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# Uniting Interests: William Gooch, the Frontier, and the Politics of Virginia, 1720-1750



by  
Daniel Avery  
Masters by Research

Supervisor: Dr Ben Marsh  
Supervisor: Dr William Pettigrew

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## Abbreviations

- EJC        *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 1680-1775*, 13 t, ed., Henry R. Mcllwaine, (Richmond: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1925-1967).
- GC        Lambeth Palace Library Archives, London, FPXII, 'Volume XII: General Correspondence'.
- JHB        *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1776*, 12 vols, ed. Henry R. Mcllwaine, (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1910).
- JTP        *Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations*, 14 vols, (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1920-1938).
- LJC        *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 1715-1752*, 3 vols, ed. Henry R. Mcllwaine, (Richmond: The E. Waddy Company, 1918-1919).
- PRO        National Archives/Public Record Office, Kew, CO5, Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence.
- TLP        Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, Charlottesville, Accession #883, Thomas Lee Letters, 1744-1750.
- WGP        Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, Charlottesville, Accession #3033, William Gooch Papers, 1727-1751, 3 vols.

## Introduction

Following the internal divisions and conflicts which plagued Virginia at the end of the seventeenth century, the colony experienced a lengthy period of growth during the next five decades, up to the beginning of the Seven Years' War in 1754. Stimulated by the importation of an inexpensive labour force in the form of African Slaves, the colony's economy flourished as the plantation owners of the Tidewater and Piedmont regions used vast swathes of land in the eastern Chesapeake to produce tobacco and other staple grains, such as wheat and Indian corn. Furthermore, as German and Swiss settlers migrated into the colony's western frontier through the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia also experienced a dramatic social transformation as these new ethnic groups imported their own cultural practices and beliefs into the colony. Settling predominantly along the Blue Ridge Mountains, these communities promoted the growth of a pluralistic society that would be closely associated with the frontier's identity for the remainder of the eighteenth century. However, as important as these changes were to Virginia's growth during the first half of the eighteenth century, both were underpinned by western expansion. To accommodate Virginia's increasing population and claim vital resources beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains, royal governors attempted to expand the colony's boundaries westward into the Ohio Valley. It was through these changes that Virginia secured its position as the largest and most wealthy colony in North America by the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Virginia's expansion into the Shenandoah Valley between 1710 and 1750 presented many new challenges that shaped the colony until the end of the eighteenth century. When asked to report on the condition of the colony and its western interior in 1727, Commissary James Blair's response was less than enthusiastic. Rather than reporting on the success that occurred after the opening of the western interior, he stated that Virginia was now '...one of the worst of all the English Plantations in America.'<sup>1</sup> Blair's comments reflected the broader attitude of colonists and their concerns about western expansion, most predominantly the risks of further encroaching upon French and Native American lands. Furthermore, as large groups of European immigrants

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College. By Messieurs Hartwell, Blair and Chilton, to which is Added, the Charter for Erecting the Said College*, (London: 1727), p. 2.

established themselves in the Shenandoah Valley, inhabitants of the Chesapeake were forced to accept the new cultural practices that these communities introduced. As a result of these changes to the colony's society, efforts to reconcile the interests of the colony with the challenges imposed by western expansion dominated political discussions up to the 1750s. Although debates concerning the legislature ranged from central issues, such as the creation of an administrative framework and the defence against French and Native American forces, to smaller local issues, such as the construction of roads, it was evident that the frontier had become interwoven with the political framework of Virginia. Therefore because of this relationship, and in order to fully comprehend the broader effects of western expansion, it is essential to analyse how Virginia's political landscape changed in response.

Throughout the 1720s and 1740s, the colony of Virginia experienced widespread changes to its central and local administrative units which altered its political framework. Key to these changes were the influences of Lieutenant Governor William Gooch. An often forgotten or under appreciated figure within Virginia's early history, Gooch's religious, economic, and land policies dictated both the colony's political and geographical landscape throughout this period. By integrating his policies with the processes of western expansion into the Shenandoah Valley and beyond, Gooch formed a series of expansive patronage networks that extended throughout the colony. Using Gooch as its central focus, this thesis intends to examine his role within the colony and how his relationships with the colony's inhabitants and officials defined Virginia's political landscape by the mid-eighteenth century. Furthermore, by focusing on political networks, this thesis also seeks to place a greater emphasis on classic subjects of political history and to align them with recent trends in the historiography, which have focused on understanding the cultural dimensions of colonial power and society. By taking this approach, it will demonstrate how political networks responded to the challenge of frontier settlement, and proposes that individual interests continued to have important parts to play in shaping the structure of Virginia's internal geopolitics. The period between the 1720s and 1740s witnessed key debates over the regulation of tobacco, the state of religion in Virginia, and the incorporation of frontier settlements with the boundaries of the colony, which changed the geographical and political landscape of Virginia. Due to Gooch's attempts to consolidate prominent Virginian industries, such as the planting and exportation of tobacco, and the Anglican Church, historians have argued that his governorship

was more successful than his predecessors.<sup>2</sup> However, the emphasis that Gooch placed on solving domestic issues was not solely intended to win support from the colonists, but also to advance his personal goals. Throughout this period, Gooch used the divisions created by western expansion and aligned the formation of policies with the execution of his personal interests. Ultimately, the goal of this thesis is to assess how Gooch used his position as governor to extend his authority throughout the colony and achieve his personal ambitions, and how he used private networks and relationships to exert his authority within the public domain.

Divided into three parts, this study examines specific episodes where Gooch used his powers as governor to advance his economic and political position within the colony. By analysing Gooch's private correspondence, the first section will demonstrate how he used his position to manipulate the Board of Trade and the House of Burgesses into supporting his policies. Although it centres largely on the deliberations surrounding the 1730 Tobacco Inspection Act, this section also addresses how Gooch established new inspectorships and a public persona that enabled him to secure the support of the colonists. The second section also addresses how Gooch used his political connections to ensure the success of his policies, and focuses on how he created an internal network of patronage within Virginia. Following the restrictions that were imposed on Gooch by the House of Burgesses, the governor used his ability to designate local officials in the Anglican Church to create a private network of influence that extended into the Shenandoah Valley. The final section addresses Gooch's perception of western expansion and how he influenced its progression to benefit his political and economic aspirations. Emphasising his use of surveys, maps and land grants, this section will determine the extent to which Gooch was able to control specific areas, such as the Fairfax Grant in the Northern Neck, and extend his

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<sup>2</sup> Percy Scott Flippin, 'William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 6 (1926), pp. 1-38; Stacy L. Lorenz, 'Policy and Patronage: Governor William Gooch and Anglo-Virginia Politics, 1727-7149', in N. L. Rhoden (eds.), *English Atlantic Revisited: Essays Honouring Ian K. Steele*, (Kingston: McGill-Queens's Press, 2014), pp. 81-103; Stacy L. Lorenz, "'To Do Justice to his Majesty, the Merchant, and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 108 (2000), pp. 345-392; Frank W. Porter, 'Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute', *Maryland Historian* 5 (1974), pp. 1-13; Karl Tillman Winkler, "'The Art of Governing Well": Virginia's Governor William Gooch, the Role of the Colonial Executive and the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 29 (1984), pp. 233-275; Andrew Karl Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant' (Ph.D. diss, Northwestern University, 1963); Paul Randall Shrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative: Three Royal Governors in Virginia as a Case Study, 1710-1758', (Ph.D. diss, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980).

authority into them. By analysing these brief, but significant, episodes of Gooch's governorship, this work has two aims. Firstly, that the structure of Virginia's political institutions was more complex than previously suggested and that new insights can be unearthed by using methodologies that have become central to recent approaches. Secondly, it also attempts to incorporate William Gooch into the narrative of Virginia's western expansion between the 1720s and 1740s and to comprehend how he aligned his personal interests with changes that occurred in Virginia throughout this period.

As scholars have focused more on understanding the cultural dimensions of political authority following the rise of Structural and New Cultural history throughout the past five decades, the study of Virginia's political institutions has declined. By implementing new methodologies, such as ethnography, anthropology, and demographic studies, historians have been able to understand how the frontier settler communities adapted to the region and how they further stimulated its development by the end of the century. Despite these advances, the interpretations concerning political institutions have undergone no significant change. Traditionally, political historians built upon the arguments of Frederick Jackson Turner and approached the study of Virginia's western expansion from an external point of view. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, this group of scholars argued that the development of frontier communities was precipitated by a growing institutional relationship between the Chesapeake and frontier regions. As settlements expanded and towns became a common feature across the frontier, the need for a functioning administrative framework became evident. By the beginning of the Seven Years' War, frontier inhabitants had access to many of the institutions, such as justices, sheriffs and the vestries, which were essential for the colony to function. Scholars, such as O. M. Dickerson and later John G. Kolp and Jack P. Greene, argued that through these local institutions, both colonial and imperial forces were able to gradually modify frontier society to emulate the Chesapeake. The structure of this interpretative framework was based on two major principles. Most crucial was the assumption that an unobstructed dialogue existed between the political institutions in the frontier and Chesapeake. Furthermore, it also rejected the argument that the ethnic groups that settled within the region did not significantly influence its development. Historians would later reject this interpretation, most notably Greene in his *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutions History* (1994), because

of its narrow approach and how it excluded factors that existed outside of larger national and colonial institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Despite these criticisms, this institutional viewpoint dominated the scholarship until the emergence of structural approach in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of the scholars who comprised this school of thought introduced new methodological approaches to revise the study of Virginia's frontier. Scholars, such as Robert D. Mitchell, Rhys Isaacs, and Warren Hofstra, used geographic and anthropological techniques to challenge the established institutional framework and to question how the frontier's internal changes stimulated its development from the 1720s onwards. Historians centred their studies around the experiences of the diverse ethnic and religious groups that populated the region and how their interactions determined frontier society. Mitchell and Hofstra, for example, used their backgrounds as geographers to outline how settlement patterns in the Shenandoah Valley influenced the economic connections throughout the frontier and the development of urban centres into the early nineteenth century. Similarly, Isaac's study of the political and religious revolutions that occurred within the frontier in the late eighteenth century relied heavily on anthropological methods. The analytical approaches introduced by these schools changed how the study of Virginia's backcountry was undertaken. Scholars, from the late twentieth century onwards, have recognised that to understand the development of the frontier, it was also essential to analyse the internal experiences alongside those of the Chesapeake.<sup>4</sup>

New cultural and Atlantic historians reiterated the approaches used by structural historians and have applied it to a more expansive interpretative framework throughout the past three

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<sup>3</sup> Jack P. Greene, *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994); O. M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765: A study of the British Board of Trade in its Relation to the American Colonies, Political, Industrial, Administrative*, (London: Russel & Russel, 1967); John G. Kolp, 'The Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Pre-Revolutionary Virginia', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49 (1992), pp. 652-674.

<sup>4</sup> Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); Robert D. Mitchell, 'The Shenandoah Valley Frontier', *The Annals of American Geographers* 62 (1972), pp. 461-486; Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Warren R. Hofstra, Robert D. Mitchell, 'Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730-1800', *The Journal of Southern History* 59 (1993), pp. 619-646; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982).



decades. Although these scholars have continued to use new methodologies to assess the growth of the frontier, they also posed further questions about its role in the exchange of cultures throughout the colonial Atlantic. Primarily, these groups of historians were concerned with understanding how ethnic cultures of the frontier were altered as they migrated into the region and how this affected their interactions within the broader colonial landscape. In their studies concerning the migration of ethnic groups into the frontier, David Hackett Fischer, Leslie Scott Philyaw, and Jane T. Merritt have each addressed the question of cultural transportation. They assessed how prominent groups, namely British migrants, the Tidewater gentry, and Native Americans, were affected by the cultural revolution that occurred within Virginia's western interior throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Although these new methodologies have become further integrated with the study of the frontier during the eighteenth century, the study of classic political subjects has become increasingly outdated.<sup>5</sup>

As the study of Virginia's early colonial frontier has become increasingly centred around understanding its social and cultural dynamics, interpretations concerning political institutions have received less attention. One consequence has been that the history of Virginia's political institutions has undergone a less significant revision.<sup>6</sup> By placing Gooch at the centre of this thesis and using geographic, architectural and ethnographic methodologies to examine his governorship, this thesis intends to provide new insights into the nature of Virginia's political institutions and structure throughout this period. By analysing the relationships he established with Virginian legislature, metropolitan authorities, and the colony's inhabitants this paper will determine how the role of the governor changed throughout this period and was critical in shaping the colony's expansion into the west.

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<sup>5</sup> Davis Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); David Hackett Fischer, James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Leslie Scott Philyaw, *Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Some historians have achieved success in incorporating other aspects of early colonial political history into current historiographical trends. Jack P. Greene, 'Colonial History and National History: Reflections on a Continuing Problem', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64 (2007), pp. 235-250; Gegory H. Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest*, (New York: Hill & Wang, 1997).

## **Chapter 1: The Atlantic Patronage Network and the 1730 Tobacco Inspection Act**

The first half of the eighteenth century was a period of dynamic change for the colony of Virginia. The migration of European and Pennsylvanian settlers into the northern Shenandoah Valley throughout the 1720s, opened Virginia's western interior and expanded the colony's boundaries across the Blue Ridge Mountains. The communities established by these new ethnic groups precipitated a period of transformation that would persist until the end of the century. Virginians experienced numerous changes in population, religion and social composition as frontier communities introduced their personal cultural practices into the region. Virginia's colonial government and the role of the executive changed greatly throughout this period, as it responded to the challenges presented by western expansion. Traditionally appointed to represent imperial authority in the British colonies, governors and officials were used to articulate metropolitan policies and commands to the colonists. Positioned as the intermediary between metropolitan authorities and the colonists, these individuals often had to mediate between the interests of large groups, such as London Merchants and Virginian planters, when they formed policies. This process was further complicated through the introduction of Lieutenant Governors. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, it became a common practice for the titular governor to appoint a Lieutenant Governor to administer the colony whilst they remained in Britain. Between 1700 and 1750 eight individuals held the position of Lieutenant Governor, whilst there were only two who were appointed as Virginia's titular governor.<sup>7</sup> Those chosen for this position were often men of modest wealth, who held administrative experience and were connected to prominent political officials. Because these men were not directly appointed by either the Board of Trade or other metropolitan institutions, they occupied a unique position within the wider imperial political framework. Their actions less restricted than the titular governors, Lieutenant Governors experienced a large amount of autonomy in policy decisions and they directed the colony.

This was the situation Sir William Gooch (1681-1751) found himself in when he was appointed to the position in 1727. Holding the position for over two decades between 1727 and 1749, his lengthy administration was unusual when compared to other incumbents throughout the

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<sup>7</sup> See Table 1a and Table 1b in Appendix.

eighteenth century. Over the past century, scholars have attributed this longevity to Gooch's ability to mediate between large political groups within Virginia and Britain and his efforts to address the concerns of the colonists. Although Gooch has been praised by scholars, such as Warren Billings, Percy S. Flippin, and Stacy L. Lorenz, for his ability to compromise and mediate between opposing groups as governor, few have done so in dedicated monographs. Whether this is due to the lack of available source material or the prominence of the current cultural trend, many have been reluctant to tackle this essential period of Virginia history. Currently, there exists no full length study of Gooch and the short biographies available, create a patchwork narrative of his life that are largely devoted to specific periods of his governorship.<sup>8</sup> However, by using Gooch's governorship as a window to view how Virginian political institutions reacted to western expansion during the 1720s and 1740s, it becomes evident that he was a significant factor in shaping the colony's internal geopolitics throughout this period.

Gooch's experiences during his youth are essential to understanding how he approached his policies as governor, as it was throughout this period that his perception of authority and success were formed. One major factor that separated Gooch from his predecessors was the level of autonomy he was allowed by imperial officials as governor. Growing up in Norfolk during the late seventeenth century, Gooch placed himself firmly within elite social circles and corresponded with many notable figures, including future Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole and Thomas Pellam-Holles 1st Duke of Newcastle. It was through this method that Gooch secured the patronage and support of these influential figures and was able to receive a prominent position for himself within the colonies. The connections which he fostered during these early years were essential to his success as governor. These inroads ensured the success of much of his later policies as governor; including those on religion, western expansion, and the colony's broader relationship with Britain. Furthermore, Gooch's association with imperial officials also enabled him to petition for greater personal benefits throughout his time in Virginia, which enabled him to secure his economic and political position in the colony. It was through this

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<sup>8</sup> Lorenz, 'Policy and Patronage: Governor William Gooch and Anglo-Virginia Politics, 1727-7149', pp. 81-103; Lorenz, "'To Do Justice to his Majesty, the Merchant, and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 345-392; Porter, 'Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute', pp. 1-13; Schrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative: Three Royal Governors in Virginia as a Case Study, 1710-1758', pp. 125-157; Winkler, "'The Art of Governing Well": Virginia's Governor William Gooch, The Role of the Colonial Executive and the Tobacco Inspection Act 1730', pp. 233-275.

network of patrons, that Gooch was able to solidify his place within the colony and transform the role of the colonial executive within Virginian society. Therefore, because of the relationships that Gooch developed during his youth and how influenced his actions as governor, it is essential to analyse this period within this larger narrative to understand his later goals, as the office of governor became less about representing the conflict between metropolitan and colonial authority and more about Gooch's declaration of personal fulfilment.

Born on October 21st 1681, Gooch and his family, which included his parents Thomas and Francis Loane Gooch and his elder brother Thomas, lived in Great Yarmouth, Norfolk for a majority of his childhood. Following the deaths of his parents, his father in 1688 and his mother in 1696, Thomas became Gooch's surrogate paternal figure as he raised his brother into his adolescence. Thomas set a good example whilst caring for his younger brother and continued his education, completing both a Bachelors and Masters degree at Cambridge University between 1694 and 1698. Following this, he entered the clergy and held many distinguished positions in the Anglican Church during his lifetime; which included the Bishop of Bristol (1737), the Bishop of Norwich (1738-1748), and the Bishop of Ely (1748-1754). Throughout all of these experiences, Thomas maintained a strong relationship with his brother, evident from their continued correspondence, and often advised Gooch at length on religious policies and his actions as governor. However to his younger brother, Thomas represented more than a figure to be emulated and was Gooch's first real connection influential connection. As Thomas rose within the clergy he encountered many important figures, such as the Bishop of London and Sir Robert Walpole, that provided opportunities for personal and professional advancement. Therefore, Thomas' influence on his younger brother extended beyond that of a surrogate parent, as he represented the first point at which Gooch witnessed what could be achieved through prominent connections.<sup>9</sup>

Initially, Gooch followed his brother's example and attended Queens College, Oxford to complete his undergraduate degree during the late 1690s. However, as the threat of France loomed ever greater over Britain, Gooch decided to enter the military when he turned 19, beginning an association that would endure until his return to England in 1749.<sup>10</sup> Gooch found

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<sup>9</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Good in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 5-6.

immediate success and was commissioned as an officer in the service of John Churchill, the First Duke of Marlborough throughout Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). Grateful of the opportunities this appointment offered him, he participated in many of the major conflicts throughout the war; including Blenheim (1704), Ramilles (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malpaquet (1709). Although Gooch worked closely with Duke and was promoted to the rank of Major by the end of the conflict, no personal relations existed between the two. Despite this, Gooch often boasted about the time he spent in the service of the Duke when he reflected on the war in his correspondence. He spoke of memories where the younger officers would spend evenings in conversation with Churchill and suggested that they maintained a close friendship during this period, despite there being little evidence that confirms this.<sup>11</sup> In the conclusion of one letter Gooch commented that during the war he had served with '...reputation...' and was proud to have '...been in every battle the D. of M. [had] fought.'<sup>12</sup> From these short passages it was evident that he held Churchill in the same reverence that he did Thomas, despite the absence of any sustained intimacy between the two men. Throughout his youth and adolescence it was apparent that Gooch held the same admiration for the Duke that he did Thomas. Both men were individuals that had reached the highest tier within their professions and, in Gooch's opinion, were men of the highest intelligence and respect, characteristics he would value highly throughout his governorship.

Following the conclusion of the war Gooch sought employment outside of the military and pursued a path within the civil service, where he thought more opportunities existed for him to progress. Although records for Gooch's actions between 1713 and 1727 are sparse, his attempts to advance within the civil service followed the trend of Gooch's fixation on self progression and integration with influential figures. Many scholars have argued that it was during this phase where the most dramatic changes to his character occurred, as he sought out a new career and to expand his family.<sup>13</sup> Once he had returned to Britain, Gooch started to court the widowed Rebecca Staunton, the youngest daughter of Robert Staunton of Sussex. She and Gooch married in 1714, which was soon followed by the birth of their first son Thomas on 1716. In spite of these

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, Charlottesville, Accession #3033, William Gooch Papers, 1727-1751, 3 vols, William Gooch to unknown, October 18, 1751, Vol I. Hereafter to be referred to as 'WGP'.

<sup>13</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p. 10.

dramatic changes, many historians have dismissed this period and have argued that it was not significantly connected his later actions as governor.<sup>14</sup> The rapid expansion of his family necessitated his search for greater income and professional advancement within the civil sector, as he was the sole provider for his family. However, it was not until he was appointed to Virginia in 1727 that he found prominent success.<sup>15</sup> Although many scholars have disregarded Gooch's experiences throughout this early phase of his life, his efforts to advance his personal stature represented the emergence of a character trait that would influence his actions as governor. Throughout this period, Gooch became fixated on the idea that he could achieve personal wealth and success by using his connections to influential figures.

Following the appointment of George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney, as the titular Governor of Virginia, Gooch received his commission as Lieutenant Governor on the 23rd January 1727. Despite being appointed early in the year, Gooch was unable to take up his position in Virginia until the 11th of September. However, these delays did little to dissuade the confidence of the colonial legislature, as many were aware of his reputation in England. Understanding that Gooch was a staunch Anglican and his good nature, a large majority of the colonists praised Hamilton and the Board for their appointment. Henry Harrison, the representative of the Surry County, proclaimed his support for Gooch in a speech to the House on February 3rd. Emphasising his conduct in both his public and private life, Harrison commended Gooch in how he undertook his '...duties of religion...' and his '...disposition [for] a Peace & good neighbourhood.' Concluding that the Assembly had many reasons to think themselves '...a happy people...', following Gooch's appointment.<sup>16</sup> As evidenced in personal correspondence, prominent members of the Virginian gentry shared this view and praised Gooch. In one letter to the Earl of Orrey, tobacco planter William Byrd II stated that Gooch was the best choice as governor because of his devotion to the Anglican faith.<sup>17</sup> More formal in its support of the governor the *Virginia Gazette* often referenced

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<sup>14</sup> Shrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative: Three Royal Governors in Virginia as a Case Study, 1710-1758', p. 84; Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch: The King's Good Servant', p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>16</sup> *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, ed. Henry R. McIlwaine, (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1910), p. 7. Hereafter to be referred as '*JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*'.

<sup>17</sup> William Byrd, *The Correspondence of Three William Byrds of Westover, 1684-1776, Vol II*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), p. 371.



how Gooch's policies ran parallel to the interests of the colony, as was the case in one particular issue where he was applauded for his protection against Native American attacks.<sup>18</sup>

Many have attributed this initial wave of support for Gooch as part of a broader reaction to the replacement of Alexander Spotswood as Lieutenant Governor. Randall Schrock argued that many of the previous governors arrived in the colony with 'fiery tempers' and were sympathetic to imperial policies. This attitude had become so commonplace amongst Virginians that when Spotswood travelled to the colony in 1710, there was little recognition of his arrival. This was a stark contrast to the fanfare which Gooch received as he stepped off the ship. Infatuated with his character, the burgesses proclaimed their support several months before his arrival. Not to be outdone, the townsfolk of Williamsburg greeted Gooch and his family as they arrived, which he proudly stated '... 'twas a greater than has always been practiced.'<sup>19</sup> The uniqueness of this situation was further highlighted by the soundless response to the appointment of Gooch's successor, Robert Dinwiddie in 1751. Holding the position of Surveyor General under Gooch's in 1745, Dinwiddie was experienced in colonial politics, a well-known figure within Virginia and was favoured by the Board of Trade as he supported imperial policies. Despite these attributes, the colonists were reluctant to display any affection for their new governor. Landon Carter even sent a letter to the Board explain why they were unable to present Dinwiddie with a gift.<sup>20</sup> Gooch's reaction to the pomp and circumstance that accompanied his arrival demonstrated his intent to be perceived as one of the elite.

During this period Hugh Jones, an Anglican Clergyman and part-time educator at the College of William and Mary, constructed a detailed account of Williamsburg, which served as the colony's capital, and the surrounding wilderness. He described it as the perfect juncture '... commanding two noble Rivers,...and [that it] is much more commodious and healthful, than if

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<sup>18</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, November 10 1738, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Shrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative: Three Royal Governors in Virginia as a Case Study, 1710-1758', p. 83; Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', pp. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Landon Carter, *A Letter From a Gentleman in Virginia, to the Merchants go Great Britain, Trading to that Colony*, (London: 1754), p. 6; John Alden, *Robert Dinwiddie: Servant of the Crown*, (Williamsburg: University of Virginia Press, 1973), p. 14; Kenneth P. Bailey, *Christopher Gist: Colonial Frontiersman, Explorer and Indian Agent*, (Hamdon: Archon Books, 1976), pp. 29-30.

built upon a river.<sup>21</sup> Of specific note was the Governor's mansion. Surrounded by '...gates, fine Gardens, Offices, Walks, a fine Canal, [and] Orchards...' Jones took great care to demonstrate the natural beauty of the area.<sup>22</sup> Within his correspondence Gooch commented that the 'House is an excellent one indeed...an handsome garden, an orchard full of fruit, and a very large park.'<sup>23</sup> However, this was not the only subject of his attention, he also noted how the local community had gone to great lengths to make his family welcome. His reactions to the celebrations in Williamsburg and to his new lodgings reiterated his perception of success and what it meant to him. When presented with these ornaments of wealth and luxury, it was evident he understood that his role as governor could present him with opportunities to achieve his goals of personal and economic advancement.

Although Gooch had settled into his role by the end of 1727, the reality of his responsibilities as governor and the strain it placed on his personal finances quickly became evident. As evidenced through his correspondence, one major cause of this was the central role he and his family now occupied in Virginia's active social scene. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, members of the colonial elite often posted advertisements within the back pages of the *Virginia Gazette*, invited their peers to celebrations and balls, and provided opportunities for the members of the gentry to interact with one another. Many regarded these events as crucial to attend, as evidenced by William Byrd II when he noted such occasions within his personal diaries.<sup>24</sup> Such events were not limited to the private homes of the elite but ranged from evenings at the theatre to the official balls hosted by the governor.<sup>25</sup> Notices of future performances were therefore a common sight in the back pages of the *Virginia Gazette*, as in the September 10 1736 issue which included a detailed guide of the performances playing at the Williamsburg theatre in the coming weeks.<sup>26</sup> Although these gatherings had the more practical

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<sup>21</sup> Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, (New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865), p. 25.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', pp. 15-16.

<sup>24</sup> William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tilling, (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1941), pp.431-432.

<sup>25</sup> Louis B. Wright, *The Cultural Life of the America Colonies*, (New York: Courier Corporation, 2012), pp. 180-183.

<sup>26</sup> *The Virginia Gazette*, September 10 1736, p. 4.

role of providing a setting where influential Virginians could exchange contacts and create personal and professional relationships, the frequency of these listings emphasised that this was an important part of Virginian life.

Understanding that he and his wife were now central figures in Virginian society, Gooch decided to take a prominent role within these important social functions. Between 1727 and 1728, Gooch hosted three balls to celebrate the birthdays of the royal family. The financial toll which these celebrations exacted on the governor was apparent by the end of the year, as he spent a total of £170.<sup>27</sup> In one letter to the Board in 1728, Gooch expressed his concern about the increasing financial burden as governor and complained that his salary ‘...will but little more than carry me through this year.’<sup>28</sup> Despite his worries, Gooch nevertheless persisted with these extravagances and continued his spending well into the 1740s, with balls and dinners at the Governor’s house becoming a common fixture on important holidays. So in awe was one guest that, after he attended a ball to commemorate the King’s birthday in 1738, he stated ‘[h]is honour the Governor, was pleas’d to give a handsome entertainment for the Gentlemen and Ladies, together with a ball...’ and that the evening had been concluded by a formal salute from the artillery at the surrounding forts and ships.<sup>29</sup> Although costly, the efforts made by Gooch to foster his public image throughout the early years of his governorship was essential to his success. Building upon the support of the community, Gooch was then able to create a public persona that was a prevalent feature in the colony. Using tools, such as the *Virginia Gazette*, Gooch presented the governorship as a truly public office and created a forum where all Virginians were included within a broader political discussion, which set him apart from the executives who had preceded him.<sup>30</sup>

Although he was able to integrate himself within the public consciousness, Gooch’s new role began to take a heavy personal and emotional toll. As Gooch increased the frequency with

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<sup>27</sup> When this sum is converted according to current inflation this sum equates to over £14,000. Prinz, ‘Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King’s Good Servant’, p. 17.

<sup>28</sup> Gooch to the Board of Trade, May 26, 1728, WGP, Vol I.

<sup>29</sup> *The Virginia Gazette*, November 3, 1738, pp. 4.

<sup>30</sup> *The Virginia Gazette*, October 28, 1737, pp. 4.

which he held these lavish celebrations, it was evident that his attempt to become a prominent public figure exacerbated his economic struggles. Following the royal birthday celebrations in 1727, Gooch penned his displeasure in a letter to his brother at having to commemorate so many.<sup>31</sup> He reiterated this complaint in 1736, with renewed complaints to his brother about his financial situation in which he blamed that his growing popularity among his peers as the most prevalent threat to his financial security.<sup>32</sup> It was this attitude that forced him to become involved in the mining industry and became a joint investor in an iron mine. Convinced that the profits from this endeavour would be enough to suffice any financial need his family would encounter, he proclaimed ‘...it will carry me thro’ all difficulties.’<sup>33</sup> Such financially related actions highlighted that Gooch’s consideration of personal wealth and advancement was an essential part of his character and how he viewed his role within the colony. Present since his time as a young officer in Marlborough’s army, many of Gooch’s undertakings in Virginia were compelled by this obsession. Whether this was prompted by either his familial and political responsibilities, or by avarice is unclear, however it is an aspect of his personality that greatly influenced many of his policies and decisions as governor.

By the conclusion of Gooch’s introduction to colonial life, two major themes of his character were prevalent; his relentless quest for personal advancement and his ability to construct meaningful personal relationships with his peers and constituents through patronage. However, it was not until the debates concerning tobacco regulation and the implementation of the Tobacco Inspection Act in 1730 that it became a central characteristic. Scholars who have analysed this period, predominantly between 1729 and 1734, have argued that Gooch’s efforts marked an important juncture in securing the support from the colonists. His attempts to protect Virginian interests in the wider Atlantic economy, increased revenues into the colony and his mediation between colonial, planter and imperial interests have become essential moments in

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<sup>31</sup> Prinz, ‘Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King’s Good Servant’, p. 18.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p.20.

defining his success.<sup>34</sup> Despite the magnifying lens applied to the events surrounding the Inspection Act, few scholars have recognised the debilitating consequences that followed. Disputes in the Northern Neck and other frontier territories throughout 1732, and the numerous amendments made to the Inspection Act became a prelude to the destabilisation of the Governor's position in the coming decades. Therefore, it is questionable to label the Inspection Act as an overwhelming political success, but it further reflected themes that were already prominent in Gooch's administration. Throughout the debates of the Inspection Act, Gooch demonstrated that he deliberately used his connections to the Board of Trade and other prominent political groups to implement policies that advanced his own economic and political ambitions.

Before Gooch initiated debates concerning tobacco regulation in 1729, the colony's tobacco industry had experienced a sharp decline since the late seventeenth century. At the turn of the eighteenth century there was a dramatic increase in European demand for Virginian tobacco, which influenced many of the changes that occurred within the Virginian tobacco industry throughout this period. This included the transition from white indentured servants to a labour force based primarily on imported African slaves and attempts to more strictly police its export to Britain.<sup>35</sup> Allan Kulikoff, in his study of eighteenth-century Chesapeake economic trends, noted that although the number of tobacco hogsheads leaving the colonies had not changed, the amount of tobacco they held had increased by a third between 1720 and 1740.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Jack P. Greene, 'Society, Ideology, and Politics: An analysis of the Political Culture of the Mid-Eighteenth Century', in R. Jellison, (ed.), *Society, Freedom, and Conscience: The American Revolution in Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York*, (New York: Norton, 1976), pp. 38; Lorenz, "'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', p. 346; Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia, Westward Expansion an the prelude to Revolution, 1710-1763*, vol 2, (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 500-503; Alison Gilbert Olson, *Making the Empire Work: London and American Interest Groups, 1690-1790*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 127.

<sup>35</sup> Jacob M. Price, 'The Imperial Economy, 1700-1776', in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century*, vol 2, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 84; T. H. Breen, 'A Changing Labour Force in Virginia and Race Relations, 1660-1710', *Journal of Social History* 7 (1973), pp. 5-7.

<sup>36</sup> Allan Kulikoff, 'The Economic Growth of the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake Colonies', *The Journal of Economic History* 39 (1979), p. 276. Studies of the surrounding colonies and how the decline in the tobacco market affected them further supported this argument. Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720*, (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 6-8; John J. McCusker and, Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), pp. 121-122, Figure 6.1.

Although Virginian planters were exporting increased amounts of tobacco to Europe, this led to the market being oversaturated and contributed the decline of the industry's profitability in Virginia. In one letter in 1713, Spotswood stated that the '...State of this Country...' had been severely affected by the '...decay of the price of Tobacco.'<sup>37</sup> However, economic historian Charles Wetherall has rejected these claims and has argued that no such decline existed and that international conflicts only briefly disrupted tobacco exportation. He has further stated, that the decrease in profits experienced by Virginian planters was caused primarily by overproduction in the colonies.<sup>38</sup> However, the efforts of Virginian tobacco planters throughout this period to stimulate the exportation of tobacco challenged Wetherall's claims. As Stacy Lorenz has argued, planters attempted to implement legislation designed to regulate the exportation of tobacco into Europe. These ranged from the creation of new frontier marketplaces in 1705 and 1706 to encourage planters to inject more money into the economy, to Spotswood's attempts to regulate the wholesale of trash tobacco in 1713. To gain control over the burgesses, Spotswood created forty inspectorships over the next year and charged them with the destruction of 'trash', with the aim to increase the demand for Virginia tobacco. However, this plan was ignored as both the colonists and Board of Trade accused him of attempting to buy the legislature. Following this failure, focus shifted from the warehouses to tobacco fields as planters restricted the amount of tobacco grown by each individual between 1723 and 1730. This eventually culminated in the Stint Law of 1727 which allowed slaveholders to grow 6000 plants per worker and non-slaveholders 10,000 plants. By this point planters were so angered by their previous failings that they specifically attacked those who failed to uphold the quality of the colony's prime export.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, due to administrative limitations and the vast amount of land it covered, the Stint Law proved impractical and ineffective solution.<sup>40</sup> Although heavily invested in the success of the tobacco market,

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<sup>37</sup> Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), pp. 5, 38-39, 78-81; Alexander Spotswood detailed the poor state of the economy in numerous letters to officials in Britain. Spotswood, Alexander, *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, vol 2, ed. R. A. Brock, (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1882-1885), pp. 33-35.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Wetherall, 'Boom and Bust in the Colonial Chesapeake Economy', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol 15, 2 (1984), pp. 187.

<sup>39</sup> *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol 4, ed. Henry R. McIlwaine, (Richmond: The Virginia State Library), pp. 45-49. Hereafter referred to as 'EJC'.

<sup>40</sup> Lorenz, "'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 351-354.



Virginia planters had failed to increase their profits before Gooch's arrival in 1727 and it remained a controversial topic.

Although Gooch was neither a planter nor a merchant, he understood that the decline of the tobacco market would adversely affect him. Included within his salary, Gooch would receive two shillings per hogshead of tobacco, which equated to at least £300 per annum.<sup>41</sup> With his wealth dwindling, Gooch intended to rejuvenate the tobacco market whilst also securing the support of the planters and his finances simultaneously.<sup>42</sup> Despite the failures of previous attempts to regulate the export of tobacco, Gooch looked to them for inspiration when he constructed the Tobacco Inspection Act in 1730. His outline for regulation followed the similar course to Spotswood's in 1713 and created inspectorships and public tobacco warehouses to police and record the export of 'trash' tobacco to Europe. Simple in its design, many contemporaries were impressed by Gooch's plan, with the Board of Trade praising the governor highly in June 1729.<sup>43</sup> Scholars have reiterated this attitude and argued that the Act offered the best possible way to effectively control the quality of tobacco exported from the colony, as it was easily enforceable.<sup>44</sup> However, his success is not derived from how he meditated the issues between merchants, planters, and the Board or the tact he employed in the presentation of his policies, but from his use and exploitation of the patronage system. Throughout the debates surrounding the Inspection Act, Gooch continuously manipulated his supporters and pitted them against each other to ensure he was successful in securing his wealth and authority.

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<sup>41</sup> Board of Trade to Gooch, May 7, 1728, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>42</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', pp. 19-20; Shrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative: The Royal Governors in Virginia as a Case Study, 1710-1758', pp.132-133.

<sup>43</sup> Lorenz, "'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 363; Lorenz, 'Policy and Patronage; Governor William Gooch and Anglo-Virginia Politics, 1727-1749', pp. 85-86.

<sup>44</sup> Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 363; John M. Hemphill, *Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1689-1733: Studies in the Development and Fluctuations of a Colonial Economy under Imperial Control*, (New York: Garland Publishing: 1985), pp. 30-33; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of the Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*, pp. 109-110; Bruce E. Ragsdale, *A Planters' Republic: The Search For Economic Independence in Revolutionary Virginia*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996), p. 12.

When he introduced the Inspection Act to the burgesses in 1729 and 1730, Gooch was wary about whether the creation of new inspectorships and warehouse would be perceived as an attempt to centralise the colonial government. In an effort to rebuff these criticisms, Gooch erected barriers that were specifically designed to limit the authority of the executive in matters of appointment. First, he implemented the provision that when appointed as an inspector, the individual would be unable to also hold a position in the legislature. Similarly, Gooch diminished his own political authority, by assigning the appointment of inspectorships to the Executive Council. Although a more democratic process than the one instituted by his predecessor, a large amount of authority was still retained by Gooch. As President of the Council he still retained a large amount of authority. By appointing sympathetic members to the Council and using the support he had within the House, Gooch was able to shape debates and policies within the legislature. Challenged by only a handful of small partisan groups, Gooch erected these barriers to win favour and illustrate that he was not interested in creating a centralised power under the governor. Although the surrender of Gooch's powers of appointment ensured his short term success, it undermined the authority of the governor throughout the following three decades. Both Gooch and his successor encountered problems in appointing military officials and securing funds when the colony was in a state of war. This was most prevalent when Gooch sought to use the militia to repel Native American and French invasions and during his campaign to Cartagena in 1741, as the burgesses often stalled in their deliberations.<sup>45</sup> By designing policies that would supplement his income and authority as governor, it was evident that Gooch would sacrifice the longevity of the executive for short term gain.

Although Gooch's Inspection Act was, at best, a small improvement on what had predated it, his 'new' policy did not guarantee its success. Rather it was his use of personal connections within the British government that contributed most. Although Lorenz has concluded that Gooch's use of the patronage network was essential to securing the Inspection Act's success overseas, it was not done so for personal gain.<sup>46</sup> However, his manipulation of influential groups within

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<sup>45</sup>*Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1742-1747, 1748-1749*, ed. Henry R. McIlwaine, (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1909) p. xxiv.

<sup>46</sup> Lorenz, "To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp.392.

Virginia and Britain emphasised Gooch was mostly concerned with accomplishing his personal ambitions and not addressing the issues of the tobacco planters.

The major challenge that obstructed Gooch's path was ensuring support from the Board of Trade. Within the imperial framework, the Board maintained the power to either veto colonial legislation or sentence it to political purgatory, by giving it probationary status and then taking no action to review it.<sup>47</sup> Despite the leverage Gooch had gained within the legislature, this would not be enough to sway those across the Atlantic.<sup>48</sup> Understanding that support from the Board was necessary to assure that the Act would be passed, Gooch intended to use his connections on the Board to ensure its success before he attempted to get it passed by the burgesses. He was able to circumvent this in two ways; by proving that his policies acted in favour of imperial aspirations, and by convincing his supporters, primarily Newcastle and Walpole, that this was the best method to resolve decline of the tobacco industry in Virginia. Gooch found it easy to align his goals with that of the Board. Within his correspondence to the Duke of Newcastle between 1728 and 1730, Gooch outlined how the regulation of tobacco could mutually aid Virginia and Britain. Gooch stated that, although there existed the possibility tobacco prices increasing, the limits his regulation plan imposed would lead to greater sales, as it would make the product more desirable.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, he reasoned that '...since the Rich and even People of middling Fortunes will ever be fonder of smoaking good than bad Tobacco, be the Price what it will be... [and] a more agreeable Tobacco will draw them into a greater inclination to use a much larger quantity.'<sup>50</sup> Following this assumption, he reiterated that the consumption of a greater quality of tobacco would stimulate the economy further, leading to a greater demand of Virginia Tobacco. Gooch continued to send letters to Newcastle discussing the matter of regulation. So brazen was his approach, that in one letter Gooch claimed that he had no doubt that the income of the crown would increase drastically and that there would be a newfound level of tobacco consumption.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> G. Morgan, "The Privilege of Making Laws": The Board of Trade, The Virginia Assembly and Legislative Review, 1748-1754', *The Journal of American Studies* 10 (2009), pp. 1-2.

<sup>48</sup> Flippin, 'William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia', pp. 23-24.

<sup>49</sup> Gooch to the Duke of Newcastle, February 28, 1729; June 29, 1729, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>50</sup> Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730", pp. 377.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 378.

The continued correspondence between Gooch and Newcastle highlighted how far Gooch's influence had spread. A point that is further emphasised when Gooch requested that Newcastle shield the Act from any opposition until it was announced officially.<sup>52</sup> However, Newcastle was not his only point of contact within the Board. During his time as governor, Gooch maintained an open correspondence with Martin Bladen. An influential character within the Board, Bladen had held a number of important offices throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. He was elected as a Member of Parliament for a number of constituencies, including Kinsale (1713), Bandon (1714), Maldon (1734), and Portsmouth (1741). Following his initial entry to Parliament, Walpole appointed him as a part-time Secretary to the Earl of Galway and was promoted to the Privy Councillor of Ireland later that year. It was not until July 19 1717 that he finally found himself on the Board of Trade, aided once again by Walpole, as a Commissioner. Bladen maintained a singular philosophy towards the colonies. He sought greater unity between them and Britain, but only if the authority of the crown was strengthened.<sup>53</sup> Alongside his connections with Walpole, Gooch was able to summon a substantial amount of political weight behind his proposal throughout the British Government. Gooch reaped the benefit of this support as his plan was given 'probationary status' on May 19 1731. Gooch's dealings with the members of the Board of Trade was a significant factor in the advancement of the Inspection Act. With little politicking involved, Gooch relied on the positions of his patrons and their influences as the primary means of advancing his policy.

Gooch, unconvinced that the political weight of Newcastle and the Board would ensure the success of the Act, attempted to contact the London tobacco merchants. Once again using his British connections, Gooch was able to orchestrate a large amount of support by the conclusion of the debates concerning the act in 1731. One factor that proved vital in Gooch's effort to recruit the London Merchants was the involvement of the Virginia agent Peter Lehup. Prior to his involvement in the Inspection Act, Lehup had spent a large amount of the first quarter

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Lorenz, 'Policy and Patronage: Governor William Gooch and Anglo-Virginian Politics, 1727-1749', pp. 83; Lorenz, "'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 376; Jack. P. Greene, 'Bladen's Blueprint for Colonial Union', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 17 (1960), pp. 517.

of the eighteenth century travelling in the American colonies as an agent, including New Jersey (1723-1727), New York (1724-1730), Barbados (1730-1736), and Virginia (1722-1754). It was during this time that he had established many connections with prominent colonial officials. This was best displayed through his continued correspondence with Councilman Robert Carter, in which he often advised him on disputes with the Board and merchants.<sup>54</sup> Because of this, he was often used by British and colonial governments to aid with colonial disputes, as was the case in New York where he helped in establishing the importation of European salt.<sup>55</sup> However, it was not only his colonial connections that made him such an important contact for Gooch. Also born in Norfolk, Lehup maintained strong regional links with important political families, eventually marrying into the Walpole's during first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Because of his connections and influence it was clear why Gooch sought Lehup out for support. An individual with strong regional connections and an influential patron, Lehup held all the attributes that Gooch valued in his confidants.

As evidenced by their correspondence, Gooch maintained a close relationship with Lehup since the beginning of his governorship.<sup>57</sup> However, it was not until 1731 when Gooch used Lehup as a political tool when he left the Virginian agent unsupervised in London to gain support from the merchant guilds. Although the extent of the correspondence between the two is limited, Gooch did not inform the Board of Lehup's actions, illustrating the private nature of his work.<sup>58</sup> The Governor's investment soon proved successful as Lehup completed his task in only four months. The first sessions concerning the Inspection Act lasted six days from February 17 to February 23. Beginning with the general outline of the Act and what it intended to accomplish, a large proportion of these debates were centred around the complaints of Richard Fitzwilliams, the

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<sup>54</sup> Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, Charlottesville, Accession #3807, Papers of Robert Carter, 1722-1783, 7 vols, Robert Carter to Peter Lehup, January 5 1727 and July 24 1727; Jacob M. Price, *Perry of London: A Family and a Firm on the Seaborne Frontier*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 71.

<sup>55</sup> Jacob M. Price, 'The Excise Affair Revisited: The Administrative and colonial Dimensions of a Parliamentary Crisis', ed. S. Baxter, *England's Rise to Greatness, 1660-1763*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 275-276.

<sup>56</sup> Price, *Perry of London*, pp. 76.

<sup>57</sup> Gooch to the Board of Trade, August 9, 1728, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>58</sup> *Journal for the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations*, vol 6, (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1928), pp. 179-198. Hereafter referred to as 'JTP'.

incumbent Surveyor General of the Southern Colonies. A supporter of imperial authority, Fitzwilliams was concerned that the Inspection Act would place too much control in the hands of the colonists. To clarify this issue, the Board instructed Lehup to create a memorandum outlining his defences to the arguments made by Fitzwilliams, which he submitted on March 3.<sup>59</sup> Lehup later returned on May 14 accompanied by two merchants, Mr Randall and Mr Carey, ready to hear the rebuttal to his memorandum and to add his final amendments.<sup>60</sup> It was only during this time that the merchants, who supported the Inspection Act, appeared during these debates. Despite these further changes the Board eventually passed the Act on May 19.<sup>61</sup>

From the sources available it was evident that a large amount of the Act's success in Britain was a result of Lehup's efforts. However, what is less clear is the extent to which the London merchants supported the Inspection Act and how they engaged with the debates. Although their presence suggested that an alliance existed between the two parties, previous disputes with Gooch suggested the opposite. Between 1729 and 1730 many of Gooch's policies were halted by merchant complaints over increased taxes on their imports. This was the case with the proposed construction of a lighthouse on Cape Henry in 1729. Backed by the burgesses, Gooch submitted a plan to the Board that failed because London merchants protested against the higher import taxes that were imposed to pay for its construction. A year later, a similar argument appeared when Virginians wanted to introduce a new series of taxes on imported liquor. Thus, by the time discussions concerning the Inspection Act began in 1731 dialogue between the two parties was heavily strained. This conflict is further represented in the actions of Micah J. Perry throughout 1730 and 1731 and his attempts to challenge Gooch and his ambitions. Despite this recent history, both Perry and the Governor maintained a professional relationship, working together to ensure the success of lucrative appointments throughout Britain, but not in Virginia.<sup>62</sup> Perry did have some success in the colonies when his patronage preferences ran parallel to Gooch, as was the case in 1731 and 1732 when he ensured the appointment of the Rappahannock planter John Tayloe to the Virginia Council, but was largely ostracised from the

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<sup>59</sup> *JTP*, pp. 179-181.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, p. 182, 198.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, p. 198.

<sup>62</sup> Price, *Perry of London*, pp. 76-77.



process. Angered at this isolation, Perry sought to dissuade other merchants from supporting the Inspection Act. Although Lehup's actions during 1731, represented an attempt by Gooch to gain the support of the merchants to remedy the previous disputes, he reported the following year that they had not supported tobacco regulation, demonstrating that they were not significant to the Act's success in Britain.<sup>63</sup>

This ambiguity has caused much debate among historians throughout the past three decades. Historians have predominantly used Perry's anger towards Gooch, as evidence of his role in stopping other merchants supporting the Inspection Act. Jacob Price, J. Hemphill, and Alison Olson agreed that the merchants did not offer any significant support for the Inspection Act, with the two former historians citing Perry as a central figure in stopping support from the merchant lobby manifesting.<sup>64</sup> Each presented the merchants as having an attitude of ambivalence towards the matter, choosing to ignore it until it became a hindrance to them. This, however, contradicted what had happened during both Cape Henry and the liquor tax conflicts. In both of these instances, the London merchants were able to successfully mobilise enough support to shutdown Gooch's policies when he compromised their abilities to make profits. Lorenz, however, has deviated from this interpretation in the last decade and argued that London Tobacco merchants were an essential political force in Gooch's metropolitan plan. Seeking to buy their support, he framed the Act in such a way that it would do little to antagonise them and remove them as an obstacle. He reasoned that by restricting the amount of tobacco entering the Europe the profits of London merchants would increase, as there would be a greater demand and less competition from smugglers. By placing his goals in line with the merchants Gooch was able to better mediate support in Britain.<sup>65</sup> However, this interpretation also relied on the assumption that merchants were active in their support of the Inspection Act and placed Lehup on the peripheries.

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<sup>63</sup> Gooch to Bishop Gibson, August 12, 1732, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>64</sup> Price, 'The Excise Affair Revisited', pp. 276-277; Hemphill, *Virginia and the English Commercial System*, pp. 149-150; Alison Gilbert Olson, 'The Virginia Merchants of London: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Interest-Group Politics', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (1983), pp. 381.

<sup>65</sup> Lorenz, 'Policy and Patronage; Governor William Gooch and Anglo-Virginia Politics, 1727-1749', pp. 84.

Although these arguments have positioned merchants as key actors within throughout the debates in London, contemporary sources conveyed the opposite. In the *Journals of the Commissioners of the Board of Trade* it was stated that Lehup was the only person named as acting for Virginia, which highlighted him as an essential factor throughout these debates. Unlike Lehup, the that merchants attended the meetings of the Inspection Act received much less attention, emphasising that they made no significant contribution. Titled simply Mr Randall and Mr Carey, both merchants spent no time arguing in front of the Board and attended only two session throughout the four months the Act was debated. This further emphasised that during this process the merchants played only a small role. Targeted by Gooch as a means to remove a troublesome obstacle, it is evident that the merchant lobby did little to persuade the Board to support the Act. This greatly contrasted Lehup's experience throughout 1731 in which he played an essential role. As Newcastle and Lehup operated on opposite sides of the debates, these discussions exemplified how Gooch extended and used his influence. As Newcastle attempted to ease the Act's passage and Lehup deflected merchant opposition, Gooch had secured its success with little direct involvement. In both cases, Gooch had used his relationships to manipulate the outcome that benefited him most. Although Gooch had not involved himself directly with the debates in London, it was evidence that his influence had shaped events to secure metropolitan support.

Whilst Lehup mustered support in Britain, Gooch attempted to convince the burgesses of his plan for regulation. Although Gooch was successful in obtaining the support of officials in Britain, he was less fortunate with the burgesses. Lacking the strong patronage connections that proved crucial to winning over the metropolitan audience, ensuring the co-operation of the burgesses was much more difficult. Gooch first introduced the Inspection Act in a speech to the House on May 21 1730 and outlined how it benefitted the planters. He stated that the Act was designed '...to promote the Welfare and Prosperity of this province...' and that would be '...a prudent Regulation of your Trade'. Unconvinced that alone would be enough to bring the burgesses to his side, towards the end of his oration he claimed that the '...project was secure from Opposition...' as it had already been approved by both the merchants and the Board.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, pp. 57-58.

Although this claim was false, as the debates were still ongoing, it demonstrated that Gooch was aware that he had the support of the Board and Merchants at this time.<sup>67</sup> Gooch's more conciliatory approach to tobacco regulation won him much support from the Assembly. The following day Mann Page praised the Governor for his attempt to save their '...languishing trade...' and his success in '...unite[ing] the Interests of the British Merchants...' with the planters.<sup>68</sup> Gooch's attempt at mediation between the planters and the merchants did much to repair the divide that had emerged in recent years.<sup>69</sup> Despite this progress, Gooch was unable to placate every member of the legislature and still encountered major resistance.

Throughout 1730 and 1731, Gooch dedicated his efforts to removing this opposition and constructing a unified legislature. The Governor, intent on passing the Act, held extensive debates within the House and even treated privately with opponents.<sup>70</sup> However, this did little to quell those that resisted his attempts at persuasion, instead focusing their displeasure on specific measures of the Inspection Act. Edwin Conway, a burgess from Lancaster County, disputed that all public debts must be paid in inspected tobacco rather than other means. A small, but wealthy, planter, Conway's criticisms represented the sentiments of the yeoman farmer in the western counties, who were concerned about how the Act gave the larger Tidewater planters more authority.<sup>71</sup> Conway was able to divide the legislature so much so that when the House voted on June 15 1730 it was split 23-23 until the Speaker John Holloway voted in favour of the provision.<sup>72</sup> This first contest illustrated a trend that would dominate much of the legislature over the next year. Gooch, intent of pushing his policy, was stalled by the House as they checked and removed

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<sup>67</sup> Gooch to the Board of Trade, April 9, 1730, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>68</sup> *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 1715-1752*, vol 2, ed. Henry R. McIlwaine, (Richmond: The E. Waddy Company, 1918-1919), pp. 756. Hereafter referred to as 'LJC'.

<sup>69</sup> Lorenz, "'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 366-367; Lorenz, 'Policy and Patronage: Governor William Gooch and Anglo-Virginian Politics, 1727-1749', pp. 87; Schrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative: Three Royal Governors in Virginia as a Case Study, 1710-1758', pp. 135.

<sup>70</sup> Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 376; D. Allan Williams, *Political Alignments in Colonial Virginia Politics, 1698-1750*, (New York, 1989), pp. 232.

<sup>71</sup> Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', p. 367.

<sup>72</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, pp. 77-78.

certain components. The most significant of these was the erection of a 'Place' Bill which '... disable[d] any Sheriff, or other person, to sit as a member of the House of Burgesses... after his election.'<sup>73</sup> Although not linked directly to the Act, the House enacted this bill to remove all chances of Gooch abusing his position in the same way Spotswood did only a decade earlier. By not allowing sheriffs, which included tobacco inspectorships, to hold multiple offices, it severely diminished Gooch's ability to create an network of support by appointing those who were sympathetic too his polices to the legislature.<sup>74</sup> Although the discussion of the Act in the Council reflected the debates in the House, the changes it enacted were much less debilitating, with Gooch even stating one session that despite the amendments '...all the essential parts of it are the same.'<sup>75</sup> Despite its uneasy path, the Inspection Act eventually passed in the House by an overwhelming margin of forty six to five on June 19 1730.<sup>76</sup> Although many have praised Gooch for his success and ability to manage the interests of numerous parties to secure the Act, it does not represent the true extent of Gooch's control over the legislature. The burgesses, spurned by decades of abuse, were successful in limiting the political authority of the governor and indicated that when Gooch lacked a powerful patron or ally, he was less able to impose his authority over the legislature.

The initial debates over the Inspection Act highlighted that small planters, within the legislature, had begun to resent how it placed greater authority in the hands of the larger landholders. This conflict was further exacerbated after regional disputes and poor crops began left small platers and yeoman farmers from being able to export a sufficient amount of tobacco. Problems for the Governor first began during the winter months when the colony was struck by severe weather that damaged many of the tobacco crops. Gooch, worried that harsh enforcement of the Act during this time of low morale would anger the planters, instructed his inspectors to 'Pass Tobacco though it was only indifferent...well handled, and clean and honestly packed in the

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<sup>73</sup> *The Statutes at Large: being a collection of al the laws of Virginia, from the first session of the legislature, in the year 1619*, vol 4, ed. William Waller Hening, (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1809-1823), pp. 292-293.

<sup>74</sup> Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730", p. 369.

<sup>75</sup> McIlwaine, *LJC*, pp. 771, 776.

<sup>76</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, p. 82.

Hogs Head', to alleviate the criticisms of small planters.<sup>77</sup> Following its promotion to probationary status a clear divide had emerged between the planters who consistently produced high quality tobacco and smaller planters and landholders who inhabited areas that produced lower quality crops. Criticising the Act as tool for the established planters to increase their own wealth, small planters feared that their own produce would be judged unfairly and destroyed.<sup>78</sup> These concerns were fuelled by the creation of tobacco notes, which detailed the worth of each hogshead that was inspected, and their use as a pseudo-colonial currency, which centralised an enormous amount of wealth under those who could consistently produce tobacco of high quality. Nevertheless, these events established a tone for Gooch's experience throughout the coming years as colonial opinion of the Act declined, reaching its lowest point by the end of 1732.

The small planters, angered by the failure of Gooch to protect their interests, incited the small landholders of the Northern Neck in revolt against the Act. As is the case with this period of the colony's history, few sources remain leaving the central characters of this conflict unidentifiable. However, the records specified that the leaders of the revolt were a group poor planters, who owned small plots of land within the Northern Neck and that were unable to consistently produce high quality tobacco.<sup>79</sup> Concerned for their wellbeing, the rioters attacked and burned down four warehouses in the region during the beginning months of 1732, destroying the tobacco and resources that were stored within. Encouraged by these successes, the mob continued to burn more warehouses in the counties of Lancaster and Northumberland throughout March, eventually arriving in Prince William County where 50 men gathered to plan their future movements.<sup>80</sup> Although Gooch and his supporters anticipated opposition, which is evident from the 1730 legislation that outlawed the destruction of tobacco warehouses, this did little to deter

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<sup>77</sup> quoted in Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', p. 381.

<sup>78</sup> Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, pp. 108-109; Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730", pp. 378-381; John C. Rainbolt, 'The Case of the Poor Planters in Virginia under the Law for Inspecting and Burning Tobacco', *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79 (1971), pp. 317-318.

<sup>79</sup> Discussions concerning the Tobacco Riots of 1732 remain sparse. The most detailed accounts that are available are Janis. M Horne, 'The Opposition to the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', (Masters diss, William and Mary College, 1977), and Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, pp. 108-114; Williams, *Political Alignments*, pp. 241-243.

<sup>80</sup> Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, p. 110

the rioters. In an attempt to quell the conflict Gooch issued bounties for those involved and deployed militia throughout the Northern Neck and western frontier.

On August 12 1732, Gooch commented that he was concerned about the wider ramifications of the Northern Neck riots and whether they would ‘...[infect] the whole Colony.’<sup>81</sup> In an attempt to peacefully quell the disturbance, Gooch anonymously published a pamphlet titled *A Dialogue Between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters, both Men of good Understanding and Justice Love-Country, who can speak for himself, Recommended to the Reading of Planters.*<sup>82</sup> Written from the perspective of two tobacco planters, Thomas Sweet-Scented and William Oronoco, the pamphlet followed these characters as they listed their objections to the Inspection Act in a conversation with Justice Love-Country. Gooch’s intended audience for the pamphlet was illustrated in how he titled his characters and the arguments they presented in opposition to tobacco regulation. Named after the two varieties of tobacco that were grown in Virginia during the 1730s, the characters of Thomas and William would have been recognisable to anyone who had a basic knowledge of the tobacco industry. However, Thomas and William were not intended to represent all planters within the colony, but specifically those who challenged the Inspection Act. Although Thomas and William denounced those who participated in the protests that occurred in the Northern Neck, labelling them as ‘Wiseacres’, the criticisms which they listed reflected the arguments made by the protestors prior to the outbreak of violence.<sup>83</sup> Although the pamphlet focused primarily on addressing questions about the unlawful destruction of tobacco, the use of Tobacco Notes as payment, and the corruption of the Inspectors, it was intended to answer all the concerns that were raised by tobacco planters throughout the previous year.<sup>84</sup> However, the initial discussion between Thomas and William was not dedicated solely to outlining their opposition to the Inspection Act, as they also posed further

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<sup>81</sup> Gooch to Bishop Gibson, August 12, 1732; Gooch to the Board of Trade, May 27, 1732, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>82</sup> William Gooch, *A Dialogue Between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters, both Men of good Understanding and Justice Love-Country, who can speak for himself, Recommended to the Reading of Planters*, (Williamsburg, 1732); Prinz, ‘Maintaining the Prerogative: Three Royal Governors as a Case Study, 1710-1758’, p. 84.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 1-3.

questions about the integrity of the colonial legislature. In one passage, Thomas questioned William whether he thought that the Inspection Act was ‘...designed by our Burgesses for the Good of the Country.’ Unable to provide a response, Thomas then asked whether it was correct to ‘...fly in the Face of the Government...’ and oppose tobacco regulation.<sup>85</sup> Gooch used this initial conversation between Thomas and William to convey the central themes of the pamphlet. By targeting the specific grievances of small planters and rioters, Gooch demonstrated that he intended to use the pamphlet as a vehicle to educate Virginians about the aims of the Inspection Act.<sup>86</sup>

Gooch dedicated the second section of his pamphlet to Justice Love-Country’s response to the criticisms of the two planters and presenting his argument in favour of tobacco regulation. The character of Love-Country was used by Gooch to reason with William and Thomas and convey an ‘objective’ viewpoint of the aims of the Inspection Act. Published anonymously, neither the colonists or planters would have been aware of Gooch’s involvement and would have viewed Love-Country’s comments as unbiased.<sup>87</sup> Reiterating the arguments that Gooch had presented to the burgesses in 1730, Love-Country discredited the previous attempts to regulate the export of tobacco and argued that the Act was designed to remedy the concerns of the tobacco planters and ‘...all our Grievances in Trade.’<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, Love-Country accused those who criticised the Act as being at fault. In one passage, Love-Country attacked opponents of the Act and accused them of ignorance regarding its purpose. He stated ‘...I thought as much...you have been finding Fault with a Law you never read, never heard read, a Law you know nothing of, but from the Reports of lawless mouths.’<sup>89</sup> Love-Country further argued that Thomas and William’s loss of profits was also their fault, as they had brought inferior tobacco to be inspected.<sup>90</sup> Throughout the pamphlet, Gooch continuously used Love-Country to invalidate the criticisms of the Inspection Act and other forms of tobacco regulation, whilst simultaneously strengthening

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Prinz, ‘Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King’s Good Servant’, p. 84.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. 85.

<sup>88</sup> Gooch, *A Dialogue*, p. 12-15.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, p. 11.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9-10.

Virginian opinions of the Act. Gooch's attempt to educate the colonists proved effective, as the pamphlet was also published in Pennsylvania. In the aftermath of the riots, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that "...some papers...[were] published, wherein the People are better informed of the Design of the Law, Things seem now to grow more quiet and settled."<sup>91</sup>

Although Gooch intended for the pamphlet to educate colonists about the Inspection Act, it also demonstrated how he used it to further integrate his public persona with Virginian society. In his correspondence throughout 1732, Gooch indicated that he was aware of how the Inspection Act had lost him the support of the planters and other colonists. In one letter to the Board on March 30, Gooch stated that after he had '...detected their vile practice...' of presenting inferior tobacco, planters in the Northern Neck had become displeased with his actions.<sup>92</sup> Evident from his name, Love-Country, Gooch also used the character to outline how the colonial legislature sought to aid the planters and the colony. Throughout his discussion with William and Thomas, Love-Country continuously argued that Tobacco Inspectors, the legislature, and other officials were '...honest Men, and do their Duty.'<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, he also stated that '...Laws are never made to oppress People, but to relieve them...' and that '...'Tis the Duty of every Magistrate...to give them all the Light thy can, into the Intent and Meaning...' of the laws.<sup>94</sup> Although infrequent, these statements indicated that, much like he did during the Inspection Act, Gooch withheld personal information to manipulate how the colonists perceived him and the colonial government. Despite being well received amongst its readership, the pamphlet only provided a small respite from the violence in the Northern Neck.<sup>95</sup> After threatening more attacks in Lancaster county, the counties in the Northern Neck, Northampton, Accomack and Hanover petitioned to the Governor to make amendments to the Act. After some deliberation, Gooch and

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<sup>91</sup> Billings, *Colonial Virginia*, p. 241

<sup>92</sup> Gooch to the Board of Trade, March 30 1732, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>93</sup> Gooch, *A Dialogue*, p. 7.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>95</sup> Lorenz claimed that the publishing of this pamphlet was the turning point in the conflict enabled Gooch to win support of the small planters convince the wealthy landholder to throw their support fully behind the Inspection Act. Lorenz, "'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter": Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 382-383.



the council submitted to these requests, as well as removing fourteen inspectors due to inappropriate actions.<sup>96</sup>

Although Gooch eventually submitted to the demands of the rioters to amend the Inspection Act, his efforts to impose tobacco regulation between 1729 and 1733 demonstrated how Gooch was able to use his position to manipulate both colonial and metropolitan institutions. As previously stated, scholars have dismissed this early phase of Gooch's career as an example of his abilities as governor and his attempts to address Virginian concerns. This characterisation, however, is in need of revision. When he sailed to the colony in 1727, Gooch did so with the intention of achieving his personal economic and political ambitions. Although, Gooch's actions in the Shenandoah Valley provided an insight into his mindset as governor, it was not until the deliberations over tobacco regulation did he more aggressively pursue these goals. Concerned about how the decline of the tobacco industry affected his personal finances, Gooch used his connections within the Atlantic patronage network and his relationship with the legislature to implement legislation that benefited him.

Gooch influenced the debates surrounding the Tobacco Inspection Act in two aspects. First, Gooch used his personal relationships to influential figures in Britain to ensure he gained metropolitan support for the Act. In correspondence to the Duke of Newcastle and Martin Bladen throughout 1730 and 1731, Gooch outlined the economic benefits of the Act and convinced them that its implementation would aid Britain. Furthermore, Gooch also used Virginian agent Peter Lehigh to secure support of influential political groups. Thus, when Lehigh and the Board debated the Act in 1731, Gooch had ensured that its passage would be unobstructed. However, in Virginia Gooch lacked these influential political connections. Therefore, in an effort to sway the opinions of the burgesses and other influential members of Virginian society, Gooch fabricated a public persona. Building upon the good reputation that preceded his arrival in the colony, Gooch hosted social events to increase his presence within Virginian society and used this connection to convince the burgesses to support his plan for regulation. A closer analysis of Gooch's

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<sup>96</sup> Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, pp. 110-112; Lorenz, 'To Do Justice To His Majesty, The Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730', pp. 383-385; McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 4, pp. 307-311.

correspondence throughout the early 1730s demonstrated that he was able to use his authority as governor and connections within patronage network to pass legislation that was sympathetic to his personal goals.

## **Chapter 2: The Virginian Patronage Network and the Anglican Church**

Following the amendments made to the Inspection Act and the ensuing riots, Gooch's governorship entered a period of sharp decline during the late 1730s. For the first time, Gooch had experienced widespread disapproval of his policies from the public and his peers. Without the support of the burgesses, which was a large contributor to his previous success, Gooch was apprehensive in his leadership and ceded greater authority to the members of the House. This timidity was on full display on August 12 1734, when the burgesses called for the repeal of the Inspection Act by an overwhelming majority.<sup>97</sup> In response, Gooch pleaded for those in attendance to consider the '...valuable Reputation...' it garnered and to remember the profits they had experienced because of the Act.<sup>98</sup> Many have pointed to this middle period, between the Inspection Act and his departure to South America to participate in the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1748), as the prelude to the decline of his political authority throughout the late 1740s.<sup>99</sup> Scholars have argued, that the gradual restriction of Gooch's authority was facilitated by the surrender of his rights of patronage to pass the Inspection Act, which limited his ability to place his supporters in influential roles. Furthermore, this loss of authority, some have claimed, drastically changed the role of the executive within the colony and affected the ability of future incumbents to impose their own influence onto the colonists.<sup>100</sup>

The relationships and connections that Gooch established within the smaller colonial institutions, such as the Anglican church and the College of William and Mary, contradicted this interpretation. The powers that Gooch relinquished in 1731 were not as all encompassing as first thought, as this only applied to the appointments which he made to the legislature and tobacco Inspectorships. This provided two significant functions for the governor. Most prominent, was how this elevated Gooch's ability to exert his personal authority throughout the colony. As he relinquished more executive powers, Gooch demonstrated to the burgesses that he was not interested in creating a centralised government, which aided him greatly when the House

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<sup>97</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, p. xxviii.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 171-172.

<sup>99</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Gooch Servant', pp. 58, 68.

<sup>100</sup> Lorenz, 'Policy and Patronage: Governor William Gooch and Anglo-Virginia Politics, 1727-1749', pp. 90-91.

reviewed tobacco regulation in 1736. Less obvious was Gooch's relatively unchecked power over smaller institutions. Throughout the 1730s and early 1740s, the governor was extremely active in the appointment of minor officials. This ranged from those at the local administrative level, such as sheriffs and justices, to institutions that were vital to the everyday management of the colony, the vestries for example, which enabled Gooch to further impose his personal authority.<sup>101</sup> Within many of the smaller religious institutions, Gooch positioned those who supported him and coveted his patronage as a way to ensure that his policies had more chance of success. Despite the decline of public satisfaction that followed the 1732 riots, he was able to maintain a strong presence within the political sphere through this unorthodox method. As Gooch's power-base became further rooted in the colony, he demonstrated that he was no longer reliant on the weight of his metropolitan patrons to ensure that his position within Virginia was stable.

Gooch's success in his manipulation of religious institutions was made possible because of the transformation that occurred within the colony during the 1720s and 1730s, in response to the need for a more visible Anglican Church. The Shenandoah Valley was located at an important cross-section of the Virginia landscape. Surrounded by two major rivers, the Potomac to the north and the James to the South, the valley effectively divided the colony into two sections, the eastern (including the Piedmont and Tidewater regions) and the west (the Shenandoah Valley and the western frontier). Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, this region underwent a dramatic transformation as groups of European settlers migrated into the region.<sup>102</sup> Over the past fifty years, the development of this pan-colonial region within western Virginia has attracted a large amount of attention from early colonial historians. Following the teachings of Frederick Jackson Turner, scholars of the 1960s and 1970s still largely interpreted the development of the valley as a story of large groups of European settlers having to adapt their culture and practices to the challenges presented by the frontier.<sup>103</sup> Those who advocated Turner's 'frontier thesis' argued that the settlement of the frontier occurred in distinct phases. As European settlers moved further

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<sup>101</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, pp. 177-179.

<sup>102</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in Shenandoah Valley*, pp. 20-23.

<sup>103</sup> Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the America Frontier*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1974), pp. 2-11; Frederick Jackson Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', *The Frontier in American History*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921), p. 2.

inland, the landscape and their attempts to adapt to it morphed their culture and identity to the point where it only barely resembled those in the Tidewater and Piedmont regions. Denying all external influences, and the role of migrating ethnic groups, these 'Turnerians' viewed these changes as the product of internal forces that were determined by the distinct nature of the Valley and beyond.

However, it was only a decade later that the 'frontier thesis' was challenged by historians, who sought to better understand the individual experiences of those who migrated into backcountry, rather than just the means. The central aspect that linked these new approaches was the emphasis which they placed on interdisciplinary practices. One of the first prominent historians to divert from Turner's viewpoint was Robert D. Mitchell. Although he also focused on settlement patterns and communities in the Shenandoah, this was the extent of their similarity as Mitchell renounced Turner's approach in its entirety. Trained as a geographer and surveyor, he argued that the social framework of the frontier was much more complex than initially thought, and it was the interactions between these new immigrant cultures that stimulated both the economic and social development of western Virginia, with the landscape itself only acting as an arena.<sup>104</sup>

Although he was not the first to implement this new methodology, as both Warren Hofstra and D Allan Williams had previously implemented this approach in their studies of the political culture and social groups of the frontier, Mitchell was representative of this new research impulse, which dominated the field by the end of the 1980s. Rhys Isaac, who published *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* in 1982, further emulated how these new perspectives challenged the traditional framework. Through the application of anthropological methods, he concluded that it was the interactions between different cultures that created the distinct bonds between communities, which underpinned backcountry society for the remainder of the eighteenth century. Moreover, as society in the Shenandoah deviated further from those in the Chesapeake,

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<sup>104</sup> Mitchell, 'The Shenandoah Valley Frontier', p. 485; Mitchell, 'From the Ground Up: Space Place and Diversity in Frontier Studies', pp. 62-63.

ideological conflicts between the two became more frequent and violent.<sup>105</sup> All of these studies have been essential to how current historians interpret and view the development of Virginia's frontier territories throughout the eighteenth century. Scholars now operate according to two assumptions; the first is that by the mid-century the region already had a complex social network, and the second was that the communities and institutions of the region were heavily influenced by the cultures of these new immigrant groups.<sup>106</sup> However, despite deep rooted divisions between these historiographical groups one conclusion has been clear throughout, that the backcountry society was drastically different to both the Piedmont and Tidewater.

The two decades prior to the arrival of Gooch was a crucial period of growth for Virginia's backcountry. During this period, a large number of the ethnic groups that would make up the majority of its population migrated into the Shenandoah Valley, at a time when racial slavery also became a demographic hallmark of the eastern regions. Alexander Spotswood, who preceded Gooch as governor of Virginia, sought to expand the colony's landholding westward into the Shenandoah between 1714 and 1716. In an address to the burgesses in August of 1714, Spotswood proclaimed that he had created '...a settlement of Protestant Strangers...' along the western interior. This was a reference to a small community name Germanna, which was populated by a small group of German miners tasked with providing more resources for the colony.<sup>107</sup> Spotswood's fascination with the western interior was not limited to just the creation of settlements, as he assembled a group of 62 'gentlemen explorers' to survey the land up to the Shenandoah River. Titled the 'Knights of the Golden Horseshoe', a moniker given to the group

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<sup>105</sup> Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 161-162.

<sup>106</sup> Scott B. Crawford, 'A Frontier of Fear: Terrorism and Social Tension along Virginia's Western Waters, 1742-1775', *West Virginia History* 2 (2008), pp. 1-25; Fischer, *Albion's Seed: The Four British Folkways of America*, p. 6; Fischer, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*, pp. 1-2. Further studies that have addressed the effects of culture migration in early colonial Virginia are Christopher E. Hendricks, *The Backcountry Towns of Colonial Virginia*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006); Bernard Bailyn, *Voyages to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*, (New York: Random House, 1986); J. Piker, 'Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Pre-Revolutionary Backcountry', *The Journal fo Southern History* 70 (2004), pp. 503-540.

<sup>107</sup> Henry R. McIlwaine, *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1714, 1715, 1718, 1720-1722, 1723-1726*, (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1912), p. 79. Hereafter referred to as 'JHB, 712-1714, 1715, 1718, 1720-1722, 1723-1726'; Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, (New York: KTO Press, 1986), pp. 179-180; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, pp. 59-60.

after each man was awarded a golden horseshoe upon their return to the capital, they set forth to claim the land in the name of the King.<sup>108</sup> However, it was not until the mid 1720s that European settlers actively pursued their own tracts of land. Following the trails south from Pennsylvania, a steady stream of Scotch-Irish, German and Swiss settlers migrated into the areas that would become the counties of Frederick and Augusta.<sup>109</sup>

Jacob Stover, a Swiss immigrant and land speculator, was essential in establishing Anglo-European colonies along rivers of the Shenandoah Valley. He was awarded vast swathes of land by the council in the 1720s and the 1730s, opening the valley further inland to settlement. At the end of the 1720s a groups Swiss Mennonites, a dissenting group of protestants, led by an individual named Adam Müller, purchased a 5000 acre tract of land from Stover for £400.<sup>110</sup> Travelling from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Müller led a group of 51 travellers into the lower part of the valley, where they settled along the tributaries of the Potomac. By the end of the decade, Müller and his cohorts had established nine plantations on the land they had purchased. Although many have cited numerous dates for the creation of the Massanutten Settlement, ranging from 1722 up to the early 1730s, it had become a significant feature of the landscape by the time Gooch had arrived in Virginia.<sup>111</sup> On April 30 1732, William Beverly, a wealthy Virginian landowner, petitioned the Council for the purchase of ‘...15,000 acres of land lying on both sides of [the] main river of [the] Shenandoah, to include...[the] name of Massanutting Town’.<sup>112</sup> The following year, Müller and two other settlers, Millhart Rangdmann and Matthew Faulk, rejected Beverly’s claims and argued that they had purchased the land in 1729, when there were less

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<sup>108</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 60; Fischer, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*, pp.101-102.

<sup>109</sup> John B. Frantz, ‘The Religious Development of the Early German Settlers in ‘Greater Pennsylvania’: The Shenandoah Valley of Virginia’, *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 68 (2001), p.72; Mitchell, ‘The Shenandoah Valley Frontier’, p. 464.

<sup>110</sup> Mitchell, ‘The Shenandoah Valley’, p. 56; Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989), pp. 29-32; Charles E. Kemper, ‘The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734. As Shown by the Proceedings of the Colonial Council (Continued)’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13 (1905), pp. 120-123. According to current inflation rates this amount would equate to around £46,000.

<sup>111</sup> John Walter Wayland, ‘The Germans of the Valley’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 9 (1902), pp. 351-352.

<sup>112</sup> *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781*, ed. W. M. Palmer, (Richmond: R. F. Walker,. 1875), pp. 217-218.

inhabitants.<sup>113</sup> Although the Massanutten settlers were the first prominent group to migrate into the Shenandoah Valley, from their interaction with the ‘few inhabitants’ that already inhabited the region, westward movement had already begun prior to this. The rapid growth of the Massanutten settlement foreshadowed how the frontier and its inhabitants would be at the centre of debates on expansion during the following decades. As these pluralistic communities became an established part of Virginia’s society in the west by the 1730s, they clashed with the inhabitants of the Chesapeake region.

Many followed in Stover’s example and began to purchase tracts of land in western Virginia for the settlement of European and colonial immigrants. Jost Hite, the son of a wealthy Pennsylvanian land speculator, sought to make his own impact in the Shenandoah Valley during the early 1730s. In 1731, Hite purchased 20,000 acres of land from Isaac and John Van Meter, who were also land speculators from Pennsylvania, and received a further 100,000 acres granted to him by the Council on October 21st.<sup>114</sup> Hite, who saw only opportunity and a prosperous future in the valley, settled the land with ‘...divers[e]...families to the number of one hundred [and] seat[ed] themselves on the back of the Great Mountain’. Alongside this, he was given the task by Gooch to settle one family per each 1000 acres of land. He easily achieved this, as more German and Scotch-Irish immigrants arrived over the next decade to establish his settlement, later named Opequon after a nearby creek, as the largest in the Shenandoah at that time.<sup>115</sup> By the time Gooch had settled into his position, communities established west of the Blue Ridge Mountains had changed dramatically throughout this short period. At the beginning of the 1730s, these settlements did not emulate the traditions or the cultures of their Chesapeake counterparts, but of the ethnic communities that now inhabited the region.

Most prominent was the dialogue that emerged between the two sections concerning religion. The new religious practices transported by these settlers into the Shenandoah greatly undermined both the strength and reach of Anglicanism in the backcountry. By the mid-

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<sup>113</sup> Wayland, ‘The Germans of the Valley’, p. 352.

<sup>114</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 4, p. 223, 253.

<sup>115</sup> Warren R. Hofstra, ‘Land, Ethnicity, and Community in the Opequon Settlement, Virginia 1730’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1990), pp. 427-429.



eighteenth century, neither Massanutten nor Opequon had established prominent Anglican communities. This was extremely evident within Opequon where the vestry, the body in charge of local administration, failed to construct a central church until the mid 1740s and only occurred after the Frederick County Court contacted the Governor in 1738 for the ‘...power to choose a Vestry.’ However, this did not result in any significant construction, but the rather a series of small chapels along the rivers in the 1750s and 1760s to combat large distances between the backcountry communities’ religious institutions.<sup>116</sup> A map, created by Joshua Fry in 1751 to catalogue the boundaries of Virginia, further highlighted this disparity between the Chesapeake region and the Shenandoah. The creators of this map took care to illustrate and mark important locations and buildings within the colony. East of the Blue Ridge Mountains, numerous religious sites are indicated in this manner, such as those at Mettaponny and Elk Island, and some only referred to as ‘A Church’. These icons are absent from the landscape in the valley, with the only locations of note being larger settlements and the manor of Lord Fairfax in the Northern Neck.<sup>117</sup> The experiences of these communities reflected the wider decline of Anglicanism in Virginia during the first half of the eighteenth century. As the western frontier became increasingly populated by a pluralistic society, Anglicanism failed to establish a strong foothold in the region by 1750 and highlighted the growing divide between the two sections.

The Virginian clergy was greatly concerned by this religious separation and sought to remedy it in the late 1720s. Hugh Jones, a prominent Virginia clergymen and Professor at the College of William and Mary, represented this growing impulse in his *Present State of Virginia and the College* published in 1724. His concern and frustration was evident in his introduction about the colonial church, in which stated that in matters of religion ‘...there has not been care and provisions that might be wished and expected.’<sup>118</sup> This passage embodied the wider argument present throughout the pamphlet, that the decline of the church was caused by its poor

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<sup>116</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 184; Hening, *The Statutes at Large: being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, from the first session of the legislature, in the year 1619, vol 5*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>117</sup> Joshua Fry, Peter Jefferson, and Thomas Jeffrys, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*, 1755, Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/74693166/](http://www.loc.gov/item/74693166/)> [Accessed March 28 2018]. See Map 1 in the Appendix.

<sup>118</sup> Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 65.

management, rather than the rise of a significant religious counter culture in the Shenandoah Valley. He stated that because of the ‘...Nature of the Colony...’, alluding to the large parishes and long distances between communities and their ‘local’ church, many of the clergymen in Virginia experienced difficulties when travelling between chapels and communities. A few months later Reverend Alexander Forbes re-emphasised this concern when he complained to the Bishop that many of his constituents were not prepared to travel ‘...10, 12, 15 miles...’ to attend church ‘... though they might if they had but 5, or 6.’<sup>119</sup> However, this only took up a small section of his pamphlet, and Jones devoted a majority of his time to discussing the distance between the colonial church and the metropolitan authority. For the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the Anglican church deferred all of its authority to the Bishop of London. Due to the distance that existed between the colonial church and its central authority, many of the processes essential to the church were hindered because ministers had to wait to receive orders from Britain.<sup>120</sup> Jones complained that no office existed within the colonies that had the ability to respond effectively to the problems of the church, even the Commissary. The lack of clarity caused by these delays retarded the growth of the church as central institutions, such as the creation of an ecclesiastical court and appointment of ministers, were left unattended.<sup>121</sup> Commissary James Blair further reflected these concerns four years later, repeating this same argument and emphasising that although fifty parishes were created neither settlers nor churches existed in any significant numbers, highlighting that little had been done to remedy these issues.<sup>122</sup>

Gooch addressed these issues in his first speech to the House on February 1 1727. A devoted Anglican himself, it was no surprise that many of his policies sought to revitalise the church. He opened the session by proclaiming that ‘...[I] shall in the first place make it my

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<sup>119</sup> Lambeth Palace Library Archives, London, FPXII, ‘Volume XII: General Correspondence’, Rev. Alexander Forbes to the Bishop of London, July 21 1724, Hereafter to be referred to as ‘GC’; Patricia E. Bonomi, ‘Church Adherence in the Eighteenth Century British American Colonies’, *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (1982), pp. 262-263.

<sup>120</sup> Joan Gunderson, ‘The Search For Good Men: Recruiting Ministers in Colonial Virginia’, *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 48 (1979), p. 455.

<sup>121</sup> Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, pp. 66-67, 96; Bonomi, ‘Church Adherence in the Eighteenth Century British American Colonies’, p. 263.

<sup>122</sup> Blair, *The Present State of Virginia and the College*, p. 64.

constant care to promote and propagate religion and virtue to discourage Vice and Immorality among you...’, followed later by ‘I shall think it an Indulgence to [dissenters] to be consistent with the... Christian religion, [and] that it can never be inconsistent with the Interest on the Church of England.’<sup>123</sup> These passages revealed much about his mentality towards the colonial church and its role within the colony. The concern that was evident within the latter passage reflected Gooch’s internal anxiety about the weakness of the Anglican Church in Virginia.<sup>124</sup> His development and consolidation of the Anglican faith during his time as governor reinforced previous arguments that his actions and undertakings were predominantly for the good of the colony.

Gooch’s commitment to the church was most evident in his cooperation with Commissary James Blair, and their efforts to encourage the development of the faith and its institutions. For the past five decades, Blair had been the lynchpin of religious life in Virginia. In an effort to consolidate the church’s administrative control in the colonies, the Bishop of London appointed commissaries as his representatives and voice throughout the 1680s. Given authority over the appointment of ministers and the control of the parishes and vestries, the commissary was intended to be the first point of contact if any issues needed to be resolved.<sup>125</sup> Born and educated in Edinburgh, Blair had been surrounded by the Anglican faith since his childhood, as his father was the minister of St Cuthberts parish. Ordained in both the Church of Scotland (1679), and later the Church of England (1685), Blair was appointed to Virginia in 1687 on the orders of the Bishop. He immediately began to secure a strong political foundation and began to court Sarah Harrison, the daughter of a wealthy plantation owner, who he would eventually marry two years later. However, this was not the limit of his influence within the colony, as he also held a permanent seat on the Governor’s Council, occasionally acted as the head of the College of William and Mary, and was also the rector of the Bruton Parish vestry. Embedded as a central figure within Virginian society by the turn of the eighteenth century, Blair used this as his

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<sup>123</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, p. 4

<sup>124</sup> A majority of Gooch’s first actions as governor focused on reasserting religion as a central part of everyday life. William Gooch, ‘A Proclamation for a ffast’, April 27 1728, *WGP, Vol I*.

<sup>125</sup> James B. Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King’s Church in Early America, 1607-1783*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 71-73; Edward L. Bond, *Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony: Religion in Seventeenth Century Virginia*, (Macon: University of Georgia Press, 2000), pp. 225-235.

opportunity to implement the orders of the King. He was such a staunch advocate, that it often brought him into constant conflict with both the plantocracy, who commanded the majority of the legislature, and the governor. Annoyed that his reforms were being blocked, in one letter to Francis Nicholson in 1691 he complained that, following a trip to England, all his important 'College business' had been halted and that his '...patience had [been] sufficiently tested.'<sup>126</sup>

Blair's appointment as a representative of the King, however, did not hinder his attempts to address the spiritual needs of the inhabitants of the colony. As Commissary, Blair used his unique position as a platform to more easily convey the religious concerns of settlers to colonial and metropolitan bodies, so that they could be remedied with better efficiency. In his 1697 *Present State of Virginia*, Blair demonstrated less concern for the completion of the Bishop's goals, but rather was intent on restoring the integrity of the church. In his chapter on the administration of the church, Blair criticised a significant number of the laymen who held positions within the vestry for conspiring against ministers who refused their demands. He stated that the ministers '...must have a special Care how he preach'd against the vices that any Great man of the Vestry might be guilty of;...for...he might expect a faction...' to be against him. Two years later, he expressed these same concerns once again in a treatise written for John Locke, stating that '...the Minister is dismiss'd or retain'd again at the Vestries pleasure', a concern that he later reiterated to the Bishop in 1724.<sup>127</sup>

Although Blair prioritised the completion of his assignment in most matters, this did not detract from his efforts to also provide spiritual assistance for the colony. Of note was his continuous efforts to aid with the 'salvation' of Native Americans and African slaves, by attempting to pass legislation for their conversion. Following his short association with British activists, Blair further clashed with planters over the baptism of non-white ethnic groups during

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<sup>126</sup> Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library, Williamsburg, MS43.04, Francis Nicholson Papers, James Blair to Francis Nicholson in February 27 1691, <<http://research.history.org/digitalibrary/view/index.cfm>> [Accessed March 28 2018].

<sup>127</sup> Blair, *The Present State of Virginia and the College*, pp. 66-67; Michael G. Kammen, 'Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 74 (1966), p. 166; James Blair to Bishop Gibson, September 8 1724, GC.

the first decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>128</sup> Based on the arguments he made in his 1697 pamphlet, Blair attempted to pass pro-conversion legislation twice, in 1715 and 1720, but was stopped by planters in the House, who preferred to keep their slaves ignorant and claimed that it was ‘...at present impracticable.’<sup>129</sup> Similarly, Blair thought that the better education of the clergy, and by extension the inhabitants of the colony, would help consolidate the Anglican faith in Virginia.<sup>130</sup> To achieve this, he requested that the Bishop allow him to create a new professorship at the College as a means to facilitate this.<sup>131</sup> Prior to Gooch’s arrival, Blair was the church’s most vocal supporter within the colony. An advocate of both institutional and spiritual reform, he provided a strong foundation for Anglicanism that was sorely needed following its decline in the 1720s.

It was this aspect of Blair’s experience that Gooch found so amenable and was what enabled both men to form a strong partnership on matters of religion, with one reverend writing to Bishop Gibson to specifically praise the two men for their conduct.<sup>132</sup> Throughout the 1730s and 1740s, both men effectively overhauled the church and its institutions. Concerned by the declining presence of religion within the colony, both men were intent on removing those who they thought were either unqualified or undeserving. The section of the institution that underwent the most change during these two decades was the vestry. Prominent within the Virginia landscape since the early seventeenth century, the vestry system was an essential form of local government that was in charge of the collection of taxes and settling smaller disputes within the surrounding communities.<sup>133</sup> However, its responsibilities were not only secular as the vestry was also charged with the appointment and payment of ministers, the regulation of church affairs, and the

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<sup>128</sup> Rebecca Anne Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), p. 148.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, pp.148-149; McIlwaine, *JHB, 1712-1714, 1715, 1718, 1720-1722, 1723-1726*, p. 370.

<sup>130</sup> James Blair to Bishop Gibson, May 13 1724, *GC*; Blair cited the lack of education as one of the main reasons for the clergy succumbing to their vices; Gundersen, ‘The Search for Good Men’, p454; Edward L. Bond, ‘Anglican Theology and Devotion in James Blair’s Virginia, 1685-1743: Private Piety in the Public Church’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (1996), p. 318.

<sup>131</sup> James Blair to Bishop Gibson, July 17 1724, *GC*.

<sup>132</sup> Reverend David Mossom to Bishop Gibson, July 3 1728, *GC*.

<sup>133</sup> William H. Seiler, ‘The Anglican Parish Vestry in Colonial Virginia’, *The Journal of Southern History* 22 (1956), pp. 310-311.

construction and maintenance of religious buildings.<sup>134</sup> Being that it played two important roles within the community, the parish was ruled by a committee of twelve elected men that was presided over by a minister. Given an enormous amount of authority, such as being able to impose taxes within the respective parish boundaries, a position within the vestries was sought after by many of the colonial elites.

Enticed by the wealth and power, many of the vestrymen began to use their appointments to morph the parish according to their own ambitions. With many of the aged ministers dying and few being replaced, the vestrymen began to rule the parishes as their own and refused new appointments, or chose those whose views aligned with their own. These practices effectively halted any effort to appoint new ministers and further develop the church, drawing the ire of many of the colonial elites and clergymen.<sup>135</sup> From the *Present State of Virginia 1726*, it was reported that at least ten of the established parishes lacked ministers or appointments. However, this number is deceiving as the parishes erected to accommodate the increasing western population of the colony also add to this number. While this does not necessarily demonstrate that groups within the vestries were specifically disrupting the appointment of ministers, their lack of action conveyed some culpability. By stopping the appointment of ministers, the vestries created a sphere of influence that disrupted the broader administrative processes of the church. With parishes effectively controlled by local administrations, it was evident that by the time of Gooch's arrival the Anglican church was in disarray, as there was no overarching authority to ensure that it acted as a cohesive institution.<sup>136</sup>

Gooch's involvement with the Anglican Church throughout the 1730s was an important juncture in the development of the institution, as several scholars have agreed. Acting upon his promise to uphold the religious integrity of the colony to the House, he began to impose religious appointments throughout 1727 and 1728. After commenting that '...many vacant parishes [exist] in this colony, which i wish were well filled...', Gooch used his royal prerogative to appoint

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<sup>134</sup> Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, p. 65; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1997), pp. 5-7.

<sup>135</sup> Gundersen, 'The Search for Good Men', p. 454.

<sup>136</sup> *The Present State of Virginia, 1726, Queries addressed to the Commissaries, GC.*

ministers where they were lacking for more than a year.<sup>137</sup> This is what happened with the minister I. Marye, who was appointed to a parish to solidify the church against the increasing numbers of dissenting protestant faiths.<sup>138</sup> Some vestrymen, angered by this invasion of their privilege, challenged the governor's appointments and denied their authority. As was the case with the vestry of Accomack parish, they refused the appointments of the governor. However Gooch, intent on making an example of these dissenters compiled a list of grievances and dissolved it and called for the election of new vestrymen.<sup>139</sup> Although this initial impulse proved successful, as the number of vacant vestries reduced from almost twenty to seven by 1734, it did little to change how ministers were procured, with a majority still coming from overseas.<sup>140</sup> The governor, convinced that the issues with the colonial church were caused by the incompetence of the clergy, sought out ministers with Blair whose quality and integrity were of the highest degree, with the governor at one point asking if Blair could recommend any others to be appointed.<sup>141</sup> It was this that persuaded the two men to develop a pool of colonial clergymen that would provide for the church in Virginia. Educated at the College and given more precise orders than their Atlantic counterparts, a large majority of the Virginian born clergy were drawn from prominent families in the Tidewater. Either the sons of ministers or the lesser sons of wealthy planters, these members of the clergy often had strong political connections and had received better education from birth. As the Anglican church became more established within the colony and the number of minister increased, there was a dramatic change in its demographics. From the 1730s onwards a majority of ministers appointed from Virginia were born in either the Tidewater or Shenandoah, and made up over a third of all ecclesiastical officials by the beginning of the Revolution, emphasising the developing links between the church and colonial communities.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Gooch to Bishop Gibson, February 14 1727/8, *GC*; Seiler, 'The Anglican Parish Vestry', p. 324; Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', pp. 100-101.

<sup>138</sup> I. Marye to Bishop Gibson, July 22 1730, *GC*.

<sup>139</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, pp. 17-18, 21.

<sup>140</sup> J. Spangler, *Virginians Reborn: Anglican Monopoly, Evangelical Dissent, and the Rise of the Baptists in the Late eighteenth century*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), p. 20; Gundersen, 'The Search for Good Men', p. 454.

<sup>141</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p. 101.

<sup>142</sup> Spangler, *Virginians Reborn*, pp. 23-24; Gundersen, 'The Search for Good Men', pp. 461-462.

Although the changes that Gooch made to the internal administration of the church greatly aided in its transformation, his efforts to make it more visible within the colonial landscape was also crucial. During his governorship, Gooch created twenty-four new parishes to accommodate the growing population of the colony and stimulated the constructions of churches. However, when the placement of the parish is taken into account, Gooch's intent for the church becomes much clearer. Of the parishes created, two were in the south, six in the Northern Neck and Fairfax Grant, five within the Shenandoah Valley and surrounding land, and eleven in the Tidewater and Piedmont regions.<sup>143</sup> Although the expansion of parishes throughout the colony greatly increased the domain of the church, their concentration within the Shenandoah and the Tidewater illustrated that the two regions were Gooch's primary focus. Although his efforts to make Anglicanism more visible within the Shenandoah is unsurprising, as before his governorship it had none, his development of the Tidewater appeared unnecessary, as it already had a large population. In 1724, James Blair, as part of the series of questions from the clergymen, required each parish to send a report detailing its current state. Ministers from the Tidewater, such as Zachariah Brooke and John Cargill, reported that the congregations at both their mother church and smaller chapels were usually large. Contrastingly, accounts from other regions were not so prosperous. In both the Northern Neck and the south numerous ministers, such as John Bagg, Thomas Balyle, and John Brunskill, stated that their parishes were not so prosperous and had poor attendance.<sup>144</sup> Despite these issues within the poorer parishes, Gooch failed to respond to the minister's call for aid and instead focused his efforts on achieving his personal goals for the church. Instead he succeeded in implementing a dual strategy that both established the Church within the western frontier and consolidated his influence in the churches in the Tidewater.

This is further represented by the facilitation of church construction within the Shenandoah and Tidewater. To accommodate for the expansion of the parishes, an increased frequency of church construction became necessary. Churches and smaller chapels provided an important function for the colonial community, acting as both the meeting place for the vestries and also the spiritual and secular gathering point for the townspeople, and were usually positioned close to

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<sup>143</sup> See Table 2 in Appendix.

<sup>144</sup> John Bagg St Ann's Parish; Zachariah Brooke, St Pauls, Hanover County Parishes; John Brunskill, Wilmington Parish; John Cargill, Southwark, Surry County Parishes, GC.



prominent settlements. Despite this importance, only a small number of new churches were built in the decades prior to Gooch's arrival. Between 1700 and 1719 only fourteen churches were established throughout the colony and two parishes making additions to already existing buildings. In reaction to the religious concerns that gripped the colonists throughout the 1720s, the rate at which churches were constructed greatly increased. Between 1720 and 1749 a total of seventy were built, with fifty-four being constructed during Gooch's time as governor.<sup>145</sup> More ornamented and detailed than other structures throughout the colony, churches stood out amongst the courthouse and homes of the settlers and became an important feature of the landscape throughout this period.<sup>146</sup> Although architectural historians have attributed the rise of church construction to a wider building cycle throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is hard to deny Gooch's contribution. As Governor, he enabled for the mass expansion of the colonial Church and attempted to remedy the administrative failings that plagued it throughout the first two decades of the century. Intent on fulfilling the promise he made during his first session as governor, Gooch was an essential figure in the renaissance of the Anglican faith throughout the 1720s and 1740s.

On April 3 1747, Gooch made a proclamation against 'Itinerant Preachers-New Lights, Moravians, and Methodists', disclosing his religious bias and his growing distaste for dissenters, as they became more prevalent within the colony.<sup>147</sup> Although this declaration came at the end of his governorship, it represented a series of deeply held beliefs against those who defied the Anglican faith. Although Gooch refrained from revealing this aspect of his character too early, his private actions betrayed these opinions. Employing the same skills he used to gain the support of the House, Gooch sought to establish a significant network of support within the colonial Church. Hampered by the restrictions imposed by the burgesses on his powers of appointment, Gooch sought new ways to spread his influence throughout the colony. Most prominent was the regional bias displayed by Gooch in his dealings with the frontier parishes. Choosing to supply more ministers to the parishes within the Tidewater and less those in the frontier, it was evident that

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<sup>145</sup> Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, pp. 12-13, Table 2, Table 3.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 158-163.

<sup>147</sup> John Walter Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia*, (Westminster: Heritage Books, 2007), p. 109.

Gooch's 'expansion' was intended as a means to extend his influence.<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, Gooch used his ability as governor to appoint individuals to smaller offices, to create a network of supporters that spread his influence into the frontier and secured his position within the colony.

The most visible display of Gooch's preference was the disproportionate development of churches in the Shenandoah and Tidewater throughout the 1730s and 1740s. Although he intended to further expand the church throughout the colony, following his arrival in Virginia Gooch dedicated a large amount of his attention to these two regions. The favouritism he showed towards the Chesapeake parishes resulted in construction practices developing at a much faster than those in the Shenandoah Valley, with both regions having drastically different structures by 1747 when Gooch returned to England. With a larger Anglican population and the appointment of more ministers in the Chesapeake, the eastern parishes had access to greater wealth and resources. By the 1730s, the parishes of both regions had acquired populations that were large enough to provide a significant amount of taxes. Because the Tidewater was more densely populated, the average size of a parish was usually ten by forty miles with between 500 and 700 tithables, which increased to over 1000 after the mid-century. This same pattern appeared the parishes of the Shenandoah, but because of the increased amount of land they encompassed, it was on much larger scale. Both the Augusta and Frederick parishes, which continued into the interior almost indefinitely, had an average of 1500 taxable inhabitants in the 1730s and 1740s, which increased to over 4000 by the end of the 1760s.<sup>149</sup> It was common practice throughout the colonial period for the legislature to combine or divide the parishes that had either exceeded their population limit, or had a population that was too sparse to effectively support its ministers and general maintenance. This is what happened with Lunenburg parish after it had experienced a large fluctuation in population density during the 1750s, and underwent five modifications prior to the Revolution.<sup>150</sup> However, this practice was largely absent from Gooch's governorship as he chose to create new parishes rather, than form them from already existing boundaries.

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<sup>148</sup> William Gooch, A Transcript of ye Governors Letter, to ye Church Wardens and Gentlemen of ye Vestry of Charles Parish, July 18 1728, *WGP Vol I*,

<sup>149</sup> Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, p. 8.

<sup>150</sup> Richard Beeman, 'Social Change and Cultural Conflict in Virginia: Lunenburg County, 1746 to 1774', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 35 (1978), p. 463; Hendericks, *The Backcountry Towns of Colonial Virginia*, p. 47.

The failure of Gooch to properly divide the parishes, influenced the increasing disparity between two regions that became more apparent in the latter half of the 1730s. Although encompassing a much smaller area than those in the Shenandoah, because the Tidewater vestries were able to collect taxes more efficiently, they were able to construct churches more frequently than the frontier parishes. This not only contributed to the greater number of churches constructed during Gooch's time as governor, but also large ornate structures that dwarfed those surrounding it in both size and beauty. Virginian buildings, at this time, were built according to both a rigid architectural and layout plan, with little deviations. Courthouses, for example, were often integrated with the design of the surrounding communities, copying both its architectural design and core framework. Although this allowed it to be used a central meeting place and as an arena for festivals, there was little else to distinguish itself from other buildings.<sup>151</sup> The churches within the Tidewater regularly broke with these traditions from the late 1720s onwards, with the exterior being decorated with red bricks and wooden fittings, while the interior became adorned with carvings and paintings.<sup>152</sup> At both Poplar Spring Church and the Lambs Creek Church, the altar was adorned by images related to scripture, rather than the writing itself, with the former having a painting commissioned by Robert Carter, a local plantation owner, in 1739.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, altarpieces within churches built during this time still remained an imposing image and were topped by either curved or pointed pediments and inlays containing the ten commandments.<sup>154</sup> Against the surrounding landscape of the wilderness and other city structure, these buildings proposed a striking image for both passers by and those in attendance.

As demonstrated by Robert Carter in Poplar Spring, many of the colonial elites were involved with the Church to some degree. It became common for many of the gentry to offer gifts to their local churches, such as fine textiles and gold and silver wares. Far beyond the means of

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<sup>151</sup> Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, pp. 47-48; Carl Lounsbury, 'The Structure of Justice: The Courthouses of Colonial Virginia', *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 3 (1989), pp. 214-216.

<sup>152</sup> Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, p.119, figure. 141.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*; Bettina A. Norton, 'Anglican Embellishments: The Contributions of John Gibbs, Junior, and William Price to the Church of England in Eighteenth Century Boston', in Benes and Benes (eds.), *New England Meeting House and Church, 1630-1850*, (Boston: Boston University, 1979), pp. 70-85.

<sup>154</sup> Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, pp. 123-124, 128-129, Figures. 145, 147, 151, 152.

the common settlers, this created an image that was equally as striking as the church's exterior. However, these were not just the castoffs of the ruling gentry, as some offered items that were designed to be displayed and represent their religiosity. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the church of Bruton parish had received a set of silver chalices, inscribed with the phrase 'Mixe not holy things with profane', signalling it as a religious item. Horton Davies, channeling Isaac's more cynical view of the colonial elite, determined that this practice was used to dictate the social status of the space, and display a form ownership. Although this may be correct in some instances, it is more representative of the dialogue that existed between the Church and the local community. An important symbol within the local community, many of the Tidewater gentry were deeply connected to their faith and it manifested as these offerings. Due to his own beliefs, Gooch understood the connection that existed between the gentry and church and used to exercise a subtle form of authority over the local community. By developing and expanding the church in the Tidewater, Gooch was able to form a better relationship with the ruling class, with many having connections or appointments to the House.<sup>155</sup>

These same developments were less apparent within the Shenandoah. Following the migration of European settlers into the region, and the lack of emphasis placed by Gooch on its development, caused the expansion of the church to plateau greatly in the 1730s and 1740s. Reverend Gavin, in a letter to Bishop Gibson, was unhappy that the '...Episcopacy was so [poorly] regarded...' and claimed that he was overjoyed to move to a 'frontier' parish, as the inhabitants had not seen a minister before.<sup>156</sup> Although this is possibly an exaggerated account, many smaller congregations were less well equipped for itineracy and had to contact travelling ministers to visit their communities, highlighting that the Anglican Church was less present in the frontier.<sup>157</sup> This was a result of the expansive nature of backcountry parishes and the inability of the Anglican Church to sustain a connection with the settlers, with many of the larger structures existing within the boundaries of major towns, such as Winchester, and dispersed plantations. Because the larger settlements were usually established alongside major rivers in the northern

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<sup>155</sup> Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, pp. 158-160; Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Andrews to Baxter and Fox*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 22-29.

<sup>156</sup> Quoted in Mr Gavin to Bishop Gibson August 5 1738, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, ed. William Stevens Perry, (New York: AMS Press, 1969), pp. 360-361.

<sup>157</sup> Bonomi, 'Church Adherence in the Eighteenth Century British American Colonies', p. 265.

part of the valley, such as Winchester and the smaller towns surrounding the Wappacomo River in Hampshire County, many ministers had to travel between fourteen and twenty miles to begin their rounds and left much of the region isolated from conventional forms of influence. The effects of this were twofold, making it more difficult for the vestries to properly collect taxes and levies, and smaller communities in the lower valley left to be largely self sufficient.<sup>158</sup> This lack of influence was demonstrated in the architecture of these immigrant communities, as they relied on methods transported from their homelands. The Germanic settlements of the lower valley often designed their buildings around the simple I Structure, which comprised of a two story building with the first floor being divided into four separate rooms.<sup>159</sup> Although this form was not prevalent amongst other frontier communities, what was common was the use of wooden frames. With brick less accessible to these settlers, wood became their primary resource for construction. This played to the strengths of the Germanic settlers, as they transported many techniques and methods from Pennsylvania and Europe, that enabled the development of many smaller communities in the Shenandoah. Thus, because of Gooch's lack of attention to the frontier parishes, their development was greatly hindered when compared to that of the Tidewater.

Although disproportionate development of the parishes was an indirect consequence of Gooch's actions, he purposefully manipulated the appointments system to increase his authority. The restrictions imposed by the burgesses in 1730 and 1731 on the governor's right of appointment, prompted Gooch to seek out other ways to expand his influence. Because these restrictions only applied to those who held offices within the burgesses, Gooch still retained the ability to influence appointments in other areas, such as the church. With more freedom in this realm, Gooch often refused the appointments of the Bishop in favour of those that he thought would be more useful to his cause. This occurred so frequently that it caused James Blair to

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<sup>158</sup> Hendricks, *The Backcountry Towns of Colonial Virginia*, pp. 89-91; Hofstra and Mitchell, 'Towns and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730-1800', p. 622; Fry, Jefferson, Jeffrys, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*, 1755; Extract of a letter from the Reverend M. Sam Davies, in Hanover County to D. Dodderidge, October 2nd 1750, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, pp. 368-371.

<sup>159</sup> Edward A. Chappel, 'Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement', in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (eds.), *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), pp. 29-31.

complain to the Bishop that he was ‘...at a loss...’ at what to do.<sup>160</sup> This interference was important in dictating the careers of William Dawson and Jonathan Gibson, who arrived in Virginia at a similar time to Gooch. By intervening consistently on their behalf, Gooch demonstrated that he was not above favouritism, when it concerned these appointments and his intention to construct a network of influence throughout the colony, relying on those he supported as a foundation.

Arriving in Virginia in 1729, Dawson was immediately identified by Gooch as a potential beneficiary of his patronage. A graduate of Queens College, Oxford University and an ordained minister, he had served as the chaplain for the Bishop of London before he ventured to the colonies. Embodying many of the characteristics and skills Gooch valued in his clergymen, he began to court Dawson’s favour. When notifying the Bishop of his arrival, Dawson stated that although there was no position ready for him ‘...[the governor] was pleas’d immediately to make me a promise of the first...’ appointment and that he would be considered as a Professor at the College of William and Mary in the interim. He concluded his letter by commenting on the character of Gooch and stated that he was ‘...a great Patron and Ornament of the Church and State.’<sup>161</sup> These ‘favours’ were not just small gifts of friendship, as Gooch awarded him with many prominent positions, such as an Inspectorship under the Inspection Act and as a Professor of Natural History at the College of William and Mary.<sup>162</sup> However, his role was not limited to that of a simple educator, as he served many important functions while he was at the institution, such as preaching and reading prayers regularly to the students and aiding the development of the College.<sup>163</sup> Similar to Gooch, Blair was pleased with Dawson’s appointment and showered him with praise, and at one point celebrated his achievements to the Bishop.<sup>164</sup> This friendship

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<sup>160</sup> James Blair to Bishop Gibson, October 11, 1740, *WGP, Vol II*.

<sup>161</sup> William Dawson to Bishop Gibson, May 17 1731, *GC*.

<sup>162</sup> Th. Tougher to Bishop Gibson, September 3 1729; William Gooch to Bishop Gibson, July 23 1730, *GC*; The combination of these two positions highlighted Gooch’s method to avoid the restrictions of legislative appointments. He would offer positions of social importance to elevate the individual’s standing within the community, rather than just give him political power within the House.

<sup>163</sup> William Dawson to Bishop Gibson, August 11 1732, James Blair to Bishop Gibson, March 24 1734/5, *GC*; Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, pp. 359-361.

<sup>164</sup> James Blair to Bishop Gibson, September 8 1729, *GC*.

allowed for the pair to work closely together, with Dawson acting as the commissary's replacement when he was indisposed. With Dawson's support, Blair reported that the College was in '...great peace and quietness...' during this time, illustrating how effective the new arrival had been in his duties.<sup>165</sup> This initial meeting between Dawson and Gooch was important, as it framed much of the dialogue that emerged between the two over the next two decades. The governor, enamoured with the possibilities his new disciple presented, consistently showered Dawson with gifts and praise in an attempt to sweeten their relationship, and to encourage Dawson to support him when needed.

The strong relationship between the two men developed quickly as Dawson's prominence within the colony grew. After establishing himself at the College, Dawson regularly preached at the 'Courts of Oyer and Terminer', and was appointed as the Chaplain of the House in 1738, resulting in him to becoming a well know figure among the colonial elites.<sup>166</sup> A year later, Gooch recommended him to the Bishop as Blair's eventual replacement as commissary in 1739, embellishing his character and values, even convincing his brother to help Dawson receive his Doctorate of Divinity in preparation of this.<sup>167</sup> The close relationships that Gooch developed with his subordinates was further demonstrated through his interactions with Dawson, as he and his family frequently visited him at the College.<sup>168</sup> This kindness and support was reciprocated by Dawson, who became one of Gooch's most valuable allies, when he replaced James Blair as Commissary in 1743. Although he became less significant once had ascended atop the political strata, proving mostly successful in erecting boundaries to control the emerging New Light preachers, and settling legal cases brought against ministers, the relationship between him and Gooch remained as steadfast as ever. When Dawson informed the Bishop of Gooch's departure, the letter took a solemn tone and stated that '[t]he College, Church and Clergy will, i fear, sustain an irreparable loss in the Governour's departure...' with Dawson's concern for the future

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<sup>165</sup> Quoted in Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, pp. 357-359.

<sup>166</sup> Mcilwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, p. 323; Mcilwaine, *EJC, vol 4*, pp. 399-398; The Courts of Oyer and Terminer was a particular type of court that investigated and tried those accused through a grand jury.

<sup>167</sup> Governor William Gooch to Bishop Gibson, May 21 1739, *GC*; Joan R. Gundersen, *The Anglican Ministry in Virginia, 1723-1766*, (New York: Garland Publishers, 1989), p. 19.

<sup>168</sup> William Dawson to Bishop Gibson, August 11 1732, *GC*.

evident.<sup>169</sup> Despite ending on a low note, the rise of Dawson throughout the 1730s and early 1740s emphasised that Gooch's patronage was an influential force within the colony's political sphere, and what could be achieved by pursuing an Anglican route of patronage.

If Dawson's career represented the upper limits of what Gooch's patronage could offer, Gibson's was the opposite.<sup>170</sup> The brother of the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, Gibson was a minor plantation owner who pursued a prominent appointment during his time in the colony. Using his brother's influence as an inroad, the Bishop recommended Gibson for numerous positions within the colony. This was not out of the ordinary for the Bishop who regularly presented recommendations to Gooch, such as Reverend Grasly who found appointment in 1728.<sup>171</sup> However, when it came to Gibson's recommendation, the governor immediately soured on the prospect. Gooch's later refusals are surprising, as Gibson invoked much of what he valued in a subordinate, such as a strong political connections and a solid education. Whether it was because Gooch did not see much potential in the younger Gibson, or because he was annoyed that the Bishop was imposing on his authority by pursuing his own appointees in the colonial church, it was evident that the Governor made sure to reject the appointment for as long as possible.

Sailing to Virginia between 1731 and 1732, Gibson's arrival absent of the the fanfare bestowed upon Dawson. Despite this mute beginning, the younger Gibson was initially positive about his future.<sup>172</sup> In a letter to a family member, Gibson declared that he was looking for an appointment outside of the clergy, preferring employment as either a naval officer or a county clerk, but was not opposed to an appointment within a vestry. Within the same letter he also enquired to whether the Bishop could contact the governor to secure his ambitions.<sup>173</sup> The

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<sup>169</sup> Lambeth Palace Library Archives, London, FPXIII, 'Volume XIII: General Correspondence', William Dawson to Bishop Sherlock, August 5, 1749.

<sup>170</sup> Hereafter Edmund Gibson shall be referred to as the 'Bishop' and Jonathan Gibson will be referred to as 'Gibson'.

<sup>171</sup> William Gooch to Bishop Gibson, February 14 1728, GC.

<sup>172</sup> Francis Peart to Bishop Gibson, April 15 1732, GC.

<sup>173</sup> The family member Jonathan contacted could be an uncle, as included within this were other documents addressed to Uncles Matthew and George; Jonathan Gibson to Unknown, May 27 1732, GC.



Bishop clearly received this message, as over the next decade he continuously probed the governor about his brother's appointment. The first opportunity came following the passing of the Inspection Act. He was offered one of the inspectorships in 1734, but declined it as it was not the position he wanted, and gave the appointment to a friend. Although part of the blame for this failure can be explained by Gibson's stubbornness, Gooch was not innocent. When responding to the Bishop's questions about this, he stated that there were no positions available that were '... convenient to his Dwelling.' However two months later, a naval position opened up when a lieutenant returned to England to seek advancement and did not notify Gibson.<sup>174</sup> Gibson fared little better over the next two years as Gooch continued to refuse him for appointments. At one point the governor reported that he was '...unable to serve [Gibson] as he desires, I have done him, and shall continue to do for him all the good and kind offices in my power and [that] the first vacancy be sure to provide for him.'<sup>175</sup> This promise proved, however, to be false as Gooch never offered him a prominent appointment.

Gooch's proclamation to the Bishop proved to be unwarranted, as Gibson was elected to the legislature later that month as a burgess for Caroline County.<sup>176</sup> Although some concern arose when a Mr John Martin had accused Gibson of taking part in an 'undue election', he was quickly returned to his seat after a second election in 1738.<sup>177</sup> However, Gibson would have to wait another three years before a vacancy became available for a position that he wanted. In 1741, Gibson excitedly reported to his brother that he had finally found a '...lucrative post...' and was appointed as the Clerk to the County of Orange. Later he concluded that he was unable to secure an appointment through his own efforts and contacted the Council for support. He did not seek Gooch, as he had previously, but turned to the secretary of the Council, John Carter, for assistance. More sympathetic than the governor, Carter immediately used his connections to find him a position that was 'worthy' of his talents.<sup>178</sup> Gibson's career in Virginia was the opposite of Dawson's, despite them running parallel to each other. Consistently hindered by Gooch, it

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<sup>174</sup> William Gooch to Bishop Gibson, June 20 1734; August 11 1734, GC.

<sup>175</sup> William Gooch to Bishop Gibson, March 3 1736, GC.

<sup>176</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, p. 245.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, p. 248, 274-275, 354.

<sup>178</sup> Jonathan Gibson to Bishop Gibson, May 9 1741, GC.

illustrated that when he intended to the governor, was not above using his political weight to exclude those he though were undeserving.

Although the careers of Dawson and Gibson are the most extreme and prevalent accounts of the effects of Gooch's patronage, he found varying degrees of success with other members of the clergy. Reverend Smith also enjoyed the favour of Gooch throughout his career, despite not reaching the heights of Dawson. Much like Dawson, Smith was initially passed over for an parish appointment upon his arrival in 1728, Gooch awarded him with a teaching position at the College until another became available. Gooch argued that the Reverend was more '...deserving of appointment...', than those supported by the Bishop, because he fitted with Gooch's mould for an ecclesiastical appointee.<sup>179</sup> When he was appointed as the rector to Nansemond parish the following the year, Smith complained to the Bishop that he had not received his own parish after Reverend Bayley had been removed from his.<sup>180</sup> This outburst became well known among the elites of the colony, who enjoyed great amusement when recalling this, with Blair referring to the minister as 'Little Mr Smith' in conversations with the Bishop.<sup>181</sup> Although Smith did eventually receive an appointment as a parish minister in 1729, his success was short-lived, as he was dead by the mid 1730s. Although Smith did not achieve the same success as Dawson, his continued promotion demonstrated that Gooch intended to distribute his patronage widely throughout the colony, rather than dedicate it to a few individuals. Furthermore, his support of prominent individuals was not contained just to that of the church, but in other smaller institutions as well. After his arrival, Gooch immediately promoted the son of John Robinson to the Professor of Philosophy at William and Mary in 1728, in an attempt to gain favour with Council.<sup>182</sup> Similarly, when Gooch appointed a member of John Randolph's family to prominent positions within the College and the Adjutant General of the colony in 1728 and 1729, both James Blair and the Earl of Albermale made their displeasure know by contacting the Duke of Newcastle and the Bishop. Blair was so concerned about Gooch's exploitation, that he concluded one of his letters to the

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<sup>179</sup> William Gooch to Bishop Gibson, October 18 1728, GC.

<sup>180</sup> William Gooch to Bishop Gibson May 26 1728; Joseph Smith to Bishop Gibson, March 10 1729, GC.

<sup>181</sup> James Blair to Bishop Gibson, June 29 1729, GC.

<sup>182</sup> William Gooch to Bishop Gibson February 14 1728, GC.

Bishop by stating that ‘...[Gooch] will have great power.’<sup>183</sup> However the most blatant use of this power occurred in 1739, when the governor announced to the Council that he intended to position his son Billy as the Naval Officer of York District. Although approved by the Council, the Duke of Newcastle favoured the appointment of another individual named Head Lynch.<sup>184</sup> Although this endeavour eventually proved unsuccessful it demonstrated that Gooch tirelessly pursued the creation of his own support network. Thus, despite Gooch’s decline after the tobacco riots in 1732, his influence permeated many of the colony’s institutions, ranging from educational to political, by fabricating a network of influence that expanded his authority indefinitely.

Although Gooch’s efforts to consolidate the Anglican Church throughout the 1730s and 1740s manifested because of his sincere concerns about the state of religion in the colony, it also aligned with his personal goals. Following the expansion of the borders into the western interior and the introduction of dissenting faiths by European migrants throughout the 1720s, the Anglican Church was greatly weakened. To remedy this, Gooch facilitated the creation of new parishes and churches in an effort to make the Anglican faith more visible throughout the colony. Although scholars have argued that these actions were reflected Gooch’s intentions to aid the church, the manner in which he dictated clerical appointments throughout his governorship suggested otherwise. After the burgesses had restricted his powers of appointments in the legislature following the implementation of the Inspection Act, Gooch used his ability to nominate officials to smaller institutions to fabricate a network of influence throughout the colony. Throughout the creation of new parishes in the Tidewater and the frontier, Gooch deliberately consolidated the administrative framework to extend his ability to impose his personal authority. As evidenced by the career of William Dawson and Edmund Gibson, Gooch then used his patronage to nominate those who supported his to clerical positions throughout the colony. Although Gooch was most successful within the church, Gooch also attempted to manipulate the appointments of other local, but essential, institutions, such as justices, positions in the College of William and Mary, and minor officials in the military. When viewed alongside his other attempts to manipulate other local institutions throughout the 1730s and 1740s, Gooch efforts to promote the Anglican Church did

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<sup>183</sup> James Blair to Bishop Gibson, June 8 1728, GC; Prinz, ‘Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King’s Good Servant’, p. 103.

<sup>184</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 4, p. 442; Prinz, ‘Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King’s Good Servant’, pp. 103-105.

not reflect the attitude of an individual that was devoted to the improvement of their faith, but rather that of someone who would use all possible avenues to achieve their personal ambitions.

### Chapter 3: Land Policy and Virginia's Western Interior

Unlike Gooch's policies regarding the regulation of tobacco and the colonial church, his thoughts concerning the frontier and the distribution of its land were less evident. In his inaugural message to the House, Gooch only referenced the frontier briefly when he argued that the colony's progression could only be achieved through '...a friendly Intercourse and Correspondence between Man & Man.'<sup>185</sup> The apparent lack of concern Gooch displayed in his opening message, has led historians to argue that he failed to significantly influence the transformation of the frontier during the 1730s and 1740s. A result of his attempts to strengthen Virginia's institutions in the Chesapeake and its Atlantic ties, these scholars have also stated that Gooch deliberately ignored western issues until the late 1730s, when the increased frequency of Native American attacks and encroaching French and Spanish forces threatened the safety of the colony. It was this assumption that stood at the centre of the 'Landholder' school of thought, which argued that in the absence of a defined western land policy, members of the gentry rushed to purchase large swathes of land in an effort to create a monopoly.<sup>186</sup> Although some evidence exists which supported this interpretation of Gooch, such as his the increased amount of correspondence detailing the movements of the French military and Native Americans within the Ohio Valley after 1740, his private actions conveyed the opposite. Following his arrival in 1727, Gooch intended use Virginia's recent expansion into the west to further consolidate his authority, despite his failure to address these issues during his opening message to the House or other public statements.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, p. 4.

<sup>186</sup> Billings, *Colonia Virginia: A History*, pp. 246-247; Thomas Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, (New York: Russel & Russel, 1959), p. 145; Manning C. Voorhis, 'Crown Versus Council in the Virginia Land Policy', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3 (1946), p. 512; Warren Hofstra, 'The Extension of his Majesties Dominions: The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers', *The Journal of American History* 84 (1998), pp. 1283-1285; Prominent historians who supported this argument included Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979); Charles S. Syndor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Turk McClesky, 'Rich Land, Poor Prospects: Real Estate and the Formation of a Social Elite in Augusta County, 1738-1770', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1990), pp. 449-486.

<sup>187</sup> National Archives/Public Record Office, Kew, CO5, Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, CO5/1324, Gooch to the Board of Trade, May 2 1739; July 5 1739; July 31 1742. Hereafter referred to as 'PRO'.

The pragmatism that existed at the centre of Gooch's land policy was best demonstrated through his personal ventures into the frontier between 1728 and 1729. Gooch's actions throughout this period were not attempts to secure his political authority, but manifested as a result of his declining wealth. This was the impetus behind Gooch's involvement with the small iron, copper, and tin mines that were established in the Valley prior to his arrival, and his attempts to transform it into a prominent Virginian institution. Shortly after his arrival, Gooch became concerned at the increasing strain his new position imposed on his personal finances.<sup>188</sup> Using his limited knowledge of the colony's economy, he sought out the industry that would guarantee him the highest chances for success. In a letter to one correspondent, he expressed this exact sentiment and stated that 'In the eighteenth century...iron and lumber manufacture...frequently proved lucrative additions to the activities of the Byrds, Carters, Spotswoods, and Taskers.'<sup>189</sup> Although this was only a small note about Gooch's aspiration for the mining companies, it revealed much about larger ambitions for the frontier. Most notable was the reference he made to prominent Virginian families and that philanthropic investments of this size were limited to only the most affluent. When discussing the mining industry and other pursuits in the frontier, such as the acquisition and trading of land, Gooch frequently made comparisons between himself and the 'gentlemen who were involved'. Historians have argued that these comments emphasised Gooch's deeply rooted investment in frontier industries and explained why his policies regarding these companies during the late 1730s were more lenient.<sup>190</sup>

However, the comparisons made by Gooch between himself and the elite families of Virginia revealed much more about his personal goals and how he perceived the frontier. Most prominent throughout his correspondence was the continued references to either distinguished families or 'gentlemen', which illustrated Gooch's intent to become a part of the colony's elite. Because this prestige was exclusive to only the most wealthy and renowned within the colony, Gooch spent the

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<sup>188</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', pp. 18-19.

<sup>189</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 21; Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p.20.

<sup>190</sup> Gooch to unknown, March 27, 1728, *WGP, Vol I*; Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p. 20; Leonidas Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood: Governor of Colonial Virginia, 1710-1722*, (Philadelphia: University of Virginia Press, 1932), p.296.

first decade of his governorship developing close relationships with prominent members of the gentry and increasing his personal wealth. This included hosting lavish celebrations and balls, endearing himself to the most affluent of the colony and increasing his visibility amongst the community.<sup>191</sup> Gooch's involvement with the mining industry between 1728 and 1729, was an extension of this pursuit, as he sought to further link himself with the Virginian gentry. The governor's actions during this period were common knowledge within elite circles and was a topic often debated among them. Gooch and his mines in the Valley featured heavily in William Byrd II's correspondence during 1728, often criticising him for his poor planning and ignorance of the industry.<sup>192</sup> Despite this, Gooch was successful in establishing a series of mines within the Shenandoah, which continued to expand until the late 1740s and established himself as a minor prospector. Although Gooch intended for his investments in the Shenandoah Valley to expand his wealth, it was not an act motivated purely by avarice. Determined to be recognised by the upper echelons of Virginian society, Gooch deliberately targeted mining because it was so closely related to these prominent figures. Thus, Gooch's decision to enter this industry was not only motivated by his economic concerns, but also his desire for social advancement by emulating the cultural portfolio of the Virginia gentry,

Although Gooch's association with the mining industry highlighted his desire to be considered as a part of the gentry, it was also essential to framing his viewpoint of the frontier. Since his first forays into the west, Gooch was not discreet about his intent. In a letter to his brother Thomas in 1728, he described his purchase of an iron mine with 'four other gentlemen' and his concerns surrounding it. He bemoaned that he had invested at least £1000 into the endeavour and that he would never see a return.<sup>193</sup> Throughout his correspondence with his brother, Gooch displayed an honesty that was not present with others. Aside from petitioning the Board of Trade and Robert Walpole to provide him stipends to supplement his salary as governor, Gooch did not vocalise his perceived economic insecurity to others.<sup>194</sup> Although this reiterated

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<sup>191</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p. 20; See Chapter One for further details on Gooch's social life.

<sup>192</sup> Byrd, *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, 1684-1776, Vol II*, p. 378.

<sup>193</sup> Shrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative', p. 94; Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p. 20.

<sup>194</sup> Gooch to Robert Walpole, August 5, 1735, *WGP, Vol I*.

the intimacy of the relationship between Gooch and Thomas, it also demonstrated the duplicity of Gooch as governor. To Virginian society Gooch presented a confident individual who sought remedy domestic issues, but privately he indicated that his actions were motivated by fixed economic concerns. Although discussion about mining investments did not appear after 1728, ultimately his actions throughout the following two decades were designed to address these same insecurities.

Often referring to his mining investments as 'additions', Gooch's involvement within the Shenandoah throughout 1728 and 1729 revealed much about his outlook on the frontier. Due to its plethora of resources, Gooch viewed the landscape primarily as an asset to supplement the colony and his personal income. Although previous governors supported the Shenandoah mining industry as a means to diversify its material exports, such as Alexander Spotswood's efforts to mine precious metals in the Germanna settlement and the Rappahannock river, Gooch placed a large emphasis on its development and increased profitability.<sup>195</sup> In 1744, Gooch sent out a series of inspectors to report on the state of the iron industry. William Black, who was tasked with reviewing the Principo Iron Works and mine, stated that '...everything appeared to be in good order...' when he was asked about its condition.<sup>196</sup> Although few of these reports remain, Black's assessment emphasised that the industry was still operating comfortably fifteen years after Gooch first intervened. Alexander Spotswood had established that following these type of surveys it was required that the governor send a series of reports to the Board about mining activities. In this aspect Gooch was less diligent. Between 1730 and 1735, Gooch provided only four accounts of the mining industry, often downplaying its successes and failures and omitting large amounts of information.<sup>197</sup> Despite the governor's omissions, the reports were well received by the Board, who praised Gooch for his diligence in notifying them.<sup>198</sup> Gooch's attempt to conceal information about the mining industry from metropolitan authorities, further emphasised Gooch's duplicitous

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<sup>195</sup> Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, p. 179-180.

<sup>196</sup> James Moore Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages: And Particularly in the united States from Colonial Time to 1891*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 250.

<sup>197</sup> PRO, CO5/1322, Gooch to the Board of Trade, September 8, 1731; PRO, CO5/1323, Gooch to the Board of Trade, October 5, 1732; September 12, 1733, May 24, 1734.

<sup>198</sup> PRO, CO5/1322, Gooch to the Board of Trade, December 22, 1731; The praise of the Board was a result of Gooch's tendency to provide highly detailed annual reports about the state of the colony, Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, p.234.



nature and highlighted his intent to restrict the profits that were acquired to himself and a select group of 'gentlemen'. Although Gooch first entered the mining industry at the outset of his gubernatorial career, it was during this period that his outlook on the frontier was solidified. Viewing it as a region of resources to be used by himself and the colony, rather than simply a blank canvas available for expansion, the exploitative relationship that developed between the two became more prevalent after this point and indicated how Gooch reconciled his private goals and his requirements as governor.

The duplicitous character of Gooch's western policies were apparent through his acquisition of land in the frontier and northern neck later during his governorship. Following the opening of the Shenandoah Valley by European immigrants during the 1720s, Gooch sought to capitalise on this moment and impose his own form of settlement onto the region. From 1730 onwards, Gooch became a central figure in western expansion and promoted the settlement of the frontier by awarding large grants to its inhabitants, often totalling over 100,000. Although Gooch's actions aligned with British ambition in settling Virginia's western interior, his use of land grants and surveys throughout the region was a deliberate effort to further consolidate his authority within the colony. Gooch used his authority over land patronage as a means to 'purchase' the support of the Tidewater gentry and land prospectors, with promises of position and large lands in the frontier to further extend his influence.

Although underused by scholars, both land surveys and maps of the frontier and Northern Neck, that were created during the first half of the eighteenth century, illustrated the nature of western expansion and how the region changed throughout this period. Within the last decade, numerous scholars, such as Max Edelson and Stephen J. Hornsby, have attempted to integrate cartographic studies with early colonial history. By analysing them as an expression on imperial policy, they determined how maps and surveys were used to create '...a system of long-distance control...' by metropolitan authorities.<sup>199</sup> Because of the vast quantities of maps that were created following Britain's victory in the Seven Years' War in North America in 1763, these studies

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<sup>199</sup> Max Edelson, *The New Map of Empire: How Britain Imagined America before Independence*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017); Stephen J. Hornsby, *Surveyors of Empire: Samuel Holland, J. W. F. Des Barres, and the Making of the Atlantic Neptune*, (Ithaca: McGill Queen's University Press, 2011), p. 118.

have often focused on the late eighteenth century and assessed how Britain imposed its authority across the Atlantic. This was the central theme of Edelson's *The New Map of Empire*, in which he argued that during the eighteenth century the Board of Trade attempted to consolidate British claims within North America through maps. Furthermore, in an attempt to better understand the limits of its North American and Caribbean settlements, the Board ordered its governors to report the boundaries of their colonies.<sup>200</sup> He concluded that the increased efforts of the Board to map overseas territories was intended to remedy the ignorance of metropolitan authorities about the landscape of North America. Despite the emphasis these historians have placed on maps following the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, the creation of maps and surveys during the first half of the century served an important domestic purpose in Virginia, as Gooch used these tools to impose his own claims on land in the frontier.

In the same manner that Britain used maps and surveys to convey imperial claims within the western interior, smaller institutions and landowners also implemented them to exert their own claims on the western frontier between 1720 and 1740. Despite the many similarities that existed between the maps that addressed Virginia, such as marking important towns in the Tidewater region and using indigenous names for landmarks that existed outside of the British territories, there existed a large contrast in how they presented the colony's western interior. Prior to Virginia's expansion under Gooch, mapmakers were reluctant to incorporate the space beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains as a part of the colony. Most influential in depicting the status of the Chesapeake colonies, prior to Virginia's expansion, were Christopher Browne's *A New Map of Virginia, Maryland, and the Improves Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (1700) and John Senex's *A New Map of Virginia, Maryland, and the Improved Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (1719).<sup>201</sup> Plain in their presentation, these maps were used primarily to assess the status of the colonies at the turn of the eighteenth century. Simply reporting the size, landmarks, and position of the colonies in relation to each other, they lacked any imperial iconography that would

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<sup>200</sup> Edelson, *The New Map of Empire*, pp. 29-31.

<sup>201</sup> Christopher Browne, *A New Map of Virginia, Maryland, and the Improved Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 1700, Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/2004633785/](http://www.loc.gov/item/2004633785/)> [Accessed June 18 2018]; John Senex, *New Map of Virginia, Maryland, and the Improved Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 1719, Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/2007625604/](http://www.loc.gov/item/2007625604/)> [Accessed June 18 2018]. Refer to Maps 2 and 3 in the Appendix.

become commonplace after the western interior became more populated. During this period, neither the Board of Trade nor other metropolitan authorities intended to assert claims in the frontier and used maps as an inventory for the North American colonies.<sup>202</sup> This attitude caused the maps produced during the first two decades of the eighteenth century to be more practical and pragmatic than those which would be used to assert imperial claims.

After the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley during the 1720s had opened significant passages into the western interior, authorities became more aware of the encroaching imperial and native threats. Although dismissive, Gooch understood the potential for harm and reported to the Board that more conflict would occur as Virginians pressed further into the frontier.<sup>203</sup> To counter these new threats, the Board commissioned maps that overtly illustrated Britain's imperial ambitions in North America.<sup>204</sup> To achieve this, maps underwent a dramatic change in how they presented the Chesapeake colonies, now using designs and a broader geographic scope to demonstrate them as part of the wider British trans-Atlantic community that stretched from Ohio Valley to Caribbean. In 1715, British cartographer Herman Moll was the first to extend the Britain's cartographic empire outside of the confines of the Chesapeake in his *This map of North America, according to ye newest and most exact observations*, incorporating New England, Canada, and the expanding settlements of South Carolina's low country.<sup>205</sup> Although Moll's map went beyond what previous cartographers had achieved and presented Britain's colonies on a much larger scale, his map did not display any grandiose images of British imperialism and continued the same style implemented by previous cartographers. However, the scale represented a change in cultural meaning of maps in North America. A commercial mapmaker, Moll produced numerous copies of his map and made it available for purchase throughout the British colonies. More accessible to the general public and depicting the wider imperial Atlantic landscape, it was during

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<sup>202</sup> Edelson, *The New Map of Empire*, p. 3; Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1990), pp. 45-46.

<sup>203</sup> PRO, CO5/1321, Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 8 1728; July 10 1731.

<sup>204</sup> Edelson, *The New Map of Empire*, p. 33.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 33-34; Herman Moll, *This map of North America, according to ye newest and most exact observations*, 1715, Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/gm71005441/](http://www.loc.gov/item/gm71005441/)> [Accessed June 18 2018]. Refer to Map 4 in Appendix.

the early eighteenth century that maps transformed from surveys to an essential vehicle for imperial empowerment.<sup>206</sup>

Building upon the work of Moll, Henry Popple, whose grandfather, father, and brother had served as secretaries to the Board of Trade, used his connections to secure funds for the creation of a map of Britain's Atlantic colonies. With this support, Popple used the 'Authentic Records and Actual Surveys', that were housed in the Board of Trade's library, and constructed his *Map of the British Empire* in 1733.<sup>207</sup> Rather than separating the mainland colonies into individual reliefs, Popple presented them as integrated within the wider continent and Atlantic region, as well as each other, rather than isolated from other centres of imperial influence. Furthermore, through a detailed depiction of rivers, lakes, and other major landmarks Popple was able to accurately portray the boundaries of the Chesapeake colonies. Popple's map once again reiterated the increasing cultural importance of maps within North American colonies. Following its production in 1733, the Board purchased numerous copies for their personal records and for each of the governors in North America.<sup>208</sup> A large document spread across twenty sheets, the Board's effort to spread the map throughout the Chesapeake colonies represented the growing awareness of Britain's imperial identity.

However, Popple's map was not just a simple survey of the colonies, but an important tool of empire. Although the British authorities held little influence over the construction of the map, Popple included numerous images that celebrated and reinforced the ideas of empire within the continent. These ranged from small images of British fleets to fill the empty space of the Atlantic ocean, to obvious representations of imperial authority such the sigil of the king and small narratives of British victories over the Spanish fleets within the Gulf of Mexico. However, most

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<sup>206</sup> Martin Brückner, *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), pp. 25-26; Edelson, *The New Map of Empire*, p. 34; Lloyd A. Brown, *Early Maps of the Ohio Valley: A Selection of Maps, Plans, and Views Made by Indians and Colonials From 1673 to 1783*, (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), pp. 85-86.

<sup>207</sup> Henry Popple, *(Composite of) A map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto*, 1733, David Ramsey Historical Map Collection <<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~887~70081>> [Accessed June 18 2018]. Refer to Map 4 in Appendix.

<sup>208</sup> Edelson, *The New Map of Empire*, p. 34.

evident was the large relief in the bottom left hand corner, which conveys the common outlook on colonies. Present in the foreground, were romanticised images of the indigenous peoples and exotic animals and treasures that populated continent before the arrival of European settlers. However, these picturesque images distract the reader from the more sinister background image, which depicted the arrival of British settlers, reiterating Britain's goals of colonisation and settlement within North America. This use of imagery and titles within map to portray imperial themes and goals became a regular occurrence during the mid-century. Emmanuel Bowen used this to great effect in his portrayal of plantations within Virginia during the 1750s and Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson to portray the central role of slavery and the exportation of tobacco in Virginian life.<sup>209</sup> Thus, within the context of British imperial ambitions maps were used to consolidate the claims of metropolitan authorities over North American and Atlantic lands.

Gooch, aware of the importance of maps in '...Erecting new Provinces and Governments...' commissioned his own maps and surveys a means to consolidate his authority within the colony's boundaries.<sup>210</sup> As the colony expanded further beyond the Blue Ridge mountains, land ownership became a prevalent issue as settlers competed over tracts of land and the ancestral homes of many Native American Tribes. Understanding the importance of securing the colony's borders, Gooch immediately appointed officials to create a map of Virginia's northern and southern boundaries.<sup>211</sup> Between 1728 and 1733, Gooch appointed William Byrd II, Hugh Dandridge, and William Fitzhugh, who were all well known figures within the colony, to settle a dispute with North Carolina over Virginia's southern boundary.<sup>212</sup> Byrd, who was greatly pleased at his new position, took command of the proceedings and presented his plan to obtain enough

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<sup>209</sup> Emanuel Bowen, *A New and Accurate Map of Virginia and Maryland*, 1752, Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/74693265/](http://www.loc.gov/item/74693265/)> [June 18 2018]; Fry, Jefferson, Jeffrys, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*, 1755. Refer to Maps 1 and 6 in Appendix.

<sup>210</sup> Gooch to the Board of Trade, February 8, 1733, *WGP, Vol II*.

<sup>211</sup> William Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line, and Other Tracts, From the papers of William Byrd of Westover, Esquire*, vol 1, (Richmond: 1866), p. 17.

<sup>212</sup> PRO, CO5/1321, Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 8 1728; K. Lockridge, *The Diary and Life of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674-1744*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1987), p. 127.

land to stimulate the settlement of the southern region by European immigrants.<sup>213</sup> Although Byrd and the other members of the Virginian party were unsuccessful in settling the matter with North Carolina, these discussions illustrated that Gooch was interested in shaping the colony according to his own image.<sup>214</sup>

Although Gooch detached himself from the debates over boundary with North Carolina, he indirectly influenced how the borders of the colony were constructed. Five years later, Gooch implemented this strategy once again when he attempted to integrate the land of Thomas Fairfax, the sixth Lord of Fairfax, in the Northern Neck into the colony.<sup>215</sup> Following the death of his father and grandmother in 1710, Lord Fairfax received the sole proprietorship of the Northern Neck between the Rappahannock and the Potomac Rivers. Maintaining complete autonomy over the administrative duties of the region, despite it sitting within the boundaries of the colony, Fairfax stood in direct opposition to Gooch's western ambitions. Unsurprisingly, it did not take long for the two men to come to a discourse, as Gooch made numerous large grants of land within the western region of the Northern Neck throughout 1729.<sup>216</sup> Ignoring the boundaries of Fairfax's title, Gooch continually settled European settlers within these boundaries under pretext he was ensuring that '...his Majesty's Lands be not invaded under any pretence of a Grant to any Proprietor.'<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> From his correspondence to both Gooch the Board of Trade it was evident that Byrd thought that he was to lead the expedition. Byrd, *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia 1684-1776, Vol II*, pp. 387, 405-407, 414-417.

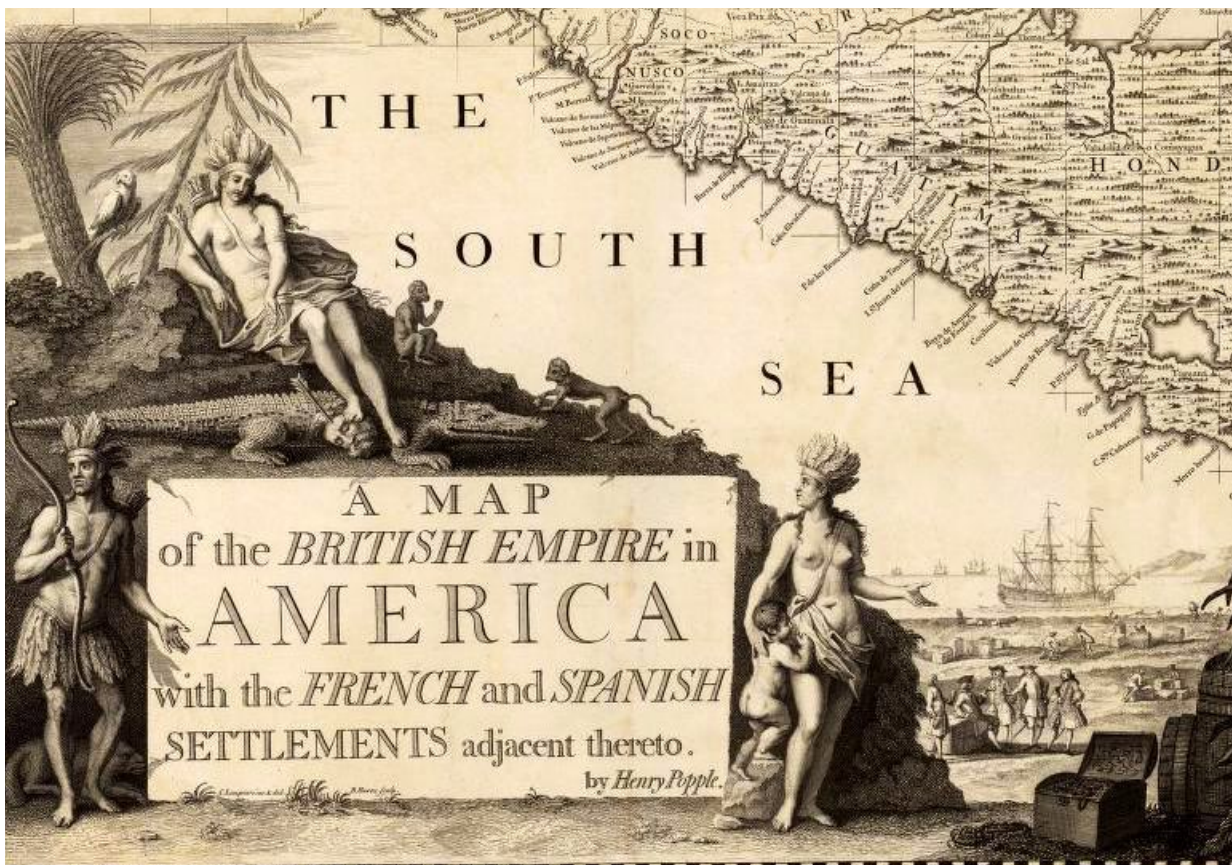
<sup>214</sup> Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, pp. 208-209.

<sup>215</sup> Porter, 'Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the northern Neck Boundary Dispute', p. 1.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 2-3; Flippin, 'William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia', p. 3; PRO, CO5/1322, Gooch to the Board of Trade, July 10 1731.

<sup>217</sup> PRO, CO5/ 1322, Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 29 1729.





Detail: Cross section of the title image from Henry Popple, *(Composite of) A map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto*. See Map 5 in Appendix for full image.



Detail: Cross section of ship Henry Popple, *(Composite of) A map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto*. See Map 5 in Appendix for full image.





Detail: The legend and key for plantations from Emanuel Bowen, *New and Accurate Map of Virginia and Maryland*. See Map 6 in Appendix for full image.



Detail: Cross section of the title image from Joshua Fry, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*. See Map 1 in Appendix for full image.



Between 1730 and 1731, Gooch commissioned his own map of the Northern Neck to illustrate to the Board that the grants he awarded did not encroach on Fairfax's lands.<sup>218</sup> To combat Gooch's encroachments, Fairfax ordered Robert Carter, a prominent planter who had leased land within the Northern Neck, to survey its boundaries and determine whether the governor had run afoul. The main subject of contention between Carter and Gooch was whether Fairfax's lands ended at the headsprings of the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers or encompassed the streams and rivers that joined onto the Potomac.<sup>219</sup> Carter proclaimed that because the Shenandoah joined onto the Potomac, Fairfax's claims also included the lands up to its headsprings in North Carolina and west of the Potomac. The extent of this claim was best summed up by John Ferdinand Paris, who was a counsellor to the Penn family, when he stated that 'Lord Fairfax calls his territory what everybody else calls it, the Northern Neck, but it appears that...he claims neck and body also.'<sup>220</sup> Despite the attempts of Carter and Fairfax to suspend the governor's ability to award tracts of land, Gooch proclaimed that he would, as '...preceeding Governors...' had done, continue to '...sign patents...till his Majesty's pleasure be further known.'<sup>221</sup> These initial disputes concerning Fairfax's grant demonstrated that in land acquisition, Gooch preferred an aggressive approach, rather await an outcome.

Five years later, the two men once again clashed over the land rights to the Northern Neck. Following the death of Robert Carter in 1732, Gooch viewed this as this opportunity to reassert his legal claim over the region. Although Fairfax would not arrive in the colony until 1735, he worked tirelessly to stop Gooch from taking ownership of his lands. Using his connections within England, Fairfax successfully petitioned the King to appoint commissioners to survey and define the boundaries of his claim to definitively assess whether Gooch's grants were illegal.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Porter, 'Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute', p. 4; Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, (Privately Printed: The Old Dominion Press, 1924), pp. 601-652; Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, Charlottesville, Accession #2781, Maps of Virginia 1730-1875, A Map of the North Side of Virginia, drawn for Sir William Gooch in 1730 by Strickler. See Map 7 in Appendix.

<sup>219</sup> PRO, CO5/ 1323, Gooch to the Board of Trade, February 8 1733.

<sup>220</sup> Fairfax Harrison, 'The Northern Neck Maps, 1737-1747', *William and Mary Quarterly* 4 (1924), p. 7.

<sup>221</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 4, pp. 203-205.

<sup>222</sup> *Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations: Volume 6, January 1729 - December 1734*, ed. K. H. Ledward (London, 1928), pp. 357-360; Mcilwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, pp. 92-97.

The governor, who was equally well connected, wrote to the Board and suggested that a general survey of Virginia be undertaken to determine the boundaries of the colony. However to ensure that he retained control over the process and that it was completed quickly, Gooch suggested that he be the one to appoint the surveyors. He stated that because of his previous experiences with the region and his involvement with the North Carolina Boundary dispute, he was more than competent for this undertaking.<sup>223</sup> The Board ignored these suggestions and instead chose to only appoint surveyors they and colonial officials had agreed upon. Gooch, concerned that this much lengthier process would allow Fairfax greater control, suggested that the use of a court or arbiter would be a better choice as it would be more expedient.<sup>224</sup> Ultimately, it was decided that Gooch would appoint five surveyors to map the region alongside those nominated by Fairfax.<sup>225</sup> This second phase of discussions over the Northern Neck reiterated Gooch's aggressive land policies. Unlike the proceedings of the Inspection Act, where Gooch was forced to be patient, as he waited for the conformations of the burgesses and the Board, he was afforded the opportunity to be more proactive as Fairfax's actions directly impeded on his role as governor.

Despite these obstacles, Gooch was eventually successful in his attempts to absorb the Fairfax grant into Virginia. Disregarding the petitions of Fairfax and the Board, Gooch continued to award grants of land to Pennsylvanian and European settlers as they arrived in the colony. When confronted about these actions, he stated that none of the patents infringed upon Fairfax's land and that ultimately these western settlements would greatly benefit the plantations of the colony and hinder any advancements made by the French.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, he warned the Board that because of the complicated boundaries and the complex administrative processes associated with the lands of the Northern Neck, new European settlers would become frustrated and unable to adapt to the new laws.<sup>227</sup> The following year, Gooch's predictions were confirmed as settlers

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<sup>223</sup> Porter, 'Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute', pp. 7-8; Flippin, 'William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia', p. 3; PRO, CO5/1323, Gooch to the Board of Trade, July 18 1732.

<sup>224</sup> PRO, CO5/ 1323, Gooch to the Board of Trade, February 8 1733.

<sup>225</sup> William Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line, and Other Tracts, From the papers of William Byrd of Westover, Esquire*, vol 2, pp. 89-90.

<sup>226</sup> PRO, CO5/ 1366, Board of Trade to Gooch, September 13 1732; Porter, 'Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute', p.8.

<sup>227</sup> PRO, CO5/1323, Gooch to the Board of Trade, February 8 1733.

presented the House with demands for redress, which included their 'Exemption from the Ordinary Jurisdiction of the County Courts' and the establishment of a '...Magistracy amongst themselves.'<sup>228</sup> Although the grievances of the settlers aided Gooch in his efforts to secure the Northern Neck, it was the establishment of counties within the contested territories that enabled the governor to fully incorporate the region into Virginia's boundaries. During the winter of 1734, when both the House and the Council was prorogued, Gooch established Orange County on November 20 1734. Gooch was able to supersede Fairfax's authority through vague terminology, which located the county somewhere within the limits of northern boundary of the Fairfax Grant and the '...utmost limits of Virginia.'<sup>229</sup> Furthermore, Gooch once again used his ability to dictate appointments to local institutions and secure his authority in the Northern Neck by nominating his supporters, such as John Lightfoot who Gooch previously positioned as a tobacco inspector.<sup>230</sup>

The contest over the Fairfax Grant and the lands of the Northern Neck definitively concluded in 1736 when an Act was passed which incorporated the titles of the Northern Neck into those held by the colony.<sup>231</sup> Although many historians have viewed the disputes over the Northern Neck as an isolated incident within Gooch's governorship, it represented the end point in the formation of a defined land policy regarding the frontier. When the House reconvened on August 6 1736, Gooch's opening message was the mirror of the one he gave in 1727. Full of venom and spite, Gooch denounced the 'despotic power' of the planters and government that sought to interfere with the freedom and rights of the colonists that had been vital to Virginia's growth over the past century. Following this he praised the 'Two Supreme Councils', referring to the House and the Council, in the formation of a just government that represented the interests of the colony.<sup>232</sup> Considering how prominent the disputes over the Northern Neck were in the colony at the time and how Gooch used the legislature to undermine the authority of Fairfax, it

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<sup>228</sup> PRO, CO5/1323, Petitions to William Gooch, May 24 1734.

<sup>229</sup> Henning, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia*, pp. 450-451.

<sup>230</sup> Porter, 'Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute', p. 10; Charles E. Kemper, 'The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734. As Shown by the Proceedings of the Colonial Council (Concluded)', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13 (1906), pp. 351-352.

<sup>231</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, p. 82, 92; Flippin, 'William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia', p. 3.

<sup>232</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1736, 1736-1740*, pp. 240-242.

was evident that this message was in reference to this incident. At the time, Gooch described this as a joint victory, as he applauded the efforts of upper and lower houses against the tyranny of centralised authority. However, it was, in part, disingenuous as over the past decade Gooch had developed a western land policy that relied heavily on his ability to retain complete control. Through his experiments with the mining industry and the Fairfax grant, Gooch had established a precedent where the legislature, and by extension the governor, was the absolute power in land administration. Able to dictate who received land grants and where counties were established, Gooch was able to exploit and use the land of Virginia and its western frontier as he pleased.

Gooch's development of the Shenandoah iron mines and the acquisition of the Northern Neck demonstrated his ability to impose his control over a defined space, on a relatively small scale. However, Gooch also demonstrated that he had the ability to implement this control on a much larger scale through his use of the 'Buffer Policy'. As stated in its title, the 'Buffer Policy' centred around creating a defensive zone along the peripheries of the colony as a means to rebuff attacks or encroachments made by Native Americans or imperial forces of enemy nations. Traditionally, historians have viewed the 'Buffer Policy' as one of the only major successes of Alexander Spotswood's time as Lieutenant Governor between 1710 and 1722. During 1711, relations between Virginian settlers and Native Americans were at an all time low. Throughout the year Tuscarora raiding parties made numerous attacks along the North Carolina border, angered at the encroachments on their ancestral homelands. In response, Tuscarora raiding parties attacked settlements surrounding the Albermale Sound and killed 120 settlers.<sup>233</sup> However, this was not the end of Spotswood's concern as he feared the '...large offers of Assistance...' that the Iroquois had made to the Tuscarora in their attacks on the settlers. Furthermore, unable to raise a significant military force in defence of the colony many were concerned that more attacks would ensue.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Brock, *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1710-1722*, p. 117; McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol3, p. 291.

<sup>234</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p.58; Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest*, p. 73; W. Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), pp. 107-110; Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 159-160.

Intent on dissolving the underlying tensions that existed between Native Americans and Virginians, Spotswood addressed the House in November 17 1714. He proclaimed ‘...that the Mischiefs we have of late years Suffered from the Indians are chiefly owing to the Clandestine Trade carried on by some ill men.’ Identifying that an economic solution was the best option, he recommended that the House devise ‘...some Regulation of the Indian Trade...’ before they proceeded.<sup>235</sup> On December 14 1714 the House responded by creating ‘An Act for Better Regulation of Indian Trade’ which restricted trade between Virginian and Native Americans to Fort Christanna. Furthermore, Spotswood created the Virginia Indian Company to oversee trade that occurred of the James River. Although private transactions with Native Americans still occurred, Spotswood intended for the company to monopolise all transactions that occurred within the region and work to integrate Native Americans into colonial society. Initially Spotswood was pleased with the Act, boasting to his British correspondents that he was able to manipulate the burgesses into supporting his policies.<sup>236</sup> However, efforts of colonial governors to mask the creation of trading monopolies by the pretence of advancing diplomatic monopolies had a recent and bloody history ingrained in the public memory. In response to governor William Berkley’s attempt to restrict economic privileges to a central group of the Virginian gentry, Nathaniel Bacon led a rebellion of 200 men in 1676 in an attempt to reclaim these rights.<sup>237</sup> The burgesses once again moved to oppose the creation of an economic monopoly, and repealed the Act in 1717. Frustrated by failing crops, planters small, and large alike, refused economic reform and became increasingly dissatisfied with Spotswood’s policies, eventually removing him as governor in 1722.<sup>238</sup>

Where Spotswood failed in his efforts to use the colony’s borders to defend the Chesapeake, Gooch found much success. As the colony expanded further west throughout the

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<sup>235</sup> McIlwaine, H. R., *JHB, 1712-1714, 1715, 1718, 1720-1722, 1723-1726*, p. 80.

<sup>236</sup> Brock, *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1710-1722*, p. 89, 141.

<sup>237</sup> Breen, ‘A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia 1660-1710’, p. 6; Peter Thompson, ‘The Thief, the Householder, and the Commons: Languages of Class in Seventeenth-Century Virginia’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63 (2006), p. 258.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid*, p. 116; Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, pp. 180-181; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, pp. 58-59; Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood: Colonial Governor of Virginia, 1710-1722*, pp. 82-99.

1730s, there was an increasing threat of conflict ‘...as...Frontier Inhabitants lye...exposed to the barbarous insults of these indians, and the foreign nations they call to their aid.’<sup>239</sup> Exposed to the same fears Spotswood had been two decades earlier, Gooch implemented his own version of the ‘Buffer policy’. However, rather than create an economic monopoly to regulate interactions between Virginians and Native Americans, Gooch decided to inhabit the region with settlers that had recently arrived in the colony and use them as a means for defence. Gooch’s ‘Buffer Policy’ relied on three major factors; firstly, was that the settlement of the interior allowed Gooch to easily incorporate the land into the colony; secondly, those who inhabited the region provided an efficient means to counter invasions by French or Native American forces; and finally, by aligning as parallel to the aims of the Board in the frontier, Gooch appeared to be following metropolitan policies whilst concealing his personal aims.

In June of 1729, Gooch sent a series of letter to the Board of Trade outlining the state of the colony. Within the correspondence, Gooch dedicated a lengthy passage to western settlement, and argued that the grants he had awarded in the Shenandoah Valley had ‘...renewed a contest...’ between individuals who desired it.<sup>240</sup> As previously stated, Gooch had maintained a continued fascination with the backcountry since his first steps in Virginia and had made his intent to expand into the interior since his first policies as governor.<sup>241</sup> By awarding large tracts of land to surveyors, such as Jost Hite, at the beginning of the 1730s and absorbing Fairfax’s titles in the Northern Neck, Gooch had facilitated a large expansion west into the Shenandoah Valley by the end of the decade. The influx of settlers into the colony was so large, that Gooch created a series of forts on the western most boundary to provide and effectual local administration.<sup>242</sup> Although the settlement of the frontier manifested because European migrants sought out available land to establish their communities, Gooch used it as a means to extend his influence further into the frontier by awarding land grants.

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<sup>239</sup> PRO, CO5/1321, Gooch to the Board of Trade, March 26th 1729; McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, p. 64.

<sup>240</sup> PRO, CO5/1322, Abstract of letters sent from Major Gooch; Lieutenant Governor, June 29th 1729.

<sup>241</sup> Wertenbacker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, p. 145; PRO, CO5/1321, Gooch to the Board of Trade, November 6th 1728.

<sup>242</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, pp. 184-185; PRO, CO5/1322, Gooch to the Board of Trade, July 10th 1731; PRO, CO5/1324, Gooch to the Board of Trade, October 5th 1736.

In 1729, Gooch defended the practices of elites monopolising control of land and creating a central authority against criticism from the Board. He stated that the ‘...greatest Tracts have been granted & possessed...’ by ‘...men of substance.’<sup>243</sup> Although he argued this prior to the larger phase of expansion that occurred during the mid 1730s, it illustrated Gooch used his ability to award land grants as a unique form of patronage. Throughout his governorship, it became commonplace, even expected, for Gooch to award vast grants of land to prospectors and surveyors alike.<sup>244</sup> Traditionally, the Board directed colonial officials to cultivate any new land acquired by the colony within three years of its speculation.<sup>245</sup> Gooch deviated from this practice, and instead imposed his own requirements on land prospectors. These ranged from typical settlement targets within a specified time frame, to the more uncommon exemptions from quitrents and tax payments. On June 17 1730, Gooch first implemented these conditions when Jacob Stover was awarded a tract of land for the proposed settlement of Swiss and German colony on the ‘...West Side of the great mountains and on the second fork of the Shenrundo River.’ Although the Council approved Stover’s grant of 10,000 acres, it was under the provision that he settled one family per 1000 acres.<sup>246</sup> Although the Board challenged the legality Gooch’s requirements the following year, they were mostly concerned that Stover was not a part of the Virginian gentry and whether he had the ability to gather enough settlers. Eventually the Board turned to William Keith, the former governor of Pennsylvania, for counsel on the matter. Rather than support the Board, Keith endorsed Gooch’s policies towards settlement. He stated that ‘Persons of a low Degree in life who are known amongst their equals to be morally Honest and Industrious will sooner persuade a multitude into a Voluntary expedition of this Nature than those of greater Wealth and Higher Rank.’<sup>247</sup> Gooch, who understood that that this enabled him to act

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<sup>243</sup> PRO, CO5/1321, Gooch to the Board of Trade, April 2 1729.

<sup>244</sup> Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, pp. 209-210.

<sup>245</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 90; Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, p. 177; Voorhis, ‘Crown Versus Council in Virginia Land Policy’, p. 512; William H. Seiler, ‘Land Processioning in Colonial Virginia’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 6 (1949), p. 422; McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 4, p.581.

<sup>246</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, Vol 4, p. 224.

<sup>247</sup> Charles E. Kemper, ‘Documents Relating to Early Projected Swiss Colonies in the Valley of Virginia, 1706-1709’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 29 (1921), pp. 88-90.

virtually unimpeded in the granting of land, continued his approach to the settlement of the frontier.<sup>248</sup>

The Stover episode was an important juncture in how Gooch proposed land grants, as it solidified his approach to land acquisition and provided him a convenient route to populate the backcountry. By 1731, Gooch and the Council issued a total of 385,000 acres in western land grants. These ranged from grant intended for the establishment of individual settlements, as was the case with John and Isaac Van Meter who both received 30,000 acres of land in the northern Shenandoah towards the end of 1731, to ones that were purchased with the intent of establish large permanent communities within the interior, such as Jost Hite and Robert Mckay's grant for 100,000 acres on October 21 1731. In both cases, Gooch imposed similar requirements to Stover's. Hite and Mckay were tasked to settle 100 families per 1000 acres of land.<sup>249</sup> Hite and his group of travellers, which consisted of up to 100 men, women, and children, arrived at their destination near the Opequon creek two months after they departed from Pennsylvania.<sup>250</sup> Surrounded by thick forests and towering mountains this group was isolated as they constructed their community. Although some historians have argued that the settlement and development of the backcountry occurred free of political influence, Gooch's effort to dictate the process through issuing land grants during this phase of settlement indicated the opposite.<sup>251</sup> By attaching certain requirements, Gooch was able to dictate the short-term pattern of settlement into the Shenandoah and the Northern Neck, by awarding specific land grants. However, these requirements also safeguarded against longterm failure, as if the prospectors failed to accomplish the requirements imposed by Gooch, then ownership would return to Council.

Gooch's involvement with land speculation of the backcountry during the early 1730s represented the completion of the first phase of his 'Buffer Policy'. As more settlers from Europe

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<sup>248</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>249</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, Vol 4, pp. 229, 249-250, 253-254.

<sup>250</sup> For more details about the 'Opequon Settlement' see Chapter 2.

<sup>251</sup> Voorhis, 'Crown Versus Council in Virginia Land Policy', p. 512; Hofstra, 'The Extension of His Majesty's Dominions', p. 1283; Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesman: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia*, pp. 84-85; McClesky, 'Rich Lad Poor Prospects: Real Estate and the Formation of a Social Elite Augusta County, Virginia, 1738-1770', pp. 449-486.



and the surrounding colonies migrated into the Shenandoah Valley the number of settlements within the region increased to 150 by the end of the decade, which continued to grow to 5000 in 1744.<sup>252</sup> As more communities were established within the frontier, Gooch sought to militarise its inhabitants throughout the following decade. Aware of the encroaching threat of French forces, settlers in the northern Shenandoah appeared ready to bear arms. In a letter to Gooch, frontier inhabitants stated that would continue to act as a barrier against French and Native American forces as long as he presented their petitions to the King in 1734.<sup>253</sup> Throughout the late 1730s and 1740s Gooch changed the focus of his attention from the settlement of the western interior to supplying its inhabitants with the physical and administrative means to repel invasions. Although this was, in part, a reaction to the increased frequency of attacks on backcountry settlements by Native American and French forces during the mid-1730s, Gooch sought to use this as an opportunity arm them in defence of the colony.<sup>254</sup>

At the beginning of his governorship, Gooch experienced a series of violent revolts, such as the creation of an African American Slave Community in 1727, conspiracies of slave revolts in 1729, and the Tobacco Riots of 1732 in the Northern Neck. On each of these occasions, Gooch used the militia as an internal means to respond to these outbreaks of violence and maintain 'social order'.<sup>255</sup> As the colony's most accessible military force, its structure had gone through many revisions throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Allowed to choose their own officers and mustered only when necessary, the Virginia militia was far from the professionalised military structure that Gooch had experienced during his youth. However, Gooch never intended to use these forces as an orthodox standing army. Able to muster a force of

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<sup>252</sup> Warren R. Hofstra, 'Private Dwellings, Public Ways, and the Landscape of Early Rural Capitalism in Virginia's Valley', *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995), p. 213; Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspective on the Early Shenandoah Valley*, p.29-30.

<sup>253</sup> PRO, CO5/1323, Petitions to William Gooch, May 24th 1734.

<sup>254</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 4, pp. 368-370; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 162; Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 220.

<sup>255</sup> Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, pp. 109-110; PRO, CO5/1322, Gooch to the Board of Trade September 14 1730.

16,000 small fighting units, the governor used the militia to police the frontier as they could better navigate the thick forests mountainous terrain of the region.<sup>256</sup>

Unsurprising considering his military background, Gooch used the militia on numerous occasions at the beginning of his governorship to defend against internal threats to the colony. Despite implementing it frequently, Gooch was irritated with its mis-management and its failure to muster efficiently. In one letter to the Board, he complained that ‘...to no purpose are Men obliged to provide themselves with with Arms and Ammunition and to attend Musters at stated times...if when they are got together scarce One officer knows how to form...or instruct them.’<sup>257</sup> Evidenced from his correspondence with the Board, Gooch was mostly concerned about the lack of structure within the militia and its ability to be effective in combat. Although Gooch attempted to increase its effectiveness through reforms, he was unsuccessful until 1736. In a lengthy speech to the burgesses, he criticised the colony’s militia for ‘...failing to appear at Musters, armed and acountred, in the manner therein directed...’ and ‘...remain[ing] in the same defencelefs state.’<sup>258</sup> In an attempt to correct these issues he introduced a Bill that imposed a tax of ‘Six pence per poll upon Negroes’ for two years that would supply funds for the better training and arming of the militia.<sup>259</sup> Although these reforms would prove unsuccessful, as the House would pass further legislation regarding the regulation of the militia, Gooch continued in his attempts at reform. By 1738, Gooch attempted stimulate the activity of the militia by establishing a fort on James River and suggesting inhabitants practice greater vigilance. Furthermore, Gooch also succeeded in implementing free mulattoes, negroes, and captured Native Americans to be incorporated into the muster in unarmed roles.<sup>260</sup> Gooch’s continuous efforts at reform, illustrated its importance to his ambitions concerning the frontier. Implementing it as a policing force, Gooch was able to effectively manage and protect the frontier from both internal and external threats.

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<sup>256</sup> Flippin, ‘William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia’, pp. 4-5.

<sup>257</sup> PRO, CO5/1321, Gooch to the Board of Trade, March 26th 1729.

<sup>258</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, pp. 302-303.

<sup>259</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB, 1727-1734, 1736-1740*, xxviii.

<sup>260</sup> Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, & Anxious Patriarchs*, p220-221.

As Gooch sought to impose his 'buffer policy' onto the frontier, Gooch used the militia to defend against French and Native American attacks. Fear of violence became a common part of frontier life during the 1730s, as its inhabitants expanded further west into the Ohio Valley. Between April and May in 1736, Catawba raiding parties made a series of violent attacks on western settlements beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains.<sup>261</sup> In response to these conflicts, Gooch attempted further reforms of the militia that would enable them to respond effectively against future invasions. Reiterating the approach he used to pass the Inspection Act, throughout 1738 and 1739 Gooch introduced his plan for the militia to both the Board and the House. In a speech to the burgesses on November 4 1738, Gooch described the previous attacks made by Catawbas and other Ohio Valley Indian raiding parties on backcountry settlements. He proclaimed that 'The late incursions of the indians, and the Murders they have Perpetrated on the Inhabitants beyond the Great Ridge of Mountains, without Question, will dispose you to take proper Methods for their future security.'<sup>262</sup> Although brief, this short passage outlined the core of Gooch's plan for defence and spurred the burgesses and the Board to provide the inhabitants with the means to efficiently repel these attacks. The following year, he once again outlined this plan to the Board after further attacks were made by the Catabaw and Cherrokee tribes. More threatening than in his proclamation to the House, Gooch argued that they '...renew their hostilities, and two make like returns of Barbarity [against] our inhabitants, tis not to be imagined that people who have now arms in their hands, will suffer the heathens to insult them with impunity.'<sup>263</sup> Within both of these letters, Gooch attempted a more emotional argument to gain the support for his plans. Despite his efforts, only the House responded with haste, as during the following session the burgesses approved a 'Bill for the Better Regulation of the Militia'.<sup>264</sup>

As Native American attacks subsided by the end of 1740, owing to Gooch's efforts to treat with important tribes, his attitude regarding the militia changed greatly.<sup>265</sup> During a report to the

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<sup>261</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 4, p. 386, 370.

<sup>262</sup> PRO, CO5/ 1324, Speech to the House of Burgesses, November 4th 1738.

<sup>263</sup> PRO, CO5/1324, Gooch to the Board of Trade, May 2nd 1739.

<sup>264</sup> McIlwaine, *JHB*, 1727-1734, 1736-1740, p. 327; PRO, CO5/1324, Gooch to the Board of Trade, February 22 1738/9.

<sup>265</sup> PRO, CO5/1324, Gooch to the Board of Trade, May 2 1739, July 5 1739.

Board of Trade, the governor stated that '[t]he Officers of the Militia have always been so sensible of the Incapacity of the poorer sort of people to provide themselves with arms', arguing that the issues with the militia stemmed from the inability of the poor to purchase weapons for themselves.<sup>266</sup> Although this change of attitude was sudden, it reflected Gooch's confidence in governing the frontier, as by this point he had secured greater authority in the Northern Neck and the frontier through his appointment of local officials. As frontier communities were the most vulnerable to attacks by external threats, Gooch intended to protect the colony by further expanding its borders. However, Gooch also used this as an opportunity to make his presence within the region more visible. In the same way that he used social events to integrate himself within the gentry, being perceived to act in favour of the western settlements worked to construct a positive public persona within the region. By the end of the decade, Gooch had expanded the colony's size by two thirds, incorporating the space up to the Ohio Valley and the Northern Neck, and created a significant armed force within the frontier capable of repelling most attacks. Thus, by the beginning of the 1740s Gooch felt little need to focus his attention on consolidating the colony's landholdings. Although different from the approach used by his predecessor, Gooch successfully implemented his 'Buffer Policy'. However, most crucial was the way in which Gooch retained control over the process. Through the processes of land acquisition, stimulating western expansion, and populating it with a strong military force the governor was able permeate the region with his influence.

The final decade of Gooch's governorship has been viewed by historians as an extended period of decline for the once dominant governor. Scholars have concluded that because of Gooch's change from policies centred around aggressive expansion, to the consolidation of the colony's borders and his ailing health, that was caused by his injuries sustained fighting against the Spanish in Cartagena, Gooch was not able to employ the same strength as he did during the beginning of his governorship.<sup>267</sup> However, it was during this decade that Gooch was most active in using his patronage to secure colonial authority over Virginia's interior. In an effort to consolidate and retain his personal authority over the rapidly expanding frontier, Gooch used his

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<sup>266</sup> Quoted in Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, p. 110.

<sup>267</sup> Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, p. 199, 245.; Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia', pp. 181-182.

patronage to extend influence beyond the traditional boundaries of the colony. Solidifying the colony's claims over the Ohio Valley through treaties with Native American Tribes and supporting Virginian land companies, in an effort to disrupt land grant, imposed by metropolitan authorities, it was evident that despite his advancing age Gooch had not become stagnant.

During the spring of 1744 Gooch, alongside representatives from Maryland and Pennsylvania, signed the the Treaty of Lancaster, ending the hostilities between Virginian settlers and the Iroquois. Although Gooch's conciliatory approach represented a large departure from the aggressive policies he implemented only five years earlier, an alliance between the colony and the Native American tribes had been a subject of great concern for the governor as violence escalated on the frontier. In one report to the Board in 1739, Gooch suggested that despite the violence that had taken place beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains, peace could only be '... encouraged by treating with me and this government.'<sup>268</sup> Although Gooch's participation in the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1748) prematurely halted discussions with the Iroquois, he pressed this issue upon his return to the colony. Upon hearing of the successful treaty between New York and the northern tribes in October 1740, Gooch dispatched Robert Mumford to foster his own ties of friendship with frontier tribes. Mumford, an experienced surveyor, met with representatives from the Catabaw and Cherokee tribes to 'confirm the Peace'.<sup>269</sup> However, this initial peace was brief, as Gooch received letters from the governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland towards the end of 1742, warning him of a 'conspiracy' of northern tribes to attack settlements along the Chesapeake.<sup>270</sup> These fears were confirmed on October 23, when frontier inhabitants reported that a Catabaw raiding party had attacked their plantations, '...killing [their] stock and taking most of [their] provisions by force.'<sup>271</sup> Aware that further conflict would only escalate tensions, Gooch sought a peaceful reconciliation with the Native Americans.<sup>272</sup> Over the following year, Gooch and the governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania corresponded with the northern tribes concerning a

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<sup>268</sup> PRO, CO5/1324, Gooch to the Board of Trade, May 2, 1739.

<sup>269</sup> Quoted in Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 167.

<sup>270</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, vol 5, p. 95; PRO, CO5/1325, Gooch to the Board of Trade, July 31 1742.

<sup>271</sup> PRO, CO5/1233, James Patton to Gooch, October 23, 1742.

<sup>272</sup> PRO, CO5/1325, Gooch to the Board of Trade, November 5th 1742; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, pp. 169-172.

treaty to end the conflict between them. With Governor George Thomas of Pennsylvania taking lead, interpreters Conrad Weiser and Onondoga were tasked with securing a date for the colony's and tribes to discuss and agreement.

Many historians have pointed to Gooch's inactivity during the build up to the Treaty as evidence of his weakness following his return to the colony in 1741. By acquiescing to the demands of frontier representatives over the violence in the Shenandoah Valley and allowing Thomas to take lead of the treaty negotiations, they have criticised Gooch for being '...somewhat disordered in his head...' due to his war injuries and the death of his son.<sup>273</sup> Although the governor distanced himself from the treaty in public, his purpose was evident when Gooch proclaimed that he would bring the Iroquois '...to a nearer Correspondence, and stricter alliance with this country.'<sup>274</sup> Gooch's commitment to the success of this treaty was further evidenced by the men he appointed to the delegation.<sup>275</sup> The governor charged Thomas Lee and William Beverley, both prominent landholders and well known figures, to lead the Virginian delegation. Confident in the abilities of both men, Gooch viewed their '...calmness...' as essential to securing peace with the Iroquois.<sup>276</sup> However, an individual that has received less attention for how he aided Gooch in his ambitions was the Native American interpreter, Conrad Weiser. The son of German Lutheran immigrants who arrived in New York at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Weiser was a well known interpreter and agent among the colony throughout the eighteenth century. Weiser's father, who was also named Conrad, led a groups of 150 families through Pennsylvania and into the backcountry in 1709. At 17, Weiser's father sent him to live with the Mohawk tribe until his early twenties, to better understand the language and society of the tribes that encircled his settlement, and set him on a career path that Weiser would maintain until his death.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, pp. 167-169; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, pp. 532-533; quoted in Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia', p. 58; Shrock, 'Maintaining the Prerogative', p84.

<sup>274</sup> *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws 1607-1789*, vol 5, ed. John T. Juricek, (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1979-2003), p. 25.

<sup>275</sup> Prinz, 'Sir William Gooch in Virginia: The King's Good Servant', p. 180.

<sup>276</sup> Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, Charlottesville, #Accession 883, Thomas Lee Letters, 1744-1750, Gooch to Thomas Lee, June 17 1744. *Hereafter referred to as 'TLP'*.

<sup>277</sup> Elisabeth Lewis Pardoe, 'The Many Worlds of Conrad Weiser: Mystic Diplomat', *Explorations in Early American Culture* 4 (2000), p. 115.

During the mid-eighteenth century, more than 100 men and women of different ethnicities worked as colonial agents in Virginia and the northern colonies, with over half of them working as interpreters for the Iroquois.<sup>278</sup> Much like Lehigh and Dawson, Weiser held numerous traits that were praised. A devout Lutheran, versed in numerous indigenous languages and interpersonal politics, it was not long until Gooch used Weiser to ensure the success of the Treaty of Lancaster. Prior to the conferences during the spring of 1744, Weiser had provided Gooch with information concerning the movement of northern tribes throughout 1738 and 1739.<sup>279</sup> However, Gooch's relationship with Weiser went further than just a source of information. As the violence escalated on the frontier, he developed a professional relationship as Gooch assigned Weiser and his colleagues to treat with leaders of the Iroquois tribes.<sup>280</sup> In payment for his services, Gooch would provide Weiser with private payments when the two corresponded.<sup>281</sup> Thus, by the beginning of the debates of the Treaty of Lancaster on June 22 1744 the two were extremely familiar with each other. Weiser was a vital contact and source of information for Gooch throughout the deliberations of the Treaty. As an individual who existed outside of the traditions of Virginian society, the reports that Weiser returned were absent of political ambition or influence. The governor thought so highly of the information he provided, he included Weiser's personal account within his report to the Board.<sup>282</sup>

Fortunate for all involved, Weiser was appointed as the unofficial host for the conferences that would ensue. To ensure a fair and open dialogue between the parties, Weiser spent a significant amount of time outlining the history and society of the tribes that were present, closing his opening statements with 'Who were the aggressors, is not at this time to be discussed [with]

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<sup>278</sup> N. Hagerdorn, 'A Friend to go Between Them': The Interpreter as Cultural Broker during Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-1770', *Ethnohistory* 35 (1988), p62.

<sup>279</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 162.

<sup>280</sup> Conrad Weiser, Christopher Saur, Abraham H. Cassell, and Helen Bell, 'Notes on the Iroquois and Delaware Indians', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of history and Biography* 1 (1877), pp. 163-166; Louis Mulkern, *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954), p. 417.

<sup>281</sup> Thomas Lee to Conrad Weiser, April 22, 1746, *TLP*.

<sup>282</sup> Mulkern, *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*, p. 417.

both Parties having agreed to bury that affair in oblivion.<sup>1283</sup> Following this, discussions quickly turned to matters of land, as the Iroquois sought remedies for the invasions that had occurred on the ancestral lands of their affiliate tribes. Although the Iroquois' claims within Maryland and Pennsylvania were settled rather quickly, discussions over claims in the Ohio Valley were more gruelling. Initially the situation appeared positive, as the Iroquois quickly recognised claims of Virginia and signed the 'King's Right to all the Lands that are or shall be by his Majesty's Appointment in the Colony of Virginia', ceding 'their' rights for £200 in goods and gold. However, discussions were halted when matters of the 'Affair of the Road' and the Iroquois' rights to travel through Virginia's western settlements unmolested were introduced. Immediately Lee and Beverley stated that the recent skirmishes between the settlers of Augusta County and the Catawbas were reasons enough to restrict the movement of the Iroquois. The Virginian delegation proposed the land between that the Iroquois could travel along '...present Waggon Road from *Cohongolronto* above *Sherrando* River...' up to the Blue Ridge Mountains. Furthermore, Lee and Beverley suggested that before any 'Brethren of the Six Nations' entered the borders of the colony '...they shall obtain a pass...' signed by an official of Virginia. Both men also forbade any Iroquois party for entering with a 'Frenchman' and or to '...take or kill, any Thing belonging any of the People of Virginia...' unless they were in dire need of resources.<sup>284</sup> Despite these conditions, the Iroquois delegation signed the Treaty and ended the discussions on July 4. Although Gooch was more a bystander throughout these debates, the recognition of Virginian land claims by the Iroquois was an important step forward for Gooch's land policy. Throughout the 1730s, Gooch was able to gradually incorporate the frontier into Virginian boundaries through land grants and the settlement of ethnic communities. However, following the Treaty of Lancaster these frontier settlements no longer sat on contested land, but on a section of land that was recognised as legitimate by all the parties involved. The success of the the Treaty of Lancaster incorporated the Iroquois, unknowingly, into Gooch's extended network throughout the frontier. Alongside his reforms of the militia, Gooch had now secured the security of frontier by internal

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<sup>283</sup> PRO, CO5/1326, 'Conrad Weiser's Account', *The Treaty of Lancaster*; quoted in Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 173.

<sup>284</sup> *The Treaty held with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, in June, 1744. To which is prefix'd, an account of the first confederacy of the Six Nations, their present tributaries, dependents, and allies, and of their religion, and form of government*, (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1744), pp. 75-79.



and external means. Unlike the patronage network that Gooch created in the east, which relied on his appointments and connections to colonial and metropolitan institutions, his network of influence in the west was structured based on Gooch's perceived control of the region. By spurring the militia to be more active in policing the frontier, securing peace with hostile Native American tribes, and the deliberate granting of land, Gooch had secured complete control over Virginia's western interior in the short-term.

After the successful signing of the Treaty in 1744, it appeared that Gooch had achieved more than any of his peers that preceded him in the development of the colony. By influencing proceedings through indirect means, Gooch had gained the trust of the inhabitants of the colony, the legislature, and secured peace with the Native American tribes that roamed his frontier, albeit unstable. However, the might of the imperial authorities cast a large shadow, which even he could not escape. With regards to the colonial land policy of Virginia, Gooch retained the most authority, taking a central role in awarding grants of land and the formation of counties. Furthermore, following the deaths of important figures, such as Robert Carter and James Blair, Gooch was able to appoint a number of individuals to seats on the Council that were sympathetic to his policies. However, despite the breadth of his patronage network and influence throughout the colony, it was still superseded by the Board of Trade and other metropolitan authorities. The appointment of George Montagu-Dunk, the 2nd Earl of Halifax, as the President of the Board of Trade marked a decisive turning point in Gooch's relationship with Britain. As Halifax sought to impose a greater control over the North American colonies, Gooch continuously clashed with him over western land policies and expansion into the Ohio Valley.<sup>285</sup>

By the mid-1740s, much of the population of Virginia had expanded outwards from the colony's administrative centre in Williamsburg and far beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. With much of the colony's western lands encompassing swathes of forests and mountainous terrain, interspersed with settlements and towns, the burgesses sought to move the capitol closer to Virginia's expanding society. Councillor John Blair, angered by the prospect of moving the

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<sup>285</sup> Mathew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), p. 26; Andrew Beaumont, *Colonial America and the Earl of Halifax. 1748-1761*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 41-42.

colony's capitol away from Williamsburg, accosted Speaker of the house John Robinson, denouncing it as a 'Hellish Scheme'.<sup>286</sup> With vast amounts of unclaimed land existing within Virginia and Imperial ambitions facing westward, the Board of trade began to award their patronage to colonial land companies in an effort to reinforce British claims in the Ohio Valley. Playing, upon the interests of wealthy groups of surveyors and land prospectors, the Board issued numerous large grants beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains from 1745 onwards. When questioned about this subject in 1740, Gooch voiced his concern and stated that that such a declaration of Imperial authority within the Ohio Valley '...might possibly give Umbrage to the French.' As the Board claimed further pressed claims to the land in the Ohio Valley, Gooch reiterated his displeasure within his correspondence in 1747 and 1748 and requested advice about the process of issuing grants further west.<sup>287</sup> Although small, the disputes between Gooch and the Board over imperial land grants highlighted the much larger conflict between Gooch and the encroachment of metropolitan authorities upon his gubernatorial independence. The friction between Gooch and the Board throughout thought the 1740s presaged a much larger conflict where the Board bypassed Gooch in seeking claims in the Ohio Valley.

Between 1747 and 1748, prominent members within Virginian society, which included Thomas Lee, Laurence and Augustine Washington, and members of the Carter family, and colonial merchants in London banded together and formed the Ohio Company. During the deliberations of the Treaty of Lancaster, Lee was overtly aware of the natural bounty that awaited the colonists upon their acquirement of Ohio Valley in 1744.<sup>288</sup> In a petition to both the Council and the King in 1747, Lee argued that in an effort to '...enlarge our commerce...and extend your majesties empire in America...' he and eleven others sought out a 200,000 acre tract of land in the western frontier. Appealing to Britain's Imperial sensibilities, John Hanbury, a Virginian tobacco merchant in London, supported Lee's argument and stated that by signing the Treaty of Lancaster, the Iroquois and Ohio tribes had expressed an interest in trading with Britain. In one

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<sup>286</sup> Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, p. 247.

<sup>287</sup> PRO, CO5/1237, Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 16, 1748; Mulkern, *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*, p. 1.

<sup>288</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 174; Kenneth P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company and the Westward Movement, 1748-1792, A Chapter in the History of the Colonial Frontier*, (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1939), p24.

letter to the king the following year Hanbury further pressed this issue and stated ‘...that by laying hold of [the] favourable disposition of these Indians they may be forever fixed in British interest and the prosperity and safety of the British colony be effectually secured, and which our petitioners are ready and willing to undertake.’<sup>289</sup> By stressing the economic benefits of confirming the the Company’s grant in the western lands and presenting themselves as primarily a trading company, Hanbury and Lee aligned their goals with that of Britain’s imperial ambitions. The Company further reinforced this image when, after hearing rumours that the crown was considering their petition, purchased £2000 worth of goods to trade and appointed Hugh Parker to ‘...cause the necessary Roads to be made and the houses to be built for carrying on the said Trade to the best advantage.’<sup>290</sup> The Company’s suspicions were proved correct, when their grant along the Greenbrier, Kanawah, and southern rivers was approved by the Board on December 13 1748.<sup>291</sup>

Prior to the Board’s decision, Gooch had received word about the Company and their intentions in the Ohio Valley and immediately voiced his displeasure. Writing to the Board in June 1748, he complained about the difficulties of administrating grants beyond the mountains and that ‘...it would be dangerous for them to venture so far’.<sup>292</sup> Unable to impose the aggressive strategy that he used to obtain the Fairfax grant, Gooch rejected the orders of the Board to approve the grant that was awarded to the Ohio Company. George Mercer, who served as land agent for the Company in London, reported that after refusing a petition from the company in January 1748 the governor once again refused to award the grant because of the Board’s intention to define imperial boundaries.<sup>293</sup> From the beginning of 1748 to the end 1749, hostilities between the governor and the Board escalated, as Gooch attempted to protect his autonomy. To secure the approval of the Ohio Company’s grant, the Duke of Newcastle petitioned the king on January 19 1748 to expedite its process in Virginia. Furthermore, the Board also sent a letter to Gooch stating

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<sup>289</sup> PRO, CO5/ 1327, John Hanbury to the King, 1748; PRO, CO5/1326, Gooch to the Board of Trade, November 6, 1747; Bailey, *The Ohio Company and the Westward Movement*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>290</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, p. 240; quoted in Alfred Proctor James, *The Ohio Company: Its Inner History*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), p. 24.

<sup>291</sup> Board of Trade to Gooch, December 13, 1748, *WGP, Vol II*.

<sup>292</sup> PRO, CO5/1327, Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 16th, 1748.

<sup>293</sup> Mulkern, *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*, p, 405.

that, as Lieutenant Governor, they superseded his authority and questioned why he had not approved the grant.<sup>294</sup> Disputes came to a head after Newcastle had broached the subject with the king. The Privy Council stated that because of the economic and imperial benefits the grant could provide, the Board was tasked with securing the Ohio Valley and determining how it could further imperial interests. Although the Board concluded that the region was insecure, due to the presence of the French military, the Board imposed requirements for the construction of forts and settlements and argued that the Ohio Company could further British claims in the west.<sup>295</sup>

Unsurprisingly Gooch did not respond to these advances well and sought to secure his own position in Virginia. In an effort to solidify his right over colonial land policy, Gooch attempted to approve the grants of other Virginian land companies in the Ohio Valley. On two occasions, Gooch promoted the claims of the Loyal and Greenbrier companies over those of Lee and his associates. Although smaller than the Ohio Company, both the Loyal and Greenbrier companies were similarly headed by prominent members of Virginian society. The Loyal Company was created by a group of land owners from Albemarle County, including cartographers Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, and the Greenbrier Company was created by a group within the House of Burgesses, including Speaker John Robinson Sr and John Lewis.<sup>296</sup> Initially the Loyal Company sent Dr Thomas Walker to survey the Ohio Valley whilst their claim was being considered by the legislature. However, Gooch disregarded this phase and expedited the process by immediately granting a total of 1,000,000 acres for the two companies, the Greenbrier Company received between 100,000 and 200,000 acres alongside the Greenbrier River and the Loyal Company received 800,000 acres near the forks of the Ohio River.<sup>297</sup> Despite Gooch's efforts to impede the efforts of the Ohio Company, declining in health, the ageing governor submitted to the decisions of the Board regarding the Ohio Valley. On February 22 1749, the Privy Council issued a set of instructions regarding the Ohio Company grant to Gooch, which he received on March 16.

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<sup>294</sup> Bailey, *The Ohio Company and the Westward Movement*, pp. 26-27, PRO, CO5 1327, Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 16th, 1748.

<sup>295</sup> Bailey, *The Ohio Company and the Westward Movement*, pp. 27-28; PRO, CO5/1327, Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs to the Board of Trade, February 23rd, 1748; McIlwaine, *EJC, Vol 5*, p. 296.

<sup>296</sup> Otis K. Rice, *West Virginia: A History*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993), p19; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, pp.573-575.

<sup>297</sup> Billings, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, p. 210; Bailey, *The Ohio Company and the Westward Movement*, pp.66-67.

In response, Gooch awarded the Ohio Company a grant of ‘...two hundred thousand acres...lying betwixt the two creeks and the Yellow creek on the north side of the river.’<sup>298</sup> Although he succeeded in obstructing the Board’s attempts to issue the Ohio Company grant, it signalled the triumph of British imperial ambitions over gubernatorial independence.<sup>299</sup>

Although historians have presented Gooch’s final decade as governor as a failure, the development of his land policy as a means to extend his personal authority into the frontier demonstrated the opposite. In an effort to consolidate the colony’s borders and cement himself as the central authority figure within Virginia, Gooch sought to remove all remnants of imperial and individual authority that did not subscribe to his policies. When his interactions in the frontier are viewed as an extension of his first forays into the west during 1727 and 1728, Gooch’s land policy from the late 1730s until his return to England was evidence that his pursuit of his personal ambitions remained unchanged. Although Gooch suffered a great amount of fatigue during the latter years of his governorship, caused by his age and injuries sustained during the War of Jenkins’ Ear, he still challenged the encroachments made by the Board on his authority to dictate Virginian land policy. Following his appointment to the Board in 1748, Halifax imposed many new restrictions and dramatically changed the approach of metropolitan institutions to the administrations of the North American colonies. As the Board pressed its own claims in the Ohio Valley, Gooch attempted to obstruct their passage. Although he was unsuccessful, as the Board used its political weight to ensure the approval of the land grant it had awarded to the Ohio Company, Gooch’s efforts demonstrated that he was still able to significantly influence the course of Virginian land policy. Using maps, surveys and his ability to dictate the appointment of lesser officials, Gooch was able to determine the course of western expansion throughout the 1730s and 1740s and demonstrated that his personal ambition was an important factor in shaping the nature of Virginia’s internal geopolitics.

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<sup>298</sup> PRO, CO5/1327, Order of the Council, March 16, 1749.

<sup>299</sup> McIlwaine, *EJC*, Vol 5, pp. 296-297.

## **Conclusion**

Although the actions of William Gooch as governor have been viewed by historians as representative of Virginia's success throughout the 1720s and 1740s, they were also a significant factor in shaping the nature of western expansion. Using new methodologies to analyse how he interacted with the frontier and political institutions, it became evident that Gooch was key in shaping the development of internal geopolitics throughout this period. Gooch achieved this in two ways. Most prominently, Gooch used his personal relationships throughout the Atlantic patronage network to ensure the success of his policies. Throughout 1730 and 1731, Gooch coerced the Board of Trade and other British officials into supporting the Tobacco Inspection Act through his friendship with prominent political figures, such as the Duke of Newcastle, Martin Bladen, and Robert Walpole. As evidenced by his correspondence, Gooch framed the Act as sympathetic to Britain's imperial ambitions and deliberately chose not to include how he would economically benefit from tobacco regulation. Simultaneously, Gooch also used these connections to alter the course of the Act in the colonial legislature and convince the burgesses to support it. Throughout this short period, Gooch demonstrated that as governor he retained a large amount of control over policy and legislative decisions and, that through the patronage network, he was able to tailor them to benefit him most.

If Gooch's actions throughout the debates concerning the Inspection Act communicated the benefits he gained from the patronage network, his efforts to strengthen the Anglican church demonstrated the opposite. Throughout the 1730s Gooch used his powers of appointment within local institutions to fabricate a network of influence that extended his authority into the Shenandoah Valley. It was at this point when Gooch's policies and aims clashed most with those of Britain. Preferring to recommend and promote those he perceived as sympathetic to his goals, Gooch consistently ignored requests from the Bishop of London and the Board of Trade to appoint specific individuals. Most notably in the case of William Dawson, who was appointed as Commissary following the death of James Blair, Gooch consistently positioned his supporters in colonial offices, which included parish ministers, vestrymen, and sheriffs, as a means to extend his personal authority throughout the colony. Gooch's manipulation of the patronage network emphasised the significance of the colonial executive in shaping the orientation of Virginia's

political institutions throughout this period. By using the autonomy and authority issued to him as governor, Gooch was able to ensure his goals were achieved by creating a network of influence within the Anglican Church that extended from Britain to Virginia's most western borders.

Outside of his manipulation of the patronage network, Gooch also used his authority as governor to reduce the influence of British policies in the colony where they clashed with his personal interests and was able to obstruct them. In an attempt to retain his independence in the management of the colony and its expanding borders, Gooch rejected imperial policies concerning land acquisition in the west. This conflict was rooted primarily in Gooch's perception of the frontier throughout his governorship. Throughout the 1730s Gooch made numerous efforts to align the settlement of the west parallel to his personal goals. Gooch instigated many attempts, both personally and as governor, to expand the mining industry in the north of the Shenandoah Valley as a means to increase his personal wealth. Similarly, Gooch also issued large grants of land to European settlements within the Northern Neck to incorporate the land owned by Thomas Fairfax and further extend his authority. Successful in both of these ventures, Gooch's early interactions reiterated that he viewed Virginia's western expansion as another opportunity to improve his economic and political status in the colony. By awarding land grants in specific areas Gooch was able to determine the route of expansion into the frontier, but also how colonial institutions appropriated imperial authority within Virginia as a means to either dilute its influence or advance their authority throughout the colony.

It was this aspect that caused the most discourse between Gooch and the Board of Trade. As western expansion incorporated more land into the colony, the Board sought to safeguard this region against attacks from other imperial forces and to impose their own claims over the region by awarding large grants of land in the Ohio Valley. Concerned about the challenges this presented to his authority, Gooch used his ability to interrupt the confirmation of these grants by not conducting a vote within the legislature and instead supported the claims of other companies throughout 1747. Following this initial schism, a series of clashes occurred over the following year between Gooch and the Board over who retained the right to award land grants. Eventually the Privy Council presented the governor with a series of instructions that dictated the authority of the Board superseded his own as a colonial executive. The exchanges that occurred between the

governor and Britain throughout the 1740s manifested as result of Gooch's efforts to use the colony's expansion into the west to consolidate his position as governor. By awarding large grants of land to influence the settlement of the frontier, Gooch was able to remove domestic challenges to his political authority, whilst simultaneously further extending it throughout the colony.

A close examination of Gooch's governorship and how he reshaped the role of the executive within Virginia has illustrated that the application of new methodologies to early colonial political history can provide new insights. By using an ethnographic approach, it was evident that Virginia's internal geopolitical structure changed in response to Gooch's efforts to use western expansion to advance his personal goals. Colonial institutions were not singularly comprised of a central royal official, but rather a detached network of institutions with the Colonial legislature at its centre. As a colonial executive, Gooch used his relatively unchecked authority to fabricate a strong power base in Virginia, through his ability to appoint officials to local institutions. Furthermore, because of his personal influences throughout the wider Atlantic patronage network, Gooch was all able to manipulate central colonial institutions, such as the House of Burgesses, and the Board of Trade into supporting his policies. Ultimately, Gooch's interactions with the frontier and Virginia's political institutions during the 1720s and 1740s demonstrated that he was a significant factor in shaping the colony's internal political structure. Empowered by his position as governor, Gooch used western expansion as an opportunity to manipulate colonial political institutions to advance his personal ambitions. Structural and cultural narratives of Atlantic history, therefore, have much to gain not through marginalising classic subjects of political history, but by using new methodological approaches to revisit and reassess them.



## Appendix

### Tables:

**Table 1a: Governors of Virginia, 1700-1754.**

Name of Governor	Period of Appointment
George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney	1698-1737
Willem Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albermale	1737-1754

**Table 1b: Lieutenant Governors of Virginia, 1700-1754.**

Name of Lieutenant Governor	Period of Appointment
Francis Nicholson	1698-1705
Colonel Edward Nott	1705-1706
Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Spotswood	1710-1722
Hugh Drysdale	1722-1726
Robert Carter (acting)	1726-September 1727
Sir William Gooch	1727-1749
Thomas Lee (acting)	1749-1750
Lewis Burwell (acting)	1750-1751
Robert Dinwiddie	1751-1756

The information for both Table 1a and Table 1b were sourced from William Glover Stanard and Mary Newton Stanard, *The Colonial Virginia Register*, (Baltimore: Clearfield company, 1989), pp. 17-19.

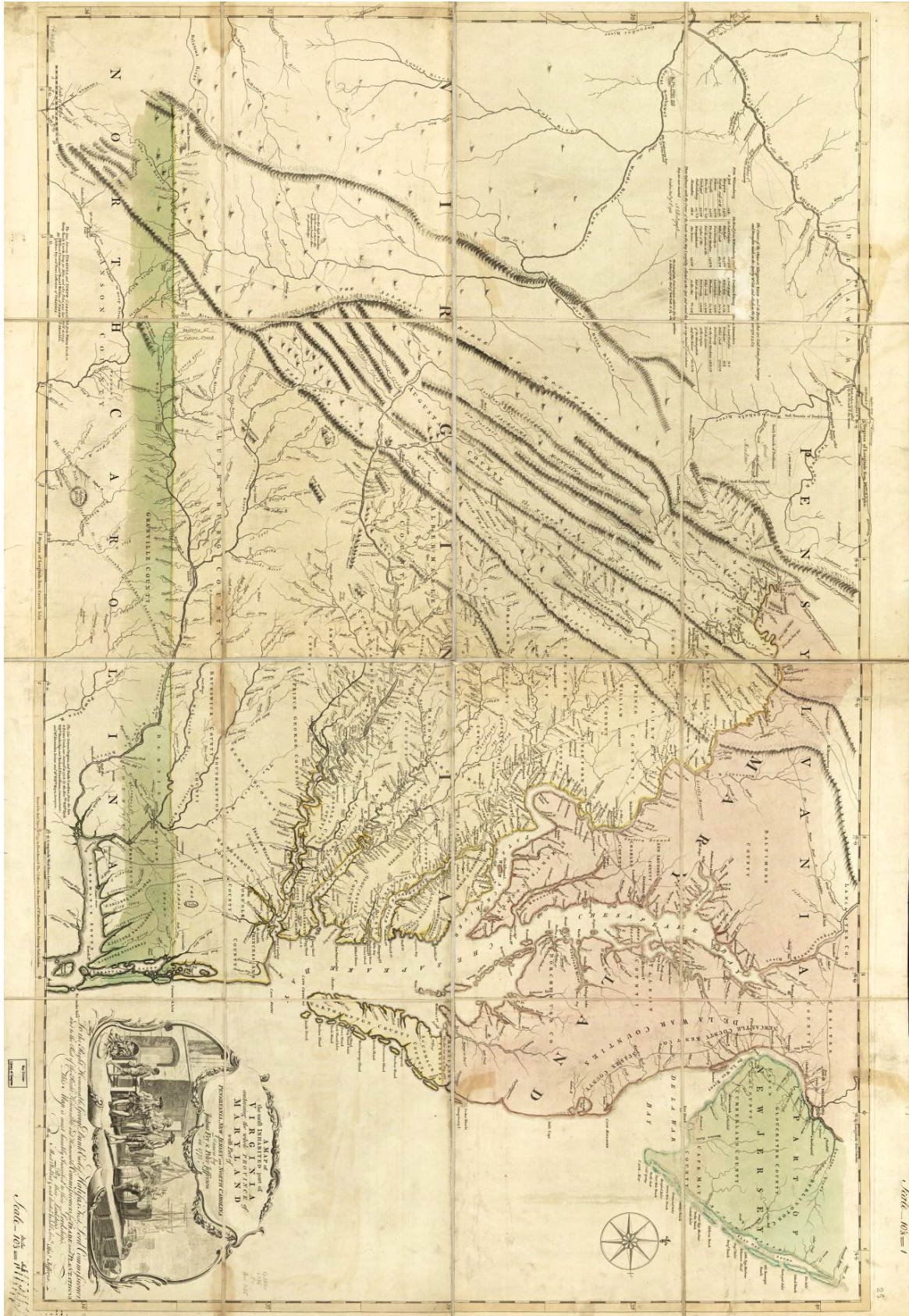
**Table 2: Parishes Created by Governor William Gooch**

<b>Name of Parish</b>	<b>Date Created</b>	<b>Location</b>
Hamilton	1730	Northern Neck
St Mark	1730	Northern Neck
Brunswick	1732	Northern Neck
Lunenburg	1732	South
Truro	1732	Northern Neck
Dale	1734	Tidewater and Piedmont
Newport	1734	Tidewater and Piedmont
Nottoway	1734	Tidewater and Piedmont
Raleigh	1734	Tidewater and Piedmont
Suffolk	1737	Tidewater and Piedmont
Albermale	1738	Shenandoah Valley
Augusta	1738	Shenandoah Valley
St Thomas	1740	Northern Neck
Bath	1742	Tidewater and Piedmont
Frederickville	1742	Shenandoah Valley
Nansemond	1744	Tidewater and Piedmont
St Anne	1744	Tidewater and Piedmont
St David	1744	Northern Neck
St James Northampton	1744	Tidewater and Piedmont
St James Southampton	1744	Tidewater and Piedmont
Upper Suffolk	1744	Tidewater and Piedmont
Cumberland	1745	South
Cameron	1748	Shenandoah Valley
Frederick	1748	Shenandoah Valley

The information for Table 2 was sourced from *The Statutes at Large: being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, from the first session of the legislature, in the year 1619, vols 4-6*, ed. William Walter Hening, (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1819-1823).

**Maps:**

**Map 1: A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina, 1755.**





**Map 2: A New Map of Virginia, Maryland, and the Improved Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 1700.**





**Map 3: New Map of Virginia, Maryland, and the Improved Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 1719.**





**Map 4: This map of North America, according to ye newest and most exact observations, 1715.**





**Map 5: (Composite of) A map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto, 1733.**





Map 6: A New and Accurate Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1752





**Map 7: Maps of Virginia 1730-1875, A Map of the North Side of Virginia, 1730.**



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