal, Ireland, had for some years commanded a merchant ship (Figure 5), and was "a man of property, enterprise and influence."¹³ The third early family history was written by Letitia Preston Floyd (1779-1853), the daughter of William Preston, and thus a great-niece of James Patton. Her history takes the form of a letter to her son Rush dated 22 February 1843.¹⁴ This letter is the source of some of the most persistent and wholly unsupported information about James Patton that today occurs widely throughout the genealogical literature. Preston Davie's assessment of her family history was very caustic:

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Given the above analysis, it is understandable why we decline in this article to enter the morass of present-day online James Patton genealogy—with but a single exception. That exception is the work of the late anesthesiologist and avocational genealogist David V. Agricola (1946-2006). Despite his death, Agricola's web pages remain active at the present time,¹⁸ and while what he says about James Patton is derivative and unoriginal¹⁹ he does provide well-researched and convincing sketches of James Patton's relatives, such as Henry Patton of Back Creek, in present-day Pulaski County, Virginia. Noteworthy in Agricola's body of work at his website is his 860-entry Patton-related reference list. The chief lesson we learn from Agricola comes from the vast index of Pattons in his compendium that he published at an online genealogy forum site.²⁰ From that index we learn that there exist fragmentary records of no fewer than seven James Pattons who were born between about 1690 and 1708. That is a remarkable finding, and obviously complicates the search for the "right" James Patton.

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

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

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

Two Long-standing Possibly Pre-1737 Primary Documents

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

The first of these two long-standing documents is a letter²³ from Robert Macky in London clearly addressed to "Capt. James Patton," at St. Collome [Columb], Cornwall, [England] and dated April 7. Unfortunately, the year of the letter is torn away, and we have no idea when the tear occurred. Thwaites²⁴ dates this letter as being no earlier than 1731, while Weaks²⁵ dates the same letter to about 1730. Frankly, with the provenance of the letter unrecorded, and with the year in which it was written missing, its date cannot today be said to be anything other than conjecture. The letter recounts some news, asks for a favor on behalf of a relative of the writer and concludes, "I shall be glad to hear from you before you Proceed further and to know how you have Surmounted yr prant [present] misfortunes." So assuming that the recipient was the James Patton who is the subject of this article, we may conclude that he suffered misfortunes at an uncertain date, and sometimes visited the port of Newquay—the closest port to St. Columb.

The second of the two long-standing documents is a letter from Major J. O. Miller to Rebeca Daviss of Dublin, from Ballycassidy, Ireland, dated 17 January 1731.²⁶ Ballycassidy is in County Fermanagh. Weaks²⁷ describes

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

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

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

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

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

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

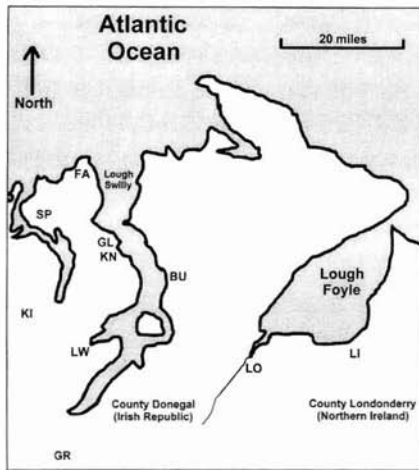


Figure 6. Schematic map of the north of the isle of Ireland showing places either mentioned in Patton family tradition or used by the surveyor John Buchanan to name Virginia plats during his surveys for James Patton in 1748 and 1749.

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

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

A discussion of these connected place names properly begins with Springfield, the place where family tradition says that Patton grew up.²⁸ On 15 December 1748, John Buchanan surveyed for James Patton a 4,000-acre tract on a branch of the New River in present-day Pulaski County and named it Springfield.²⁹ Patton mentioned the disposal of this Springfield property in his will.³⁰ Mary Kegley cited Springfield as an example of a James Patton Donegal-Virginia connection.³¹ In Donegal, Springfield is a place where a Patton family lived. Patricia Givens Johnson speculated that James Patton was born at Springfield in Donegal³² and wrote a history of the Springfield property in Virginia.³³ Springfield in Donegal was one of the places Patricia Burton visited in her effort to match Patton-related place names across the Atlantic.³⁴

On 26 October 1749 John Buchanan surveyed for James Patton a 4,400-acre tract "at a place called Fannet surrounded by Knockholow & Glenvar mountains."³⁵ F. B. Kegley³⁶ cited this survey as being made "at a place called Tunnel on west side of New River—Knock and Glenvar Mountains." As Louise Leslie recounts,³⁷ many years passed before the site of this tract was finally identified by Frances Moss and Mary Kegley as being Burkes Garden. Knockholow, coded KN in Figure 6) and Glenvar (coded GL in Figure 6) were identified by Mary Kegley as mountains both in present-day Tazewell

County and in Donegal.³⁸ The place cited as “Tunnel” by F. B. Kegley and “Fannel” by Louise Leslie, were misreadings of the handwriting of Augusta County surveyor Thomas Lewis’ copy of John Buchanan’s original plat. We now in this article reinterpret the word “Tunnel (or Fannel),” the word which Lewis wrote as “Fannel,” as the Fanad peninsula in County Donegal (coded FA on Figure 6), and on that peninsula we interpret Knockholow as Knockalla Mountain at map coordinates 55.164444, -7.614722 and Glenvar as the nearby village of Glenvar at coordinates 55.157199, -7.601509.³⁹ These new identifications confirm and extend Mary Kegley’s analysis and place either John Buchanan or James Patton at a very specific locality in County Donegal at GL and KN.

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

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



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

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

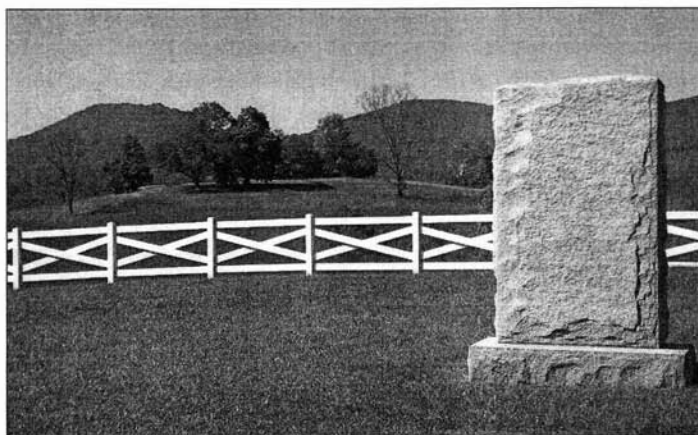


Figure 8. The grave of Patton's sister Elizabeth at Greenfield in present-day Botetourt County, Virginia. The Greenfield house was situated among the trees on the knoll at the left of the picture. She was the wife of John Preston and together they were the progenitors of the Preston dynasty through their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

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

The William Beverley to James Patton Letters of 1737

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

William Beverley was in 1737 a full-fledged member of the Virginia elite with a powerful economic base that derived from his many land holdings and plantations.⁴⁷ Ships trading in and out of Blandfield carried tobacco, slaves, sugar, rum, corn, and a host of other goods. Beverley served for twenty-eight years in the lucrative position of clerk of Essex County, while in the House of Burgesses he represented Orange County (1736-1740) and Essex County (1742-1749); he was appointed to the governor's council in 1752 and served on it until his death in 1756.⁴⁸ Beverley's prominence in 1737 thus contrasts sharply with Patton's invisibility up to that year.

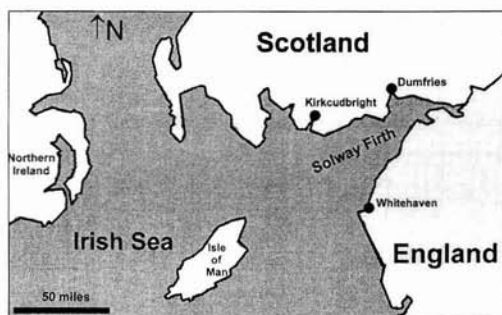


Figure 9. Location map for James Patton during the years 1737-1740. Documentary records place him at Kirkcudbright and Dumfries in Scotland and Whitehaven in England. All three places are ports on the Solway Firth. Although there is little doubt that Patton came originally from the north of Ireland,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

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

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

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

New Documentary Evidence

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

Already known Virginia shipping returns⁴⁹ tell that Captain James Patton of the ship *Walpole*⁵⁰ owned by Walter Lutwidge arrived in Virginia from the port of Whitehaven on 26 August 1738.⁵¹ During its journey the *Walpole* stopped in Dublin as confirmed by a surviving document showing that there Patton contracted to bring an indentured servant to Virginia.⁵² Dorman says that "It appears almost certain that it was on this voyage that John Preston [father of William Preston], his wife, three daughters, and one son sailed for Virginia."⁵³ The same Virginia records show that the *Walpole* departed from Virginia eight months later, on 23 April 1739.

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

On 30 October 1739 Patton shipped two millstones to Virginia on the *Walpole*. On 1 February 1739/40⁵⁵ in the *William* bound for Virginia he shipped: shot, wrought iron, nails, saddles, cart gears, hats, haberdashery, woolens and worsted stuff, hosiery, cordage, pewter, brass, cast iron, and tin. On 21 April 1740 in the *Hope* bound for Virginia he shipped: cotton stuffs, woolens and worsted stuff, hosiery, haberdashery, muskets, felt hats, and a great deal of wrought iron.⁵⁶

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

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

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

Compelling new documentary evidence comes from Whitehaven and from our correspondent and colleague there, Alan Routledge. In the St. Nicholas Church⁵⁸ archive are three thick volumes of the earliest records of the church for the years 1696 to 1837 that were officially copied in the 1940/50s. They were carefully typed up, indexed and bound. In those records Routledge found the burial record "1728 26Th June Ally wife of James Patton, mariner." Routledge reports that the original records themselves still exist and that he is attempting to get a copy of the original entry. He further reports that all of the undamaged headstones were laid flat as a patio at one end of the old church grounds and that if any headstone to Ally exists it

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

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

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

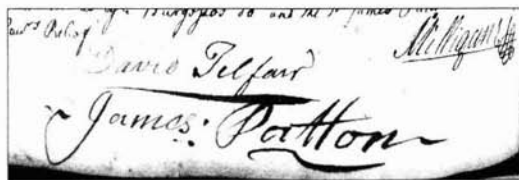


Figure 10a. James Patton's signature from the Kirkcudbright Town Council Minute Book 1728-1742, page 174. A meeting convened in the Council House of Kirkcudbright on 28th day of December 1734.




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

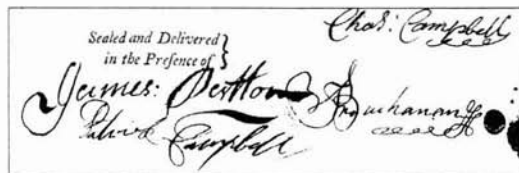


Figure 10c. Augusta County Judgment case file for May 1755, Augusta County Courthouse. Bond of Charles Campbell and John Buchanan [Gent.] to John Buchanan, witnessed by James Patton, November 1752.

Walter Lutwidge and James Patton 1739-1740

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

Lutwidge's 1739-1740 letter book,⁶⁰ with its many references to James Patton, first came to light by chance about 1960.⁶¹ With the aid of transcriptions provided by Alan Routledge of Whitehaven (who has ready access to the original document), and our copy of the letter book on microfilm, we have recently undertaken a detailed analysis of the Lutwidge letters (which we plan to publish in full elsewhere). That analysis has produced over forty references to Patton and includes letters from Lutwidge to Patton and detailed discussion by Lutwidge of letters written to him by Patton.

The letter book reveals that Patton and Lutwidge had a stormy and disputatious relationship. That relationship was described in some detail by Richard MacMaster⁶² in a 1980 article that deserves to be much better known than it currently is among historians of western Virginia. The letter book was also the basis for the following assessment of Patton (and also of his contemporary John Lewis) in a recently published volume of Irish immigrants' letters and memoirs edited by four historians. The editors write:

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

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

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

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

“Your friend patton has prov’d—this to your self, you Must be Upon your guard with him...” (Letter to Mr. Freman, place unstated, 19 November 1739).

“Sr.[Sir] I herewith return you unseald My Letter to Mr. patton in answer to his to me which is of An Extrordenary Naiture...I Realy begin to think ye man is not right” (Letter to John Thompson, place unstated, 19 November 1739).

“its allways a maxim with me to Drop all resentments wn [when] affairs are Ended, but if my oponants Inetine [intend] to carry there resentmts farther, I dont I own follow our saviours Doctrine so far, as when I gett a cuff of one side to turn the other” (Letter to James Patton, place unstated, 19 November 1739).

“...I have mett wth Boath Knaves and fooles in plenty and but few Honest Industereus men, but of all ye Knaves I Ever mett with Patton has out don them all. James Concannan can tell [you of] his viloney wch I dare not repeat, he chargd no Less then 6000 lb of fresh Beef in Virga [Virginia] 40 Barrs [barrels] Indian corn and Evry thing Else in proportion, took 15 Serts [servants] to him self att a clap. In short Hell itself cant out doe him” (Letter to James Johnson at a tobacco port on the western side of the Chesapeake Bay, 24 December 1739).

“your frind Mr. Patton has provd ye Greetest Knave I ever knew and had it not been for ye sake of others I wod have stript him of his Eill gott Geere [ill-gotten gain]” (Letter to John Wilson, Maryland, 24 December 1739).

“the Rogue patton writes to me you have arrested his Goods in Mr. harrises hands for a triffle and the like. he wod pretend its my Debt but I have nothing to say to it. I settled with and after giv it up. Great artickles he wronged me of. there Remained a ballance Due to me of 50 lb which he gave me his promissary note for, which note he now wod shuffle of, soe I have no other way then to write Mr. Harris to stop his Goods untill he pays me. the Rogue took up 400 pound in holland of my mony and wrote it all away but 50” (Letter to Archibald Hamilton in Rotterdam, 29 December 1739).

"...your be surprized to here that he [Patton] and I shud fall out, but if I was able to give you in a letter ye conduct of that man you wod say as I Doe that a Greater cad not be. Ile give you a sample[:] his crimes was such that when he found I had found him out he said he wod if i wod not pass his account, be like sampson at his Death..." (Letter to "Prov Johnson" at an uncertain location, possibly Dumfries or Carlisle⁶⁵, 29 December 1739).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Speculations

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

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

In an 1896 letter, Joseph A. Waddell wrote:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Future Plans

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

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgments

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

Endnotes

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

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

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

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

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