#### **New Maritime Records of James Patton**

**Ryan S. Mays** © 2017

James Patton (c.1690–1755) was one of the most important frontier leaders in Virginia between 1741, when he took up permanent residence in the colony, and his death at the start of the French and Indian War. He played a pivotal role in the exploration, settlement, governance, and military leadership of western Virginia during that period. After settling in what was then Orange County (now Augusta County) near present-day Waynesboro, Patton became a colonel in the county militia, a justice of the peace, and a member of a company of men who had received a grant from the Virginia Council of 100,000 acres on the James and Roanoke rivers. In 1743, Col. Patton organized his own land company and was granted 100,000 acres in 1745 on the New, Holston, and Clinch rivers—the Western Waters. Through his land speculation ventures he helped open the frontier to settlement and further exploration, while at the same time serving in prominent magisterial positions in the Augusta County government, achieving the rank of county lieutenant by the year of his death. <sup>1</sup>

Records of James Patton's early life are very sparse, and there is only circumstantial evidence supporting the long-held though plausible tradition that he was born in County Donegal in the north of Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Between approximately 1734 and 1740, Patton apparently lived in the royal Burgh of Kirkcudbright in southern Scotland, where he was named a burgess of the port town of Kirkcudbright in late 1734.3 It is well-established that he was a merchant ship captain by at least the early 1730s, and he seems to have been heavily involved in transatlantic smuggling of tobacco and other goods for the merchant Walter Lutwidge, who operated from Kirkcudbright and from just across the Solway Firth in Whitehaven, England. Ships owned by Lutwidge included the *Basil* and the *Walpole*. While working for Lutwidge, Patton transported immigrants to America<sup>5</sup> (Figure 1, Appendix A), and he may have been involved in the slave trade, 6 though no primary evidence of the latter has yet been found. During the 1730s, he is also known to have visited the Scottish port town of Dumfries, where he or his family seems to have lived around 1730 (Figures 2–3, Appendix B).8

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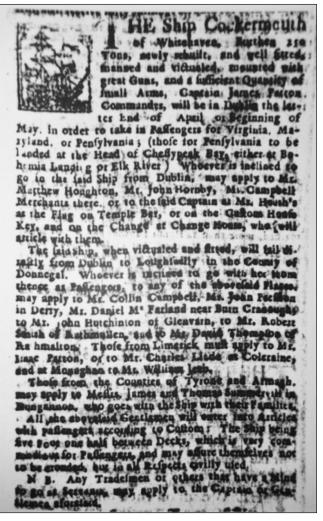


Figure 1. James Patton's advertisement of April 1738 for recruiting immigrants to America, published in George Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* newspaper. This record was found by historian Richard K. MacMaster, who transcribed it in his 1980 article on James Patton. However, a facsimile of the original document has not hitherto appeared in the literature, so it is shown here for the first time with the present author's transcription in Appendix A.

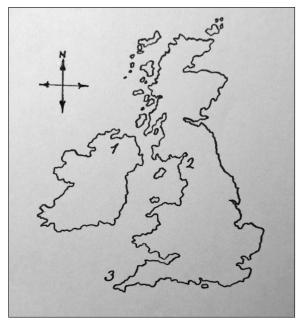


Figure 2. The British Isles, showing the locations of (1) County Donegal in the north of Ireland, (2) the Solway Firth inlet between Scotland and England (see also Figure 3), and (3) the County of Cornwall, England.

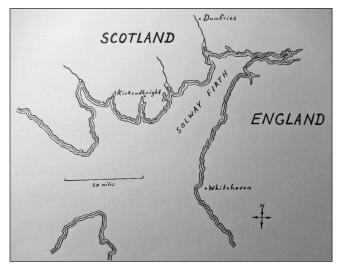


Figure 3. The Solway Firth region, showing the towns of Kirkcudbright and Dumfries in southern Scotland and Whitehaven on the English coast.

This article presents five previously unknown maritime records of a ship's captain presumed to be the James Patton who eventually settled in Virginia, found by the author in 2010 and 2015. Four of these new records are from early British newspapers (three being duplicated in different papers) dating from 1719 to 1739; an additional report comes from a 1723 letter in the British National Archives. A careful search of the early British newspapers and early American newspapers for the surname Patton/Paton/Patten/Patoun/Pattin, etc., in connection with seafaring activities, has so far revealed only one contemporary Capt. Patton. This was a Capt. William Paton (Paton, Patten), who sailed at least two ships (the *Davy* and the *Andrew & Betty*) across the Atlantic, visiting ports on the American coast and in the West Indies, British Isles, and Europe between at least 1728 and 1741.

The records of Capt. James Patton provide fleeting new insights into the early life and career of this remarkable man. They are here listed together in chronological order and are afterwards shown in full:

- (1) A **May 1719** newspaper shipping report from Deal, located in the English county of Kent: "Outward-bound ... *Pearl*, Capt. Paton, for Genoa" (Figures 4a–4b).<sup>12</sup>
- (2) A letter from Lisbon, Portugal, dated **18 February 1723** from British Consul Thomas Burnet to Lord John Carteret, secretary of state for the Southern Department, mentioning "James Paten," master of the ship *Pearl* Galley.<sup>13</sup>
- (3) A **November 1729** newspaper report describing the stranding at Padstow, located in the English county of Cornwall, of the *William* of Dumfries, Capt. James Patton (Figures 5a–5b).<sup>14</sup>
- (4) A **December 1735** newspaper report of the arrival at Kinsale, located in County Cork, Ireland, of the *Basil*, Capt. James Patton, from Virginia (Figure 6a–6b).<sup>15</sup>
- (5) A **July 1739** newspaper report of the return at Kirkcudright of the *Walpole*, Capt. James Patton, from Virginia (Figure 7). <sup>16</sup>

Deal, May 19. Remain his Majesty's Ships the Monmouth, Dorsethire, Gibraltar, Bedford Galley and Ryc. Outward-bound, the Neptune, Capt. Winter, and Dragon, Capt. Kingston, both for Jamaica; Phænix, Capt. Cowel, for Antegoa; Smalley Fregate, Capt. Barnaby, for the Canaries; and Pearl, Capt. Paton, for Genoa, Homewardbound, the Southampton, Capt. Robins, from Virginia; Thomas, Capt. Parkin, from Oporto; and Guardian, Captain Romain, from Cork. Wind W. S. W.

Figure 4a. Shipping News: "Deal, May 19 [1719] ... Outward-bound ... Pearl, Capt. Paton, for Genoa." (*The Post Boy*, 19–21 May 1719, No. 4652)

Deal, May 18. All the Outward-bound are under fail Westwardsince came done the Neptune, Capt. Winter, for Jamaica; Phenix,
Capt. Cowel, for Antegoa; Swanswick, Capt. Hopkins, for NewYork; Onslow, Capt. Peacock, for Smyrna; Success, Capt. Moody,
for Ireland. Homeward-bound, the Maidstone, Capt. Jewel, from
Fial; Margaret, Capt. Swindford, and the Pearl, Capt. Paul, both
from St. Ubes. May 19. Remain his Majesty's Ships the Monmouth, Dorsetshire, Gibraltar, Bedford-Galley, and Rye. Outward-bound, the Neptune, Capt. Winter, and Dragon, Capt.
Kingston, both for Jamaica; Phenix, Capt. Cowel, for Antegoa;
Smalley Frigate, Capt. Barnaby, for the Canaries; and Pearl, Capt.
Paton, for Genoa. Homeward-bound, the Southampton, Capt.
Robins, from Virginia; Thomas, Capt. Parkin, from Oporto;
and Guardian, Capt. Romain, from Cork. May 20. His Majesty's

Figure 4b. Shipping News: "Deal ... May 19 ... Outward-bound ... Pearl, Capt. Paton, for Genoa...." (*The Weekly Packet*, 16–23 May 1719, No. 359)

Letters from Padstow in Cornwal, of the 17th of Nov. advise, that the William of Dumfries, Capt. James Patton, was drove on a sandy Bank there, on the 14th, after having suffered much Damage at Sea, and for some Time was without any Hopes of saving their Lives; and the Tide ebbing, and leaving the said Bank dry, the Inhabitants seeing this Prize, sallied out in great Numbers, and began to cut and hew the Ship and Tackle, till the Captain being well provided with Fire Arms, by an uncommon Bravery threatned to discharge them among the Rabble; whereupon many of them dispersed, till he got Time to secure Part of his Cargo, which was much damaged, but was still in Fear of being overpowered by the Mob, and without any Hopes of saving his Ship.

Figure 5a. "Letters from Padstow in Cornwal, of the 17th of Nov. [1729] advise, that the William of Dumfries, Capt. James Patton, was drove on a sandy Bank there, on the 14th, after having suffered much Damage at Sea, and for some Time was without any Hopes of saving their Lives; and the Tide ebbing, and leaving the said Bank dry, the Inhabitants seeing this Prize, sallied out in great Numbers, and began to cut and hew the Ship and Tackle, till the Captain being well provided with Fire Arms, by an uncommon Bravery threatned to discharge them among the Rabble; whereupon many of them dispersed, till he got Time to secure Part of his Cargo, which was much damaged, but was still in Fear of being overpowered by the Mob, and without any Hopes of saving his Ship." (*The Weekly Journal: or, The British-Gazetteer,* 6 December 1729 No. 236)

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Figure 5b. "Letters from Padstow in Cornwal of the 17th of November [1729] advise, that the William of Dumfries, Capt. James Paton, was drove on a sandy Bank there, on the 14th, after having suffered much Damage at Sea, and for some Time was without any Hopes of saving their Lives; and the Tide ebbing, and leaving the said Bank dry, the Inhabitants seeing this Prize, sailled [sic] out in great Numbers, and began to cut and hew the Ship and Tackle, till the Captain being well provided with Fire Arms, by uncommon Bravery threatned to discharge them among the Rabble; whereupon many of them were dispersed, till he got Time to secure Part of his Cargo, which was much damaged and greatly damnified, but was still in Fear of being overpowered by the Mob, and without any Hopes of saving his Ship." (The Eccho: or, Edinburgh Weekly Journal, 17 December 1729, No. 50)

The Bassel, Capt. Pattin, from Virginia, is arriv'd at Kinsale, having lost all her Sails, and Main-Top-Mass, in bad Weather.

Figure 6a. "The Bassel, Capt. Pattin, from Virginia, is arriv'd at Kinsale, having lost all her Sails, and Main Top-Masts, in bad Weather." (*The General Evening Post*, 23–25 December 1735, No. 349)

The Bafil, Pattin, from Virginia, is arriv'd at Kinfale. She had very bad Weather, and tuffer'd pretty much in her Sails and Rigging.

Figure 6b. "The Basil, [Capt.] Pattin, from Virginia, is arriv'd at Kinsale. She had very bad Weather, and suffer'd pretty much in her Sails and Rigging." (*The London Daily Post, and General Adverstiser,* 25 December 1735, No. 358)

The Walpole, Patton, from Virginia; and the Nelly, Forbes, from Oporto, at Kirkeudbright.

Figure 7. The Walpole, [Capt.] Patton, from Virginia; and the Nelly, Forbes, from Oporto, at Kirkcudbright." (*The Daily Gazetteer,* 7 July 1739, No. 1262)

# James Patton and the Wreck of the William at Padstow, Cornwall

The most outstanding of the above records is that of Capt. James Patton's shipwreck in November 1729 that describes in detail a harrowing and previously unknown event in Patton's life. If Patton had been lost at sea or killed on the coast of Cornwall in 1729, the history of western Virginia would have differed in many ways.

Patton's ship, the *William* of Dumfries, evidently stranded on a large sandbank in the outer Camel River estuary, located on the northern coast of the County of Cornwall, England, about a mile north of the harbor at the town of Padstow (Figure 8). This sandbank was formed by the shifting and accumulation of sand and silt consisting of large quantities of seashell debris. Since at least the sixteenth century, it has been a major hazard to ships entering the Camel Estuary and was commonly known as the "Doom Bar" by at least the mid-eighteenth century. The *William* may have been a fairly small vessel to be able to navigate the River Nith to reach the harbor at Dumfries, but the Doom Bar was extremely hazardous, even for smaller ships.

Cornwall has an extensive history of piracy, privateering, and smuggling all along its forbidding coastline.<sup>19</sup> The plundering of James Patton's ship near Padstow in November 1729 is but one of many examples of "wrecking" through several centuries on the Cornish coast.<sup>20</sup> As defined by Cathryn Pearce in *Cornish Wrecking 1700–1860: Reality and Popular Myth*,<sup>21</sup> local wreckers engaged in at least one of the following activities: (1) "the attack and plunder of a vessel, which includes a form of deliberate wrecking—the cutting of the ship's cables—but it also includes the opportunistic assault on

a vessel and her cargo once she lay aground"; (2) "the taking or 'harvesting' of wrecked goods" from a vessel; and (3) "the harvesting of goods that had been washed ashore after the shipwreck event," sometimes "in the absence of a clear shipwreck." In reviewing information about the plundering of two recent shipwrecks in Cornwall in the 1650s, including one at Padstow, the English Council of State declared that "the cruelty and inhumanity of the people inhabiting the maritime coasts" and "the dishonest and savage practices of the common people" were a grave threat to shipping.<sup>22</sup>

Numerous records identify a ship called the *William* importing tobacco and other goods from Virginia to Whitehaven circa 1717–1720 in the Whitehaven port books. <sup>23</sup> A ship by this name was reported arriving in the Isle of Man from Kirkudbright in 1720. <sup>24</sup> The best supporting evidence that this James Patton from Dumfries is the Patton who later settled in Virginia comes from an original letter preserved in the Lyman Draper Manuscript Collection. The letter (see Appendix C) was written by merchant Robert Macky of London<sup>25</sup> and addressed to Capt. James Patton at St. Columb, <sup>26</sup> Cornwall, located only 10 miles from Padstow. It was dated 7 April and the year has since been torn away, but Mabel Clare Weaks, who cataloged the Preston Papers in 1915, dated the letter to circa 1730. <sup>27</sup> In his letter, Robert Macky asked Patton how he had surmounted his "present misfortunes," which may have been a reference to the consequences of his having wrecked at Padstow. It now appears that the letter could have been written as early as April 1730.

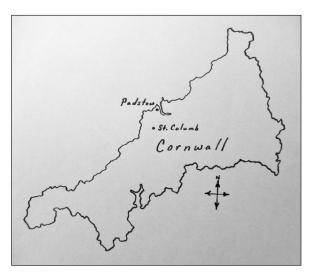


Figure 8. The County of Cornwall, England, showing the towns of Padstow and St. Columb (St. Columb Major).

#### The 1723 Burnet to Carteret Letter

On 13 June 1879, Mrs. Letitia Floyd Lewis (1814–1886), the wife of Col. William L. Lewis of Sweet Springs, West Virginia, wrote a letter to the Hon. Robert W. Hughes describing her family history. Mrs. Lewis was the daughter of Letitia Preston Floyd (1779–1852), who was the daughter of Col. William Preston (nephew of James Patton). Although the original letter appears to be lost, a transcription was printed in *The Richmond Standard* newspaper on 18 September 1880.<sup>29</sup> In the letter, Mrs. Lewis wrote that

Colonel [James] Patton was a man of education, ability, and of considerable wealth. He had served as a soldier in the wars of William, Prince of Orange, and afterwards in the British navy. He owned several ships with which he traded to Spain and the Mediterranean, and was highly successful in his enterprises.

There is yet no primary evidence that James Patton was a soldier or served in the Royal Navy, but the possibility certainly exists that he was a mariner during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). His biographer, Patricia Givens Johnson, found no records of him as a naval officer, so she assumed he became a captain in the merchant service.<sup>30</sup>

The very interesting 1723 letter in the British National Archives at Kew now provides compelling evidence of James Patton's shipping activities in the Mediterranean. This letter from Sir Thomas Burnet, British consul in Lisbon,<sup>31</sup> to John Carteret, secretary of state for the Southern Department in London,<sup>32</sup> mentions a captain "James Paten." The online catalogue description of this letter reads as follows: "James Patten [*sic*], Master of the Pearl Galley, and his reluctance to surrender his Mediterranean pass, as ordered, which Burnet procured only with great difficulty. Many Jacobites misbehave in this way and he would like Carteret's assurance that he is justified in taking a hard line with them." However, after examining a photocopy of the original handwritten letter,<sup>34</sup> it becomes clear that there is no mention of Jacobites. The following is the author's transcription of this remarkable letter, which may be the earliest surviving written record of James Patton:

Lisbon, 18 Febry. 1723 N. S. [New Style] My Lord, In my last of the 3d Instant, I had the honour to acknowledge the Receipt of Your Lordship's letter of the 29th of November O.S. [Old Style] enclosing his Majesty's Order in Council of the 14th of June last, containing several Rules prescribed to his Majesty's Consuls abroad, with relation to Mediterranean Passes. In obedience to that Order, having demanded of *James Paten* [sic], Master of the Pearl Galley [emphasis

added], lately sold here, his Passport, & having received assurances from him, that he would deliver it up; but being convinced at the same time, that he was clandestinely endeavoring to go from hence, without any Intent of Surrendring his Pass; I did on the 15th Instant, stop the Ship *Victory*, where his Effects were embarqued, & whereon he was engaged to go as a Passenger, till I could obtain an Order for seising [seizing] on his Person, which I procured within two hours after that; Upon the knowledge of which, & seeing it was impossible for him to escape, he thought fit to deliver up to me his Mediterranean Pass. As I was threatened with many Protests upon this Occasion, & as this case may frequently happen, many of the British Factors being concerned in Ships that Navigate under Passes, which by Law they are not intitled to, I must intreat the Favour of Your Lordship to acquaint me if this Method of proceeding be such as I am for the future to observe. For as I know of none by which I can effectually obey his Majesty's commands, I shall very little regard the Ill [ill] will it may draw upon me, or the Lawsuits I may be engaged in, if I have once the honour to be assured by Your Lordship that his Majesty is Satisfied with my conduct in this Particular.

The defiant behavior of the Capt. "James Paten" mentioned in this letter is similar to that of the James Patton whom we know had similar arguments with his employer, Walter Lutwidge, in the 1730s; Lutwidge became so incensed by Patton that he said Hell itself could not outdo him. This record may corroborate Mrs. Lewis's family tradition that James Patton traded in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the 1719 shipping report cited earlier of "Capt. Paton" of the ship *Pearl* outward bound for the port of Genoa was probably referring to the same person and presumably the same ship—in this case a galley, or oared vessel. The Mediterranean passes noted in the letter were provided to all English ships by the British Admiralty after about 1660 to protect them from attack by the corsairs (pirates) of the Barbary Coast of North Africa.

#### Conclusion

The records reported in this article reasonably extend the primary source history of James Patton's life back at least to November 1729 and perhaps as early as May 1719. The two newspaper records from 1735 and 1739 are undoubtedly references to the James Patton who settled in Virginia because he was noted as sailing ships owned by Walter Lutwidge. Although an attempt has been made to substantiate each of the other records, more work must be done to absolutely authenticate them as references to our James Patton. For instance, further investigations will be necessary to confirm the identity

of the "James Paten" mentioned in the 1723 letter and the "Captain Paton" sailing from Deal to Genoa, possibly beginning with a study of port book records in Europe and the British Isles from this period. A continued study of early English, Scottish, and Irish newspaper records could uncover additional shipping or domestic reports of James Patton and his relatives. Examining the early life of Walter Lutwidge may also be helpful since the author has found reports of Lutwidge commanding ships in the first two decades of the 1700s in the Mediterranean and the West Indies. It is unknown when Patton and Lutwidge first met, but there could be some chance of finding a record of Patton sailing with Lutwidge.<sup>38</sup> In learning more about the fascinating maritime career of James Patton, we learn more about a man whose courage and determination eventually helped shape the history of Virginia.

# Acknowledgments

I thank Jim Glanville for his previous collaboration on James Patton and for purchasing a copy of the Burnet to Carteret letter from Ms. Tina Hampson, who photocopied it for us in the National Archives at Kew. I also thank Mary B. Kegley for reviewing an earlier draft of the manuscript and Hugh Campbell for his helpful suggestions.

#### Appendix A

#### James Patton's 1738 Advertisement (see Figure 1)

The Ship Cockermouth of Whitehaven, Burthen 250 Tons, newly rebuilt, and well fitted, manned and victualed, mounted with great Guns, and a sufficient Quantity of small Arms, Captain James Patton Commander, will be in Dublin the latter End of April, or Beginning of May, in order to take in Passengers for Virginia, Maryland, or Pensylvania; (those for Pensylvania to be landed at the Head of Chessypeak [Chesapeake] Bay, either at Bohemia Landing or Elk River). Whoever is inclined to go in the said Ship from Dublin, may apply to Mr. Matthew Houghton, Mr. John Hornby, Mr. Campbell Merchants there, or to the said Captain at Mr. Heath's at the Flag on Temple Bar, or on the Custom House Key, and on the Change at Change House, who will article with them. The said Ship, when victualed and fitted, will sail directly from Dublin to Loughswilly in the County of Donnegal. Whoever is inclined to go with her from thence as Passengers, to any of the abovesaid Places, may apply to Mr. Collin Campbell, Mr. John Preston in Derry, Mr. Daniel McFarland near Burn Cranough, to Mr. John Hutchinson of Glenvain, to Mr. Robert Smith of Rathmullen, and to Mr. David Thomspon of Rathmalton. Those from Limerick must apply to Mr.

Isaac Patton, or to Mr. Charles Linde at Coleraine, and at Monaghan to Mr. William Jeeb. Those from the Counties of Tyrone and Armagh, may apply to Messrs. James and Thomas Summervill in Dungannon, who goes with the Ship with their Families. All the abovesaid Gentlemen will enter into Articles with passengers according to Custom; The Ship being five Foot one half between Decks which is very commodious for Passengers, and may assure themselves not to be crouded [crowded], but in all respects civilly used. N. B. Any Tradesmen or others that have a Mind to go as Servants, may apply to the Captain or Gentlemen aforesaid. (Source: *George Falkner: The Dublin Journal*, 18–22 April 1738, No. 1229)

### Appendix B

# Transcription of Major Miller's Letter to Rebeca Davis

Ballicasy 17th Janry 1731

Cosn. Daviss

I recd yours of the 13th instant last poast [post] and in answer can only say that I thought my Cosn. [cousin] James had taken cair [care] to provide for his sister Katherine. I believe he is now in Dublin and whether he is or not I think he is the Proper person to consult, and you being an aunt is a very good Judge how fit its for a young woman to learn to Earn hir Living. I have done severall acts of frinship [friendship] to her mother and brother and sisters weh I think suficient for my pt [part]. You and she must excuse me that I tell you I wont make my self a dradge [drudge] to suport those that ought to doe for themselves or inply [employ?] wth their friends. I h[e]ard yt. she was settled wth yur [your] nevys [nephew's?] wife in Drumfrees [Dumfries] but she thought not fit to stay there. but all that is nothing to me. I'le not give myself any farther trouble and am satisfied wt. [what] you think fit to do wth her. She is yur bro. [brother's] daughter. I know that there was remed [remitted?] to her in Scotland six pounds[,] besides her Bro: [brother] James['s] favers (as Ive h[e]ard)[,] wch if managed discreitly might have been laid out as you say to learn that[?] way of living. I think it is strang[e] you or she Either wu'd send to me any such [illegible] her brother being there and if he were not its Equabl[e] to me for I thank god[?] I have grand childering [children] and infants to provide for that cant help themselves soe that you need not give yourself or me any more trobl of this kind. who am

Your most hual [humble] servt.

JO Miller

To Mrs. Rebeca Daviss in ffishambl street [Fishamble Street] Dublin

F[ra?] E[] Taylor Useful Papers Major Millers Letter<sup>39</sup>

(Source: Draper Manuscripts Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Preston Papers, 1QQ1, Microfilm reel 110)

#### Appendix C

## Transcription of Robert Macky's Letter to James Patton in Cornwall

Mr. Donaldson's Letter<sup>40</sup>
To Capt. James Patton to the care of the Post mastr. Of St Collome [St. Columb] In Cornwall
London 7 April [torn]

Sir,

I have unanswered [sic] your favour of the 20th ult. [ultimo] and you may assure yourself it is a pleasure to me to have it in my power to render you any manner of Service here and shall not at any time Scruple the charge of Postage to hear of your welfare, and as for the tender trouble or expenses I have been at on your Accot. [account] it do's not deserve the great measure of thanks you are pleased to compliment me with in yours.

Your letter to Mr. Wm. Stewart is not yet delivered, not having seen him for some time before the Rect. [receipt] thereof, on your recomendation of him I wo'd have done him all the Service in my power, but truly it was next to an impossibility to get him any business in a Counting House as he expected; he afterwards resolved to go to the East Indies, and as I had only one Aiquaintance that cou'd be of Service to him that way (who unfortunately was out of Town while Mr. Stewart was here) he dropt that Project, so I Judge he's gone on Board some Merchant Man. he appears to be a sober young Lad and I doubt not but will behave himself handsomely in whatever Station of Life his Lott may be.

My Uncle and Mr. Craghead who are Partners together chiefly Deal in Commissions from Ireland, Holland, and Sweden, and that either in Goods of any Kind or Bills of Exchange, in getting Insurances made or the like and as they have tolerable good business this way, so I dare venture to say they are not only as capable, but do actually serve their friends with as much Honour, Honesty & Fidelity as any in London.

[I] have not the least word [torn] thats valuable of late from Ireland. Coz: Jos Ewin[g] [lat]ely come here from thence and brings little more [torn] here than [torn] he has settled his own affairs with his Brotr [Brother]: in an amicable manner; and that the rest of his friends were well and further says that Bread was plenty & cheap there and but few people going to America this Season.

I shall be glad to hear from you before you proceed further and to know how you have Surmounted yr. [your] prent [present] misfortunes.

I am Sir your assured friend and most obedt. [obedient] Serv. [Servant]

Robt. Macky

(Source: Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Preston Papers, 1QQ2, Microfilm reel 110)

#### **Endnotes**

- Patricia G. Johnson, James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists (Pulaski, Va.: Edmonds Printing, Inc., 2nd ed., 1983, first printed 1973): Albert H. Tillson Jr., "James Patton" in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., American National Biography 17 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 153–154; and Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "William Beverley, James Patton, and the Settling of the Shenandoah Valley," Essex County Museum and Historical Society Bulletin 55 (2010), 1–5.
- Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," The Smithfield Review 15 (2011), 35–64.
- Glanville and Mays, "Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1." This 1734 record was considered in 2011 to be the earliest known unambiguous documentary evidence of James Patton.
- 4. Johnson, *James Patton*, 11–13, and David R. Collin, *Kirkcudbright Shipping 1300–2005* (Kirkcudbright, U.K.: Stewartry Museum), 55.
- Johnson, James Patton, 6–15; Richard K. MacMaster, "Captain James Patton Comes to America 1737–1740," Augusta Historical Bulletin 16 (1980), 4–13; George Falkner: The Dublin Journal, 18–22 April 1738, No. 1229 in Irish Newspapers Prior to 1750 in Dublin Libraries (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1950), Reel 16, Indiana University.
- 6. Collin, Kirkcudbright Shipping, 220: "A company was formed in Kirkcudbright in 1734, ostensibly to undertake foreign trade from the Burgh, but actually to profit from Mr. Lutwidge's dubious dealings. Those dealings included slave trading, and there is evidence that some of Mr. Lutwidge's ships sailed from Kirkcudbright for this purpose." See also Frances Wilkins, Dumfries, Galloway, and the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Kidderminster, U.K.: Wyre Forest Press, 2007).
- 7. Dumfries harbor is located on the River Nith a short distance from the coast of southern Scotland and about 25 miles east of Kirkcudbright. Lutwidge wrote to Patton on 10 January 1739/40 saying, "You Did go partly to Dumfreize to look for saylors [sailors] but your main End was for more valuable reasons," Walter Lutwidge, Letter Book 1739–1740, Cumbria Archive item YDX 79/1, Microfilm from Rockefeller Library of Colonial Williamsburg, 158; and Glanville and Mays, "Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," 54. The history of smuggling activities in Dumfries is reviewed by John A. Thompson, *The Smuggling Coast: The Smuggling Port of Dumfries, Forty Miles of the Solway Firth* (Dumfries: T. C. Farries & Co. Ltd., 1989), and W. A. J. Prevost, "The Solway Smugglers and the Customs Port at Dumfries," *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 51 (1975), 59–67.
- 8. Major J. O. Miller of "Ballicasy [Ballycassidy]," Ireland, letter to "M[r]s. Rebeca Daviss" of Fishamble Street, Dublin, Ireland, 17 January 1731, Draper Manuscripts Collection,

- Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Preston Papers, 1QQ1, Microfilm reel 110. This letter appears to indicate that a relative of James Patton had lived with him or his wife in Dumfries. See Glanville and Mays, "Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," 44.
- 9. The newspaper records were discovered by the author in November 2015; the 1723 letter was found by the author in September 2010. The early British newspapers held at the British Library in London are now available online in the 17th–18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers database published by Gale (Cengage Learning). Nearly 1 million pages of microfilmed material, laboriously produced over many years, have been digitized. The 1723 letter was found by searching the online Catalogue of the National Archives in Kew, London.
- 10. America's Historical Newspapers 1690–1922 (Readex), online database.
- 11. For example: New England Weekly Journal, 15 April 1728, No. 56; American Weekly Mercury, 2–9 November 1738, No. 984; London and Country Journal, 23 September 1740, No. 91; and American Weekly Mercury, 11–18 June 1741, No. 1120. It should be noted that there was great variation in the spelling of the surname Patton during the eighteenth century.
- 12. *Post-Boy*, 19–21 May 1719, No. 4652, and *Weekly Packet*, May 16–23, 1719, No. 359. Genoa is Italy's largest seaport.
- 13. Thomas Burnett to Lord Carteret, from Lisbon, 18 February 1723 N. S. (New Style/Gregorian Calendar dating), The National Archives, Kew. Reference: SP (State Papers Foreign, Portugal) 89/30/73, fol. 160. Letter not online, but described at discovery. nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C7764068. See also endnote 33.
- 14. Weekly Journal: or British-Gazetteer, 6 December 1729, No. 236, and Eccho: or Edinburgh Weekly Journal, 17 December 1729, No. 50.
- 15. General Evening Post, 23–25 December 1735, No. 349, and London Daily Post, and General Advertiser, 25 December 1735, No. 358.
- 16. The Daily Gazetteer, 7 July 1739, No. 1262.
- 17. D.S. Brew and B. B. Gibberd, "Geomorphological Change and its Impact on Habitats in the Camel River Esturary, Cornwall, U.K.," *Geoscience in South-West England* 12 (2009), 95–100; J. B. Hill, "Geology," 1–46, in William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Cornwall* 1 (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1906); F. M. P. Howie and A. Gwynn, "The Sub-fossil Assemblage From a Holocene Calcareous Palaeosol in Daymer Bay, North Cornwall," *Geosceince in South-West England* 13 (2013), 191–201; and J. R. Merefield, "Modern carbonate marine–sands in estuaries of southwest England," *Geological Magazine* 119 (1982), 567–580.
- 18. A. Graham and A. E. Truckell, "Old Harbours in the Solway Firth," *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Series 3, 52 (1976–1977), 109–142, see especially pages 123–126.
- 19. Michael M. Oppenheim, "Maritime History," 475–511, in William Page, ed., The Victoria History of the Counties of England; Richard Platt, Smuggling in the British Isles: A History (Stroud, U. K.: The History Press, 2011), see especially pages 90–95; and John Rule, "Smuggling and Wrecking," in Philip Payton, Alston Kennerley, Helen Doe, eds., The Maritime History of Cornwall (Exeter, U.K.: University of Exeter Press, 2014), 195–208.
- 20. Cathryn J. Pearce, Cornish Wrecking 1700–1860: Reality and Popular Myth (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010). These records of the William wrecking at Padstow were overlooked by Richard Larn and Bridget Larn in their comprehensive Shipwreck Index of the British Isles, Volume 1: Isles of Scilly, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset (London, U.K.: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1995).
- 21. Cathryn J. Pearce, Cornish Wrecking 1700–1860, 5.
- 22. Quoted in Michael M. Oppenheim, "Maritime History," Victoria County History, 502.
- 23. Whitehaven Shipping Records, Public Record Office E190/1460/5, Exchequer, King's Remembrancer Port Books, Library of Virginia Colonial Records Project microfilm reel 930.
- 24. Collin, Kirkcudbright Shipping, 261.
- 25. Robert Macky, merchant, is cited as living at Budge-Row, London in the following: *London Evening Post*, 4–6 January 1739, No. 1739; and *Daily Advertiser* 28 February 1743, No. 3779.

- "Mess. Macky and Craghead, Merchants, in Budge-Row, London" cited in the *London Gazette*, 24–28 June 1729, might be a reference to Robert Macky's uncle and his business partner, Mr. Craghead, mentioned in his circa 1730 letter. Mackey's will is printed in Lothrop Withington, "New York Gleanings in England," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 35 (1904), 119–121. In his will, Macky made a bequest to his nephew's son, who was "late of Coleraine, Ireland."
- 26. Presumably the town of St. Columb Major.
- 27. Robert Macky, letter from London to Capt. James Patton, April 7 [c1730] at "St. Collome Cornwall" [St. Columb, Cornwall, England], Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, 1QQ2, Microfilm reel 110; and Mabel Clare Weaks, *The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1915).
- 28. Johnson, *James Patton*, 6. Patricia Johnson misread the wording of this part of the letter as "great misfortune."
- Robert A. Brock, "Colonel James Patton, the Virginia Pioneer, and His Descendants; An Interesting Letter From Mrs. Colonel William L. Lewis to Hon. Robert W. Hughes," *Richmond Standard*, 18 September 1880.
- 30. Johnson, James Patton, 5.
- 31. Thomas Burnet (1694–1753) was appointed consul to Lisbon and served in that capacity from 1719 to 1728. In 1712 and 1713, he published pamphlets accusing Tory leaders of being Jacobite sympathizers (David Lemmings, "Thomas Burnet" in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with the British Academy From the Earliest Times Through the Year 2000 8 (Oxford U.K.: University Press, 2004), 933–934.
- 32. John Carteret (1690–1763) served as secretary of state for the Southern Department 1721–1724: John Cannon, "John Carteret, second Earl Granville," in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with the British Academy From the Earliest Times Through the Year 2000 10 (Oxford, U.K.: University Press, 2004), 381–387.
- 33. "Thomas Burnett to Lord Carteret. James Patten, Master of the *Pearl* Galley, and his reluctance to surrender his Mediterranean pass, as ordered, which Burnett procured only with great difficulty. Many Jacobites misbehave in this way and he would like Carteret's assurance that he is justified in taking a hard line with them. Naval news. Portuguese help for Malta more likely to take form of money than ships. Date and place: 1723 Feb 18, N. S. [New Style/Gregorian Calendar dating] Lisbon;" SP 89/30/73 (State Papers Foreign, Portugal), footnote 160, online citation and letter description at *discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6843186*. See also endnote 13.
- 34. Photocopied by Ms. Tina Hampson in the National Archives of the United Kingdom in 2015, copy in author's files.
- Glanville and Mays, "Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," and MacMaster, "Captain James Patton," 1980.
- 36. Galleys were swift, oared fighting vessels originally developed centuries ago in the Mediterranean. By the early eighteenth century, they had sails and oars and were frequently used by merchants. However, there is some evidence that not all "galleys" of this period actually used oars. See, for example, Peter Kemp, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 335–336, and Julian Corbett, "Galleys and Runners," *Mariner's Mirror* 7 (1921), 133–135.
- 37. David Richardson, *Mediterranean Passes in the Public Record Office, London* (East Ardsley, U.K.; E. P. Microfilm Ltd., 1981).
- 38. The early maritime records of Walter Lutwidge are as follows: "Stranraer [a port town in Wigtownshire, Scotland] Oct. 29. Yesterday came into our Loch the Whitehaven Galley, Burden 150 Tuns, carrying 16 Guns, Walter Lidwig Master, bound for Jamaica, laden with Beef, Butter, and Tallow, from Dublin, with 40 Servants on board, and will proceed in her Voyage with the first fair wind, they coming here for that intent, this Loch being the best Outlet to the Westward in Britain." (Supplement, 16–18 November 1709, No. 288); "Whitehaven, March 24. On the 19th Instant the Whitehaven Galley, laden with Sugar and Indigo, Captain Lutwidge Commander, arrived at Ramsey Bay in the Isle of Man; She sailed from Jamaica on the 6th of February last

without any Company, and left three of her Majesty's Men of War, viz. the Kingston, Portland and Coventry, and four Guinea Ships, at Port-Royal...." (*London Gazette*, 28–30 March 1710, No. 4671); "Whitehaven, May 31. This Morning arrived a Fleet of Light Colliers, being twenty six Sail, from Dublin, under Convoy of the Seaford; And this Evening the Whitehaven Galley, Captain Walter Lutwidge Commander, returned hither. In his Passage from hence to the West Indies, he met with a Sloop call'd the Anne of Liverpool, bound home from Fial [Faial (Fayal) Island in the Azores of Portugal] with Brandy, Wine and Sugar; which Sloop had been taken a little before by a Privateer, and mann'd with Frenchmen; he retook her, and brought her in here. The Privateer had put on Board several valuable Parcels of Goods more than her own Cargo, which she designed for France." (*London Gazette*, 3–6 June 1710, No. 4700); and "Bristol, Jan. 4 ... the Whitehaven Galley of Whitehaven, Walter Lutwich Master, from Viana [Viana do Castelo, Portugal], with Wine" (Evening Post, 5–8 January 1712, No. 376).

- 39. These last three lines, printed here in italics, do not appear to have been written by Major Miller. The words "Major Millers Letter" were written in a handwriting matching that of "Mr. Donaldson's Letter." See endnote 40.
- 40. These words, printed here in italics, do not appear to have been written on the document by Robert Macky. They were probably written some years later by another person.