

The Peopling of Southwest Virginia: From Prehistory to 1775

(An overview for family historians)

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The Rationale for this Article and Its Purpose

In mid-March 2010, on what was rather short notice, I was asked to make a presentation to the participants in the Family History Institute of Southwest Virginia scheduled to be held in Wytheville on 10 April 2010. This Institute is a long-running annual event with a primarily genealogical orientation. My own interest over the past six years has been in telling the story of Southwest Virginia from prehistory to the time of the American Revolution, and I have published a number of articles dealing with various topics across that time span and made corresponding presentations at meetings of archeologists and meetings of historians. In addition to my formal writings and presentations, I have published on line at my website a fairly extensive bibliography and bibliographic essay that covers Southwest Virginia from prehistory to about 1780. I call my region of interest Holstonia (because it centers on the watersheds of the forks of the Holston River) and my bibliographic essay the "Holstonia Bibliography."¹

The invitation to speak at the Family History Institute caused me to look at the work I have been pursuing from a different perspective than the one I usually adopt. This article, is thus a sketch of the history of Southwest Virginia with commentary on the principal events and historical forces that played out to create the society in the region as it stood at the brink of the American Revolution, *written with family genealogists in mind*. I include in this article a discussion of a number of broad scale works dealing with the movement of people and their motives for moving. It is my purpose, then, to provide a broad backdrop against which a researcher of family history in Southwest Virginia can place his or her ancestors in context. I cover the period up to 1775.

Three years ago, when I was planning the short, informal, class about Southwest Virginia history that I have taught in the last two Octobers for the Blacksburg YMCA, I discussed my project with a prominent Virginia historian and told him that I intended to subtitle my class "A Personal View." He smiled, and observed that by definition all teaching and writing about history is a personal view. And so it is. The reader of this article should bear in mind that while I have done my best to get the facts right, the various opinions offered in what follows below are strictly that: just my opinions. To begin, here below in Table 1 are the time divisions I find convenient to use for this article for Southwest Virginia history up to 1775.

Chapter 1: Archeology and Prehistory	12000 YBP* to 1540
Chapter 2: The Unknown Holstonians (Climax American Indians)	1100 to 1650?
Chapter 3: Spanish Virginia	1540 to 1567
Chapter 3b: The Forgotten Century †	1567 to 1670
Chapter 4: Exploration, Frontier Trade, and First Settlement	1670 to 1754
Chapter 5: The Virginia Frontier During the French and Indian War	1754 to 1763
Chapter 6: The Post War Years	1763 to 1769
Chapter 7: Southwest Virginia Settlement Begins in Earnest	1769 to 1772
Chapter 8: The Hunt for Land, the Spirit of Independence, and Dunmore's War	1772 to 1775
* Years before present † It's a chapter about which we can document nothing	

Timeline

For me, the writing of any piece of work about history always begins with a time line. Here below in Table 2 is a very abbreviated² timeline I prepared especially for "The Peopling of Southwest Virginia: From Prehistory to 1775."

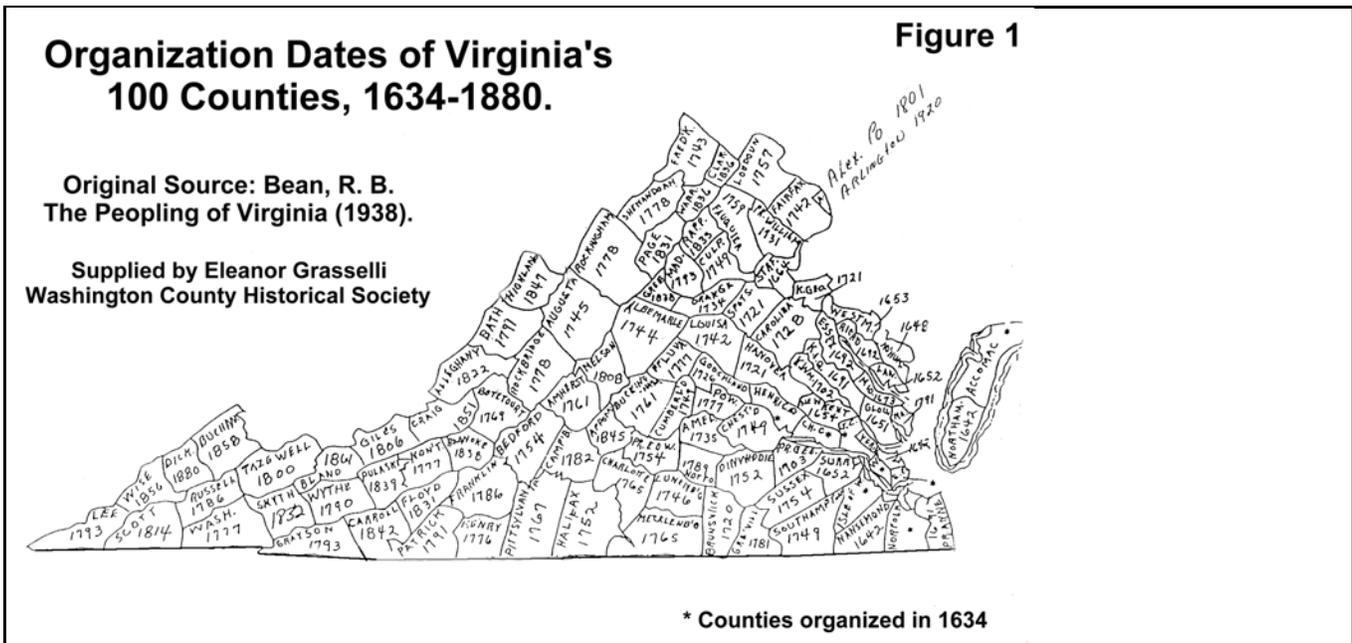
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1. The Holstonia bibliography is at <http://www.holstonia.net/files/HolstoniaBibliography102.pdf>.
 2. My comprehensive regional time line is running ninety pages at the time of the writing of this article (early summer 2010).

Table 2: A Summary Timeline of Southwest Virginia History and Related Events (to 1775)	
<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
1500	Large populations of Mississippian American Indian cultures inhabited Holstonia.
1541	The Spanish conquistador De Soto was in Holstonia.
1565	The adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was granted Virginia by Philip II of Spain.
1567	The Spaniards Juan Pardo and Hernando Moyano were in Holstonia.
1671-1674	Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam, William Byrd I, and James Needham and Gabriel Arthur were exploring in Southwest Virginia.
1674	Abraham Wood sent John Richards in England an account of the explorations of Needham and Arthur.
1670	This was the foundation year of the colony of South Carolina at Charleston
1680	By this year William Byrd I had developed a thriving Indian pack horse trade to our region.
1685-1715	Highly profitable commerce in deerskins and slaves brought pack horse men into the backcountry to trade with Indians and into Holstonia. South Carolina and Virginia hotly competed for the trade, with the Virginians mostly remaining in distant second place.
1710 ± 30	Native American populations declined sharply in Southwest Virginia, almost certainly as a consequence of epidemic diseases. Native cultures were devastated.
1716	On September 5. Governor Alexander Spotswood, Robert Beverley, and others reached the summit of the Blue Ridge and viewed the Valley of Virginia. (Knights of the Golden Horseshoe expedition.)
1725	Summer. The Virginia traders William Bellew and John Ellis were in Cherokee country.
1728	On October 29, near present Martinsville, William Byrd II speculated about a shorter route (passing through Southwest Virginia), by which he might trade with the Cherokees.
1735	By this time traders were established in all the Cherokee villages.
1736	On September 6, William Beverley received the Beverley Manor grant of 118,491 acres in the Shenandoah Valley, near present-day Staunton.
1738	William Beverley, sea captain James Patton, and refugee John Lewis made a partnership to import Irish settlers to the Beverley Manor land west of the Blue Ridge.
1738	Augusta County planned and some settlement occurred there. (It was formally organized in 1745)
1740	By about this year, pack horse men had discovered the route to Cherokee country roughly following the modern Route 460/I-81 corridor.
1740	In November the James and Roanoke River Company was granted 100,000 acres. In 1741 James Patton obtained an interest in that grant.
1744	At the Treaty of Lancaster the Six Nations of Indians gave up their claim to land in Virginia. James Patton was present when the treaty was signed.
1744	Sooner settlers were in the New River valley near present Blacksburg.
1745	On April 28 James Patton received his "great grant" of 100,000 acres on the Holston, New, and Clinch Rivers. Thus was the first Virginia land granted on the so-called "Western Waters."
1746	John Buchanan was surveying in Holstonia.
1750	Dr. Thomas Walker the agent of the Loyal Land Company reconnoitered as far as Kentucky and passed by Stalnaker's cabin.
1754	The year of the beginning of the Seven Years' War. Frontier deaths and a pull back by many settlers is revealed by records of tithables.
1755	Indian uprisings and conflict all along the frontier followed Braddock's Defeat at Fort Duquesne.
1756	Andrew Lewis built the Virginia Fort near Chote in the future Tennessee.
1760-1761	The Cherokee War brought William Byrd III's army to Southwest Virginia. His men saw the land.
1761	On November 20, Byrd's successor, Adam Stephen concluded a peace treaty with the Cherokees at Fort Robinson. This was the first act of international political significance in Holstonia.
1763	The treaty of Paris ended the French and Indian War. The Proclamation of George III closed western land.
1764	Col. Andrew Lewis was authorized by the Governor to employ 450 men for the defense of the frontier.
1769	The Watauga Association was formed.
1769-1770	Settlement in Holstonia began in earnest. Aspenvale was settled by the Campbell family.
1772	The year of foundation of Fincastle County. It lasted four years until it was divided into what would become Kentucky, the southern half of West Virginia, and Southwest Virginia. (Figure 2.)
1773	A proclamation by Governor Dunmore enabled holders of military warrants to choose western land tracts and provoked land speculation.
1774	Carter's Store was established in NE Tennessee.
1774	Dunmore's War and the Battle of Point Pleasant.
1775	The Fincastle Resolutions were promulgated.

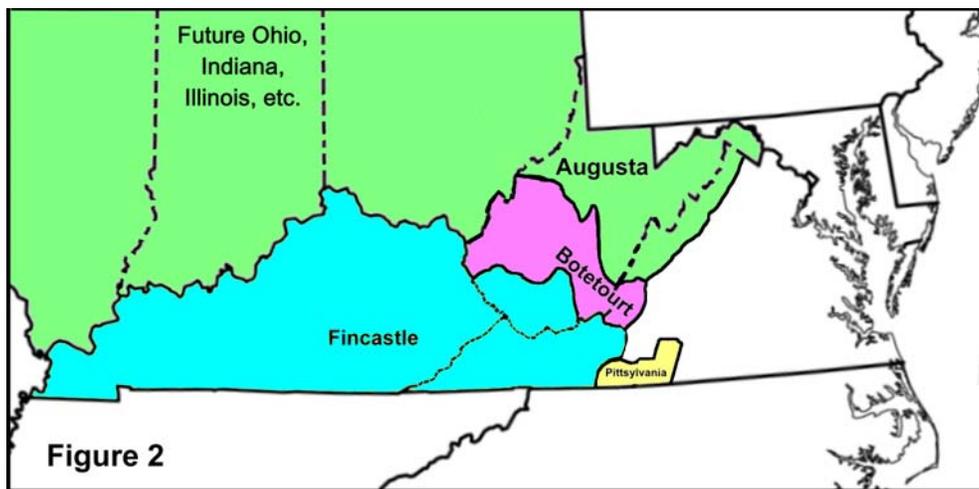
Overview: The Evolution of Virginia's Counties and Population Growth

Before going on to discuss in detail the chapters of Southwest Virginia history listed in Table 1, I'll begin with an overview of the political development (growth of counties) and population growth of the region.

A useful way to follow the peopling of Southwest Virginia is to examine the formation of its counties. Three useful works that deal with this topic are: Charles Lingley's analysis of the transition of Virginia to a Commonwealth³; Martha Hiden's abstract of Virginia county formation published in connection with the 350th Virginia anniversary celebration⁴; and, the book about the peopling of Virginia by R. B. Bean.⁵



The geographical situation of the counties in western Virginia in 1774 is shown in Figure 2, which is a map I prepared in Fall 2009 in connection with a study of the Fincastle Resolutions. Genealogical workers also have produced county maps of Virginia and the Virginia counties in 1776 as derived from a genealogical source are displayed below in Figure 3.



An obvious way to measure and interpret the peopling of Southwest Virginia would be to tabulate its growing population as the years passed during the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, enumerating population growth in Southwest Virginia and Holstonia is largely a matter of intelligent guesswork. The principal originating places of the population were in North Britain (defined by David

3. Lingley, Charles Ramsdell. "The Transition in Virginia From Colony to Commonwealth." *Studies in Economics, History and Public Law*. (Edited by the faculty of Political Science of Columbia University). 36(2): 327-542, 1910. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=CiciAQAAIAAJ>.

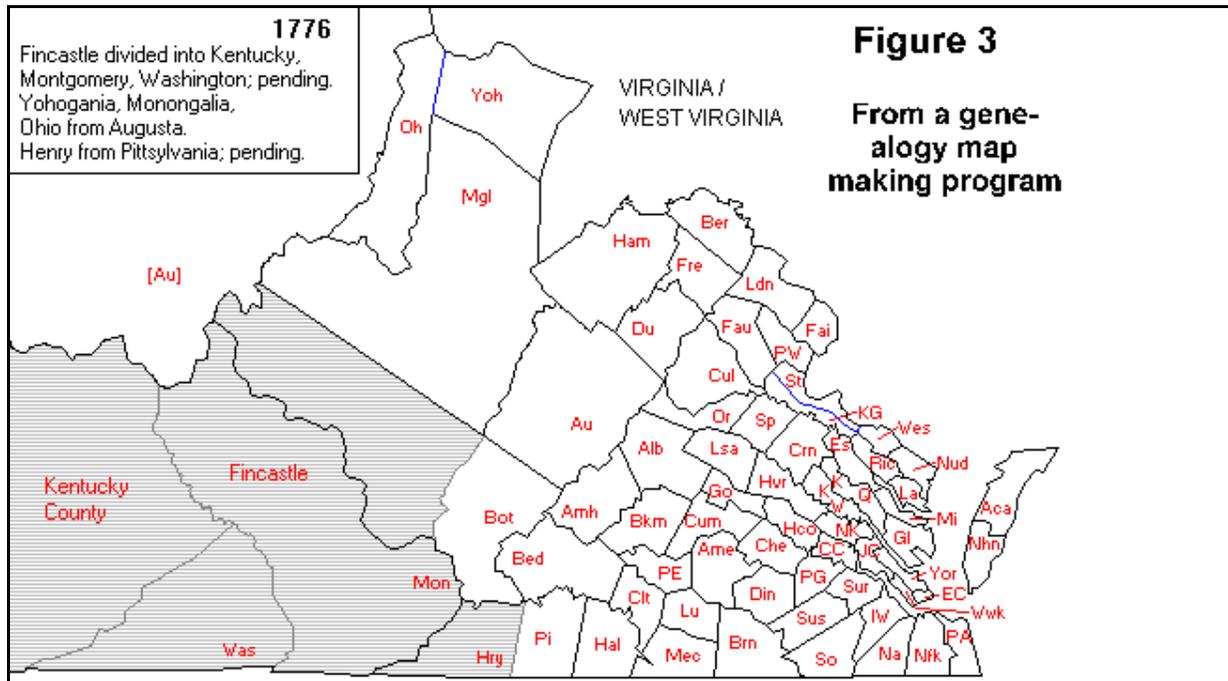
4. Hiden, Martha W. *How Justice Grew* (Virginia Counties: An Abstract of their Formation). Williamsburg: The Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957.

5. Bean, Robert Bennett. *The Peopling of Virginia*. Boston, Chapman & Grimes, Inc., 1938.

Hackett Fisher⁶ as Northern Ireland, the Anglo-Scottish border country, and the western Scottish highlands). Significant numbers of German speaker's also arrived.⁷ Speaking of the North Britons, Fisher wrote:

A small flow of population [from North Britain to America started and] continued through the seventeenth century. Then, after the of Queen Anne's War in 1713, this movement began to accelerate in a strong wavelike rhythm that continued to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Peak periods occurred in the years 1718, 1729, 1741, 1755, 1767 and 1774. Two-thirds of this traffic was concentrated in the decade from 1765 to 1775. As much as one-third of it may have occurred in the four years preceding American Independence. Pp. 608-609.

A plausible guess is that 300,000 Europeans reached Southwest Virginia between 1718 and 1775 (see the discussion in David Hackett Fischer's footnote on p. 609). Carl Bridenbaugh⁸ estimated that there was a total back country population of about one-quarter million persons in 1776. Valuable for understanding population growth in the years 1773-1776, its origins, and the motivations for it, is the work by Bernard Bailyn.⁹ The same author's small book of related essays¹⁰ provides a useful discussion of "theories" of emigration.



Also of interest in connection with studies of population growth and the overall development of Southwest Virginia are Rouse's book about the Great Wagon road,¹¹ the book about the Scots-Irish in Southwest Virginia written by a sitting Virginia US senator,¹² a Ph.D. thesis available on line about the Virginia frontier,¹³ a book about the westward movent in Virginia,¹⁴ a relatively recent work

6. Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Fischer tells a classic story of the regional origins of Anglo Americans and their dispersal among the colonies. See the map on page 607 showing where the North British emigrants originated and the corresponding map on page 637 showing where the North British immigrants settled

7. Wayland, John W. *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia*. Michie Company, Charlottesville, VA. 1907. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=micSAAAYAAJ>.

8. Bridenbaugh, Carl. *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press 1952; New York: Atheneum, 1970. See especially pages 119-196 "The Back Settlements" and his population estimates on p. 121. Snippet view at <http://books.google.com/books?id=teigAAAAMAAJ>.

9. Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1986. See especially the maps presented on pp. 17 and 209.

10. Bailyn, Bernard. *The Peopling of British America: An Introduction*. New York: Vintage Books, 1988.

11. Rouse, Parke, Jr. *The Great Wagon Road: How Scotch-Irish and Germanics Settled the Uplands*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.

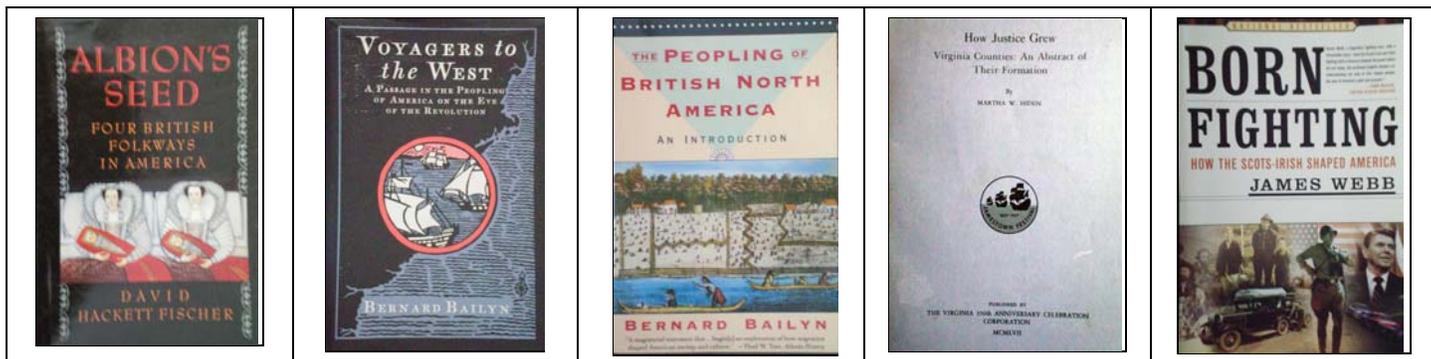
12. Webb, James. *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America*. New York: Random House, 2005.

13. Koontz, Louis. *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763*. Ph.D. Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1920. On line at: www.archive.org/details/virginiafrontier00koon.

14. Fischer, David Hackett and James C. Kelly. *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000.

by Allan Kulikoff¹⁵ that offers an approach different from that of David Hackett Fischer, and the available-on-line work by Johnston that describes the development of the settlements in the New River watershed.¹⁶ Not well known, but quite useful, is the collection of essays intended to develop a social history of life on the eighteenth century Virginia frontier, edited by Michael Puglisi, which includes contributions from historians, anthropologists, geographers, and archeologists.¹⁷

The covers of several books mentioned in the above section are shown below:



An excellent graphical representation of population shifting to the west in North Carolina can be found at a site about North Carolina history that is periodically revised.¹⁸

Standard, Biographical, and Local Works of Southwest Virginia History

In this section I note some works of history with general coverage that pay some attention to our region as part of their broader scope. I also list some of the standard histories of our region. Of course, "standard work" lacks formal definition, and, even if it were to be defined, no two students would be ever likely to agree on a single list. So, the choice as to what is included and excluded here is just a personal opinion. Also included in this section are biographical works about single individuals and some works devoted to a single theme or topic. Because of their convenience, in this section I have favored on line works to which direct access can be obtained via a clickable link. I have made no attempt to be comprehensive, rather I merely to point to some works that a person interested in genealogical studies should be aware of, a much more extensive list can be found on line in the Holstonia Bibliography.¹⁹

Some books that deal with Augusta County are Peyton's *History*²⁰ and the *Annals*²¹ by Joseph Waddell, both of which are available on line. Waddell's work is a very readable history. It's hard not to like an author who writes: "But while I have aspired to perfect accuracy, I do not flatter myself that the following pages are entirely free from error. I have stated nothing as a fact, of the truth of which I am doubtful. Many statements which I do not regard as certainly correct, are given on the authority of other writers, prefaced by the words, 'It is said,' or 'It is related.'" We should all aspire to do as well. The well-known work by Judge Lyman Chalkley derived from the court records of Augusta County has much of genealogical interest and is available on line.²² However, Chalkley's work must be treated with great caution and is one of the rare works to be flagged as suspect by the Library of Virginia.²³ An older, and not well known, history of Virginia written from a Presbyterian perspective²⁴ which includes commentary about Southwest Virginia is

15. Kulikoff, Allan. *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

16. Johnston, David E. *A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory*. Huntington: Self published, 1906. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=1SYSAAAAYAAJ>.

17. Puglisi, Michael J. ed. *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press: 1997.

18. Orr, Douglas Milton and Alfred W. Stuart. *The North Carolina Atlas: Portrait for a New Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Continuously revised on line at <http://www.ncatlasrevisited.org/>. See especially "The Development of the Frontier, 1657-1835," which has excellent colored maps of the moving frontier at <http://www.ncatlasrevisited.org/History/histTitle.htm#histfg2>.

19. <http://www.holstonia.net/files/HolstoniaBibliography102.pdf>.

20. Peyton, John Lewis. *History of Augusta County, Virginia*. Staunton: Samuel M. Yost, 1882. At: www.archive.org/details/historyofaugusta00peyt.

21. Waddell, Joseph A. *Annals Of Augusta County, Virginia*. Richmond: Printed for the author by W. Ellis Jones, 1886. At: <http://www.archive.org/details/annalsaugustaco02waddgoog>.

22. Chalkley, Lyman. *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish settlement in Virginia, extracted from the original court records of Augusta County 1745-1800*. Three volumes. Rosslyn, VA: Mary S. Lockwood/Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912. All three are posted on line in plain text format at <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~chalkley/>.

23. See the caveat at: http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/local/va5_chalkleys.htm.

24. Foote, William Henry, DD. *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical: Historical and Biographical*, second, ed. Philadelphia: W. S.

available on line. A recent, fine book by the professional historian Warren Hofstra tells about the early settlement of the Staunton area and offers much material of genealogical interest.²⁵ Of special interest is my friend Peter Wallenstein's one-volume history of Virginia,²⁶ which is the only such work to be written with a western Virginia perspective.

Three important "standard" works of history about southwest Virginia are the two books published by Lewis Preston Summers (in 1903²⁷ and 1929²⁸) and the book written by F. B. Kegley in 1938.²⁹ Summers 1903 book, which is available on line, lacks a table of contents, so I took it on myself to prepare one and included the table in the Holstonia bibliography.³⁰ Summers 1929 book includes reprints of other works and extends his earlier work. Summers is not completely reliable, and sometimes makes wrong-headed mistakes as for instance when he asserts that the name Kilmacronan (a town in County Donegal in Ireland usually spelled Kilmacrenan) is derived from the name of an Indian tribe. Frederick B. Kegley's 1938 book describes early land records, includes a discussion of the Cherokee War (pp. 264-280), etc., and is an important work of regional history.

Almost all students of genealogy in Southwest Virginia will be familiar with the extensive work and many publications of Mary Kegley. Among others, these publications include her series of volumes of early regional settlement under the general title of *Early Adventurers*;³¹ her multiple volumes of *Abstracts of Court Orders of Wythe County*;³² her book describing African Americans, Indians, and Iberians, in early Southwest Virginia;³³ and, recently, a book describing the development and role of the Great Road³⁴ through the region in which she takes issue with the tourism industry for perverting history to promote its own interests.

Many biographies (as well as biographical college and university theses, which with one exception I will not discuss here) have been written about significant figures in regional history. Just to mention some of these: Patricia Givens Johnson wrote a number of works devoted to the history of southwest Virginia including a biography of James Patton,³⁵ a biography of William Preston,³⁶ and a biography of Andrew Lewis.³⁷ William Fleming is the subject of a biography by Clare White.³⁸ Adam Stephen is the subject of a biography by Harry M. Ward.³⁹ Arthur Campbell is the subject of a biography by Hartwell Quinn.⁴⁰ And, Daniel Smith is the subject of a biography by Walter Durham.⁴¹ Noteworthy (and exceptional) because it is readily available on line is Richard Osborn's Ph.D. thesis biography of William Preston.⁴²

Martien, 1850. See especially pp. 114-133, chapter IX, "Settlements on the Holston." On line at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=wz4VAAAAYAAJ>.

25. Hofstra, Warren R. *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and landscape in the Shenandoah Valley*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

26. Wallenstein, Peter. *Cradle of America: Four Centuries of Virginia History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007. Description on line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=qjwSAAAAYAAJ>.

27. Summers, Lewis Preston. *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870*. Richmond: Printed for the author by J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903. On line at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=DSUSAAAAYAAJ> and www.archive.org/details/historyofsouthwe00lewi.

28. Summers, Lewis Preston. *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, 2 vols. Abingdon, Virginia: Self Published, 1929. Includes reprints of George Bickley's 1856 *History of Tazewell County* (pp. 1426-1515) and Charles B. Coale's *Wilburn Waters* (pp. 1516-1635). Has an exhaustive index of 63 pages. Available as a CD from genealogical supply houses. Ought to be on line.

29. Kegley, Frederick B. *Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the beginning of the southwest, the Roanoke of colonial days*. Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938. Limited view available at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=Bp0nOrLrPIYC>. Also available in CD format from genealogical supply houses.

30. <http://www.holstonia.net/files/HolstoniaBibliography102.pdf>.

31. Kegley, Mary B., and F. B. Kegley. *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters: The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745-1800*. Volume 1. Orange, Virginia: Green Publishers, 1980. *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, five vols. Orange, VA: Green Publishers, 1980-2004. v. 1-2. *The New River of Virginia in pioneer days, 1745-1800* — v. 3. *The New River of Virginia in pioneer days, 1745-1805* (2 parts) — v. 4. *Early adventurers in the town of Evansham, the county seat of Wythe County, Virginia 1790-1839* — v. 5. *The New River of Virginia in pioneer days 1745-1820*

32. Kegley, Mary B. *Abstracts of Court Orders of Wythe County, Virginia*, five volumes, 1790-1850. Wytheville, VA: Kegley Books, 1996-2000.

33. Kegley, Mary B. *Free People of Colour: Free Negroes, Indians, Portuguese, and Freed Slaves*. Wytheville: Kegley Books, 2003.

34. Kegley, Mary B. *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road, 1745-1796*. Wytheville: Kegley Books, 2008.

35. Johnson, Patricia Givens. *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists*, 3rd., ed. Charlotte, NC: Jostens, 1983.

36. Johnson, Patricia Givens. *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots*. Blacksburg, Virginia: Walpa Publishing, 1976.

37. Johnson, Patricia Givens. *General Andrew Lewis of Roanoke and Greenbrier*. Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1980.

38. White, Clare. *William Fleming, Patriot*. Roanoke: History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia, 2001.

39. Ward, Harry M. *Major General Adam Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia 1989.

40. Quinn, Hartwell L. *Arthur Campbell: Pioneer and Patriot of the "Old Southwest"*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishers, 1990.

41. Durham, Walter T. *Daniel Smith: Frontier Statesman*. Gallatin, TN: Sumner County Library Board. 1976.

42. Osborn, Richard Charles. *William Preston of Virginia, 1727-1783: The Making of a Frontier Elite*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Maryland,

County histories are often a useful source of local information not recorded in other works, as well as information that has fallen outside of the reach of conventional history. Among many other counties in Holstonia there are extant county histories of Wythe,⁴³ Smyth,⁴⁴ Scott,⁴⁵ and Tazewell.⁴⁶ Two relevant county histories from Northeast Tennessee are those of Sullivan County⁴⁷ and Washington County.⁴⁸

The role played by women of the Southwest Virginia frontier is an interesting subject that deserves far better treatment than it has received. Two works worth mentioning in this connection are first Gail Terry's Ph.D. thesis,⁴⁹ an interesting work that illuminates the role of women on the frontier and ought to be published as a book or made available on line. Second is Michael Morris's book that adumbrates how a network of native women, fur traders, and colonial diplomats functioned as an invisible social, political, and economic web throughout the backcountry.⁵⁰

To conclude this section I'll note several works of Tennessee or Kentucky history that I have found helpful in my studies of Holstonia. Such works are useful because the peopling of Tennessee and Kentucky largely occurred by people moving there from Holstonia. Recommended as a good introduction to Kentucky is historian Otis Rice's book⁵¹ about the development of the frontier in that state. Also recommended is Harriette Arnow's book⁵² that covers the same period of development in Kentucky. An important, though not always reliable, book by a judge, that ought to be on line, is Haywood's *Civil and Political History* of Tennessee.⁵³ Judge Archibald Henderson wrote a readable overview of the European settlement of Holstonia and Kentucky and Tennessee.⁵⁴

I turn now to a detailed description of the chapters of Southwest Virginia history listed in Table 1, and note some of the literature relevant to each chapter.

The Unknown Holstonians (Climax American Indians): 1100 to 1650?

To speak about the peopling of Virginia before there was even a Virginia is clearly anachronistic. But leaving that point aside, Holstonia before European contact was a major American Indian population center and the home to well-cultured peoples. That elementary fact has escaped the notice of archeology, as I have publicly complained.⁵⁵ I have called these people the "unknown Holstonians" because we know so little about them compared with many other American Indian cultures who lived at the same time elsewhere in the Southeast. Over the years I have been studying them, I have become slowly convinced that they were Yuchi speakers.

I accept the conventional view that North America was peopled by groups of persons crossing from Siberia about twelve thousand years ago and who quickly spread throughout North and South America and who in North America are associated with the characteristic spear points called Clovis that gives the early culture its name.⁵⁶ Clovis points concentrate at Saltville in Holstonia.

1990. On line in three parts: <http://library.uncg.edu/ejournals/backcountry/Vol2No2/Osborn.pdf>, <http://library.uncg.edu/ejournals/backcountry/Vol3No1/Osborn.pdf>, & <http://library.uncg.edu/ejournals/backcountry/Vol3No2/Osborn3.pdf>.

43. Kegley, Mary B. *Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History*. Wytheville: Wythe County Board of Supervisors, 1989.
44. Sayers, Elizabeth Lemmon. *Smyth County, Virginia, Volume 1. Pathfinders and Patriots: Prehistory to 1832*. Marion, Virginia: Smyth County Museum and Historical Society, Inc., 1983.
45. Addington, Robert M. *A History of Scott County Virginia*. No place: Privately printed, 1932.
46. Bickley, George W. L., MD. *History of the Settlement and Indian Wars of Tazewell County, Virginia*. Cincinnati: Morgan and Co., 1852. At: <http://books.google.com/books?id=7EHLAq1n1PMC>.
47. Taylor, Oliver. *Historic Sullivan: A History of Sullivan County, Tennessee, with Brief Biographies of the Makers of History*. Bristol, TN: The King Printing Co., 1909. At: <http://books.google.com/books?id=8fITAAAAYAAJ>.
48. Cox, Joyce and W. Eugene. *History of Washington County, Tennessee*. Copyright Washington County Historical Association; Johnson City: Overmountain Press, 2001.
49. Terry, Gail S. *Family Empires, A Frontier Elite in Virginia and Kentucky, 1740-1815*. Ph.D. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1992.
50. Morris, Michael P. *The Bringing of Wonder: Trade and the Indians of the Southeast, 1700-1783*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999. Limited preview at <http://books.google.com/books?id=2HHGY1qKWDAC>.
51. Rice, Otis K. *Frontier Kentucky*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975.
52. Arnow, Harriette Louisa Simpson. *Seedtime on the Cumberland*. New York: Macmillan, 1960.
53. Haywood, John. *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee, from its Earliest Settlement Up to the Year 1796; Including the Boundaries of the State*. 2nd. ed. Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1915 [1823].
54. Henderson, Archibald. *The Conquest of the Old Southwest: The Romantic Story of the Early Pioneers into Virginia, The Carolinas, Tennessee, and Kentucky 1740-1790*. New York: The Century Co., 1920. At both: <http://books.google.com/books?id=eZAdAAAAMAAJ>; <http://www.archive.org/details/conquestoldout01hendgoog>.
55. Glanville, Jim. "Unknown Holstonia: Southwest Virginia Before the Settling of Jamestown." Paper read at the Second Virginia Forum on History, Library of Virginia, Richmond. April 14, 2007. On line at www.holstonia.net/files/Richmond2007.pdf.
56. Fagan, Brian M. *Ancient North America: The Archaeology of a Continent*. 4th. Ed. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005.

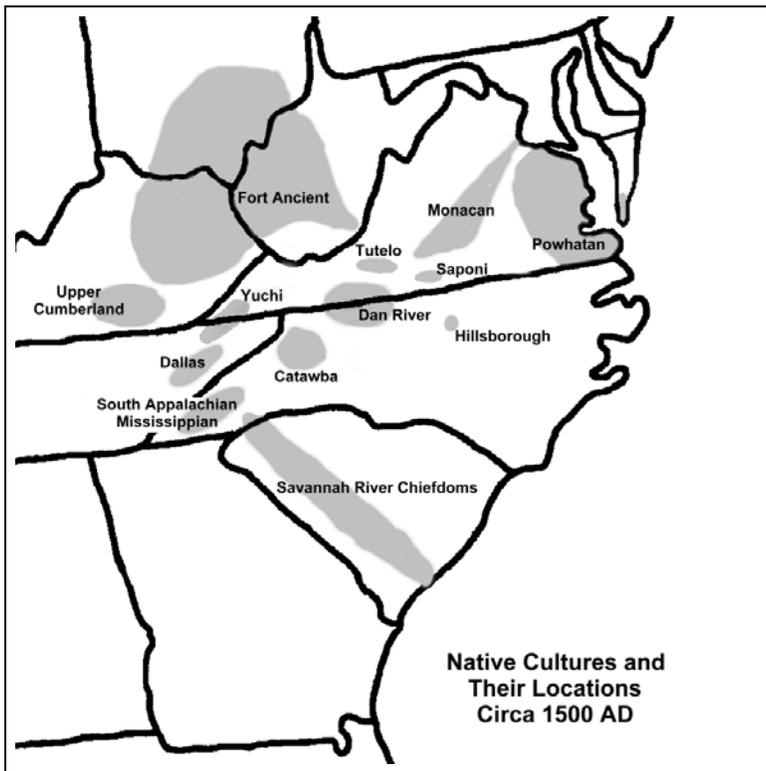


Figure 4. At left: American Indian cultures and their approximate locations circa 1500 AD. Author's interpretation.

Figure 4 shows my present interpretation and assessment of the Indian cultures in and surrounding Holstonia circa 1500 AD. My attempt to examine and survey our present knowledge of the American Indians of Holstonia across the eight centuries from 1200 AD to the present day, and to describe what Indians lived in Holstonia, and what life styles they had, was published in the *Redbone Chronicles* and is posted on line.⁵⁷ This article also discusses triracial isolate groups and Melungeons. Our best, indeed almost our only, evidence for the pre-European contact cultures comes from a study of their durable artifacts, especially their stone pipes and the iconography of their marine shell gorgets, which are distinctive and characteristic in Holstonia. Many of these artifacts have been taken during the widespread indiscriminate digging of Indian graves by looters; correspondingly, professional archeological studies in Holstonia have been exceedingly rare.⁵⁸

The attention of persons interested in family history and genealogy is called particularly to the absence of any culture labeled "Cherokee" on the map in Figure 4. The time of arrival of the Iroquoian-speaking Cherokee in the southern Appalachian mountains is quite late (though such speakers may have previously 3-4 millennia earlier) and in my view long after Europeans reached the New World. To my knowledge, there is no convenient review article that adequately and objectively summarizes the complicated story of Cherokee origins and the topic is badly in need of serious examination. The best reference I have to offer is the published collection of papers presented almost three decades ago at a September 1984 conference.⁵⁹ However it is beyond doubt that many people now living in our region have American Indian ancestors, especially maternal ones. It is common to hear from persons that they had an "Indian Grandmother."⁶⁰

Spanish Virginia: 1540 to 1567

From within this time period we have the first documentary evidence for people coming to Southwest Virginia. They were Spaniards who came from Florida.⁶¹ It is a not frequently acknowledged fact that Virginia was Florida before it became Virginia.

57. Glanville, Jim. "Aboriginal and Remnant American Indians of Holstonia." *Redbone Chronicles*, 2(1): 20-52, 2008. Posted on line at <http://www.holstonia.com/files/RedboneReprint.pdf>.

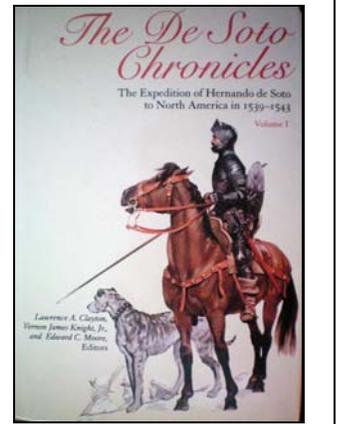
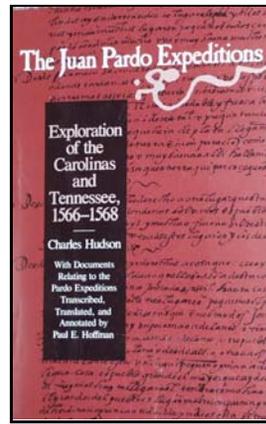
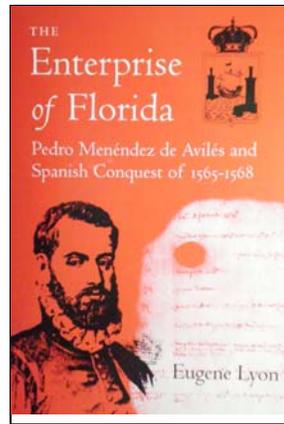
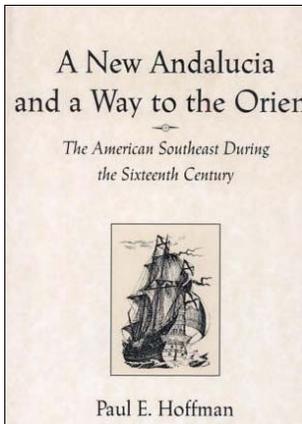
58. Glanville, Jim. "Improper Archeology, 'Fabulous Saltville,' and the Ancient History of Southwest Virginia." *The Smithfield Review*, Volume IX, pages 55-100, 2005.

59. Moore, David G., assembler. *The Conference on Cherokee Prehistory*. Swannanoa, NC: Warren Wilson College and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Western Office, 1986.

60. Logan, Michael H. "My Great Grandma Was a Cherokee Indian Princess: Ethnic Forgery or Darwinian Reality." *Tennessee Anthropologist*, XV(1): 34-43, 1990.

61. Glanville, Jim. "Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence." *Smithfield Review*, 8: 70-108, 2004.

However it was, having been granted in 1565 by Philip II of Spain to the adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés who founded St. Augustine in that year.⁶² Shown below are the covers of four important books relevant to the sixteenth century Spanish invaders in Southwest Virginia:



In 1540, while not definitely provable, it seems highly probable that Spaniards from the de Soto party reached the future Lee County, Virginia. This view of mine has prevailed at the Library of Virginia, who include this as one of the earliest events noted in their on line Virginia Chronology.⁶³ In 1567 Juan Pardo and his party reached the Appalachian mountains after traveling overland from the Carolina coast. He was searching for an overland route to new Spain (Mexico). The documents relating to that trip were published under the general editorship of Charles Hudson in 1990 and were republished in 2006 with an added foreword and an added end note.⁶⁴ Paul Hoffman's award winning book is a good introduction to the peopling of Spanish Florida,⁶⁵ and publication of the definitive archeological evidence for the short-term Spanish occupation of our region at the Berry site near Morganton, NC, appeared in 2006.⁶⁶

Of potential interest to genealogists is the early presence in Holstonia of ancestors from the Iberian peninsula. In this connection, engaging and interesting, but unreliable, books have been written to suggest possible Spanish⁶⁷ or Portuguese connections⁶⁸ to Appalachia. Very well known have been the efforts of the Melungeon author and promoter Brent Kennedy to establish Melungeon descent from Iberia or even Turkey.⁶⁹ Having read and examined most of the Melungeon literature, and after being an invited speaker at the 2007 Gathering⁷⁰ in Big Stone Gap where I presented a paper titled "Spaniards in Early Appalachia," I have concluded that there is no convincing or reliable evidence for any Melungeon to Mediterranean connection. Kennedy is in my view a significant and important figure in Virginia history, but not because of any of his views or writings about Melungeon history and genetics are valid, they're not. His significance has been as a promoter of cultural pride and of human decency. He has played a charismatic role and his vigorous espousal of the notion of "All colors, one people" can be seen retrospectively as a Virginia harbinger of a twenty-first century society in which earlier prejudices of color and culture moderated. Books about Melungeon origins that I enjoy and consider "scientifically" accurate are those by Winkler⁷¹ and Elder.⁷²

62. Lyon, Eugene. *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568*. Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1983 [1976].

63. On line at http://www.virginiamemory.com/reading_room/chronology_by_period/01.

64. Hudson, Charles, M. *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*. With Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by Paul E. Hoffman. Second edition. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006.

65. Hoffman, Paul E. *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004.

66. Beck, Robin A., Jr., David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning. "Identifying Fort San Juan: a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Occupation at the Berry Site, North Carolina." *Southeastern Archaeology*. 25(1): 65-77, 2006.

67. Gallegos, Eloy J. *The Spanish Pioneers in United States History, Santa Elena: Spanish Settlements on the Atlantic Seaboard from Florida to Virginia 1513-1607*.

68. Mira, Manuel. *The Portuguese Making of America*. Franklin, NC: Portuguese-American Historical Research Foundation, 2001.

69. Kennedy, N. Brent with Robyn Vaughan Kennedy. *The Melungeons: the resurrection of a proud people, an untold story of ethnic cleansing in America*. 2nd, rev., and corr. ed. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1997.

70. See: <http://listva.lib.va.us/cgi-bin/wa.exe?A2=VA-HIST;GGZJA;20070730132335-0400>.

71. Winkler, Wayne. *Walking Toward the Sunset: the Melungeons of Appalachia*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2005.

72. Elder, Pat Spurlock. *The Melungeons: Examining An Appalachian Legend*. Blountville, TN: Continuity Press, revised, expanded, updated manuscript edition, 2004.

The Forgotten Century: 1567 to 1670

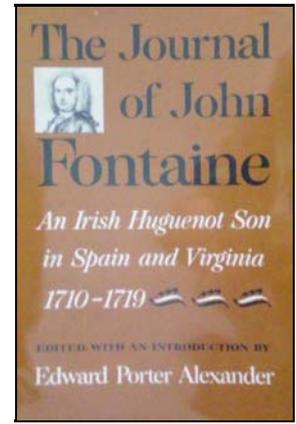
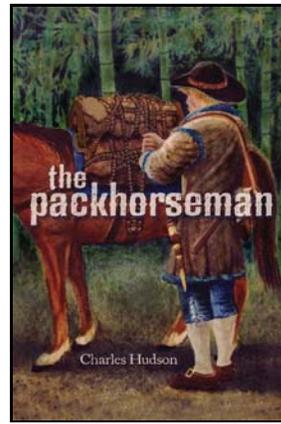
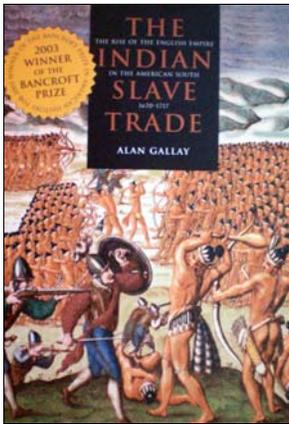
During this time period we must speak not of the peopling of Southwest Virginia, but rather of its unpeopling. This was a time of collapse among the American Indian cultures throughout the Southeast. However, the collapse was hit-and-miss and is impossible to document in its details. Nothing specific for Holstonia can be documented but the overall situation, in which 90-95% of the aboriginal Indian populations were lost, can be found described in the collected essays in the works by Hudson and Tesser,⁷³ and by Brose et al.⁷⁴ Marvin Smith's essay in the former work is in particular worth reading.⁷⁵ There has been considerable academic effort in recent years to understand the depth of American Indian population collapse in the Southeast and its proximate and ultimate causes, and it seems clear that some American Indian societies had diminished even before the time of Columbus. For the interested reader, a good book is available⁷⁶ — written for a popular audience — that argues that American Indian populations began at much higher levels than is generally recognized, and hence suffered an even more precipitous decline than formerly recognized.

Exploration, Frontier Trade, and First Settlement: 1670 to 1754

During this time period it can be documented that many people came to Holstonia. By the end of the period some of them were staying. Significant, documented, land grant in our region begin during this period. From about the final decade of this period on, serious genealogy is possible based on the available land and court house records.

From 1671-1674 tidewater Virginians ventured into the western part of the state. Some were hired explorers, such as the duo of Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam and the duo of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur.⁷⁷ William Byrd I, had also been exploring in Southwest Virginia and by 1680 he had developed a thriving Indian trade and was warehousing beads, cloth, kettles, guns, powder, and shot at his Westover plantation and sending out trains of as many as 100 pack horses guarded by 12-15 retainers. The incoming goods were mainly deer skins.⁷⁸ The role of the pack horse trains has been described by Charles Hudson in a novel.⁷⁹ Byrd's role in opening Holstonia was followed up by his son and grandson, as surveyor and military leader, respectively.

Below are shown the covers of some books relevant to the development of Southwest Virginia in the years preceding the French and Indian War



73. Hudson, Charles and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds. *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

74. Brose, David S., C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., eds. *Societies in Eclipse, Eastern North America at the Dawn of History*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.

75. Smith, Marvin T. "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast." Pp. 257-275 in Hudson, Charles and Carmen Chaves, eds. *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

76. Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 2005.

77. Alvord, Clarence Walworth and Lee Bidgood. *The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians 1650-1674*. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912. For many years the standard work. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=cgoTAAAYAAJ>. See also Briceland, Alan V. *Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia Frontier, 1650-1710*. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1987.

78. Franklin, W. Neil. "Virginia and the Cherokee Indian Trade, 1673-1752." Part 1. *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, 4: 3-21, 1932.

79. Hudson, Charles M. *The Packhorseman*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, Fire Ant books, 2009.

The period 1705-1730 in our region, which has been well-described by Stitt Robinson,⁸⁰ principally involved Virginia and South Carolina competition⁸¹ for the Cherokee trade in slaves and deer skins.⁸² Some time after about 1730 the trading route along the path of today's routes 460 and I-81 replaced the earlier, more difficult, route across North Carolina and up its western Blue Ridge escarpment. Two hundred miles to the northeast, Augusta became a county in 1745, marking the settlement that had occurred by then in the northeast Shenandoah Valley.

During this period, the tidewater Virginia establishment, the oligarchs, under the influence and leadership of Governor Spotswood finally became interested in the acquisition of western lands (more than a century after the founding of Jamestown). The junket of Spotswood "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" and the first viewing of the Shenandoah Valley in 1716 by British Americans was recorded in a journal by John Fontaine.⁸³ On this trip, Spotwood was accompanied by William Beverley whose interest in western expansion was confirmed and led later to the foundation of Beverley Manor and his connection with James Patton.⁸⁴

The period 1730-1754 includes such significant events as the signing of the Treaty of Lancaster (in 1744); the beginning of settlement of the New River Valley (in present-day Montgomery County) circa 1744; the award of the Great Grant given to James Patton and the simultaneous award of the grant on the Greenbrier River to the Greenbrier Company in 1745; the explorations into Kentucky of Thomas Walker;⁸⁵ and, the first recorded settlements in Holstonia by Stephen Holstein, Samuel Stalnaker, and others. The very first land patents in Southwest Virginia were obtained in 1745. By the end of the period, crops were being grown on the Indian Fields near present day Chilhowie, and Virginia traders were established even further down the Holston River at the Long Island of the Holston in today's Kingsport, Tennessee.

For genealogists, records from the Augusta court (established in 1745) provide names and dates of land acquisition throughout Southwest Virginia. John Buchanan and other surveyors were active as early as 1745.

The Virginia Frontier During the French and Indian War: 1754 to 1763

Peopling of Southwest Virginia during this time period involved the movement of people into and through Holstonia principally a consequence of, military activities. Broadly, the period covers the Seven Years' War (also known as the French and Indian War) from 1754-1761. For reasons of topography and geopolitics almost none of the actual fighting during that long war that eventually ousted the French from North America took place in Southwest Virginia, most fighting occurred in New York and Canada. Somewhat ironically, after the major conflict was more-or-less over, and the issue decided, the long-frustrated Cherokee Indians boiled up and provoked a local conflict known as the Cherokee War of 1760-1761. This Cherokee War was a significant event in the development of Southwest Virginia for it brought a large army into the region, opened the road to the Long Island of the Holston, led to the construction of Fort Chiswell in modern-day Wythe County, and opened the eyes of many humble Virginians to the possibility of land acquisition in the future states of Tennessee and Kentucky. The best single resource for understanding the overall aspects of the French and Indian War is probably the work by Fred Anderson.⁸⁶

After the defeat of General Braddock at Fort Duquesne, the Virginia frontier was left exposed to Indian attack and many settlers fled back eastward. Governor Dinwiddie was unimpressed by what he considered the pusillanimity of the Augusta men and has left us his opinion of their actions in a letter to John Buchanan in which Dinwiddie complains bitterly that the residents of Augusta County failed to act to protect themselves despite the fact that Dinwiddie had sent Augusta more ammunition and arms than all the other frontier counties put together. Dinwiddie's letter can be read on line.⁸⁷

80. Robinson, W. Stitt. *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979. Snippet view at <http://books.google.com/books?id=C714AAAAMA AJ>.

81. Crane, Verner W. "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina: The Beginnings of Exploration and Trade." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 3(1): 3-18, 1916. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=AsMLAAAAIAAJ>.

82. Gally, Alan. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. Important. Preview at <http://books.google.com/books?id=WwYXj6PdbAC>.

83. Alexander, Edward P. ed. *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719*. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972.

84. Ford, Worthington. "Some Letters of William Beverley." *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, second series. III: 223-239, April 1895. Contains two 1737 letters from Beverley to William Patton at Kirkcudbright, Scotland.

85. Walker, Thomas., William Cabell Rives, ed. *Journal of an Exploration in the Spring of the Year 1750*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1888. At: <http://books.google.com/books?id=TebaYeGO6TUC>.

86. Anderson, Fred. *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*. New York: Vintage Books, 2001. See pp. 457-471 for his discussion of the Cherokee War of 1760-61.

87. Dinwiddie, Robert. "Letter to Colonel John Buchanan, August 11, 1755." Pp. 154-155 in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758*, volume 2. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1883. On line at www.archive.org/details/officialrecords02virg.

In August 1756 Andrew sent Governor Dinwiddie a long report of his experiences among the Cherokees.⁸⁸ Lewis, had been ordered (he didn't much want to go and leave his home ill-protected) to Cherokee country to build a "Virginia Fort," in an effort to assist Virginia traders in competing with the South Carolinians and promote trade between the Cherokees and the Virginians. Soon thereafter the South Carolinians began the construction of their ill-fated and eventually doomed Fort Loudoun.⁸⁹ The building of the "Virginia Fort" at Chote,⁹⁰ is an event that has been overlooked by many amateur (and professional) historians and confusion among the two forts in the literature is rife. In April 1758, William Byrd III was among the Cherokees in Northeast Tennessee attempting to recruit Cherokee fighters for service with the British in their campaign under General Forbes against the French in Ohio. The somewhat obsessive (and in the outcome clearly misguided) effort by Governor Robert Dinwiddie and George Washington to recruit Cherokee warriors as auxiliary fighters for the British campaigns against the French and Indians in the Ohio Country is a rarely mentioned factor in the opening of Holstonia. We have documentary evidence that George Washington was actively recruiting Cherokees as auxiliaries as early as 1755.⁹¹

It was the Cherokee War of 1760-1761 that finally brought to Holstonia large numbers of European Americans as part of the army led first by William Byrd III and later by Adam Stephen. Major consequences of this war for our region were the cutting of a road (the Island Road) from Fort Attakullakulla (on the Indian old fields below present day Chilhowie) to the Long Island of the Holston (at present day Kingsport), the construction of Fort Robinson opposite the Long Island, and, in November 1761, the first act of global political significance the signing of the treaty between the Virginia army and the Cherokees at Fort Robinson. About the war, Bernard Bailyn wrote:

In South Carolina, too, expansion into the west drew heavily on the movements of migrants from the north down the western valley routes that fronted the Appalachian mountain chain, and from the British Isles and western Europe. But the spread of population in that colony was delayed by the Cherokee War of 1760-1761, one of the most savage and brutalizing conflicts in the entire history of Indian-white relations. This border war the result of scattered but continuous invasions of the grasslands of the back country which forced the Cherokee Indians out of their traditional hunting grounds to a small corner against the mountains, left behind a ravaged land and a disoriented white population for whom murder, thievery, and brutality had become commonplace.⁹²

Figure 5 below shows the principal military movements during the Cherokee War of 1760-1761 and clearly illustrates the role that the northern wing played in opening Holstonia.

In addition to the work of Fred Anderson cited above, other works that discuss the Cherokee War include Louis Koontz's Ph.D. thesis⁹³ (later published as a book); the important biography of John Stuart by John Alden;⁹⁴ and the books by Tom Hatley⁹⁵ and John Oliphant.⁹⁶ Samuel Williams published an article⁹⁷ about Fort Robinson in 1932 that provides excellent background on Stalnaker's settlement at the future Chilhowie on the Middle Fork of the Holston and the site of Fort Attakullakulla and tells of the visit there by Lieutenant Henry Timberlake. Timberlake, who went to live among the Cherokees following the signing of the Fort Robinson treaty, is a significant figure in Southwest Virginia history who deserves to be far better known. A recent, well illustrated, reissue of Timberlake's memoirs was authored by Duane King;⁹⁸ it includes a facsimile copy of the Treaty of Fort Robinson.

88. Williams, Samuel Cole. *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History*. Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1937, pp. 177-180.

89. Hamer, Philip M. "Fort Loudoun in the Cherokee War, 1758-1761." *North Carolina Historical Review* 2(4): 442-458, 1925. This article cites a wide range of primary sources.

90. Lewis, Andrew. "Letter from Major Lewis to Mr. Lyttelton, Govr of South Carolina" Dated September 30, 1756. *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, 5:612-614, nd. On line at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr05-0232>.

91. Washington, George. "Letter to Andrew Monitor [at the Long Island of the Holston]." From Winchester dated 10 October 1755. Pp. 191-192 in Volume 1 of Worthington Chauncey Ford, compiler, *The Writings of George Washington*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889. At <http://www.archive.org/details/georgefordworth01washrich>.

92. Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1986, p. 16.

93. Koontz, Louis, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763*. Ph.D. Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1920. On line at: www.archive.org/details/virginiafrontier00koon.

94. Alden, John R. *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier; a study of Indian relations, war, trade, and land problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1775*. For the Cherokee War see chapters VII and VII, pp. 101-136. See also "The Virginia-Cherokee Frontier, 1765-1775," chapter XV, pp. 262-293.

95. Hatley, Tom. *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Preview at: <http://books.google.com?id=wWYXhh8kjQC>.

96. Oliphant, John. *Peace and War On the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756-63*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

97. Williams, Samuel C. "Fort Robinson on the Holston." *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, 4: 22-31, 1932.

98. King, Duane H., ed. *The Memoirs of LT. Henry Timberlake: The Story of a Soldier, Adventurer, and Emissary to the Cherokees, 1756-1765*. Cherokee, NC: Museum of the Cherokee Indian Press, 2007. See also the older version of the memoirs: *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs*. Annotations, introduction, and index by Samuel Cole Williams, LL.D. Johnson City: Watauga Press, 1927; Signal Mountain, TN: Mountain Press, 2001.

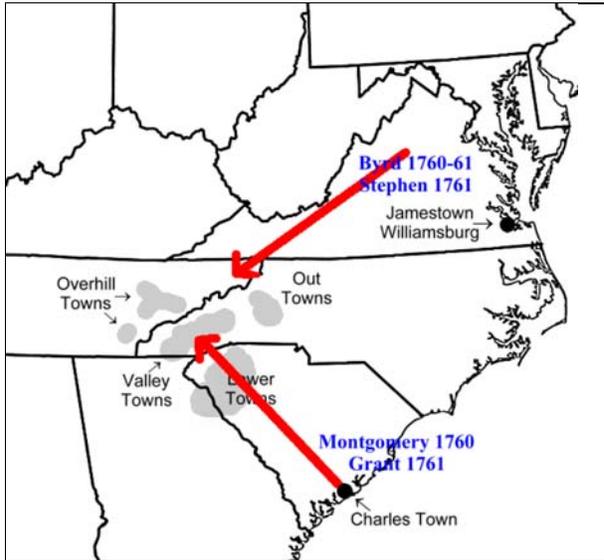


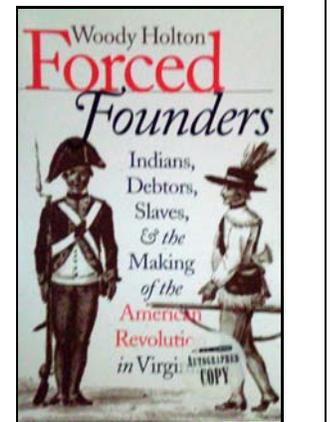
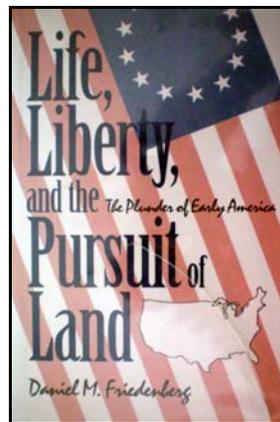
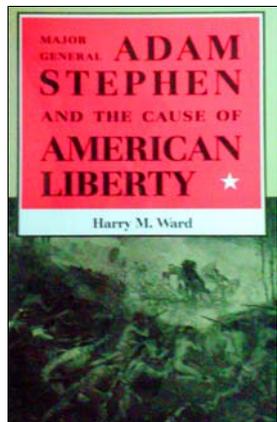
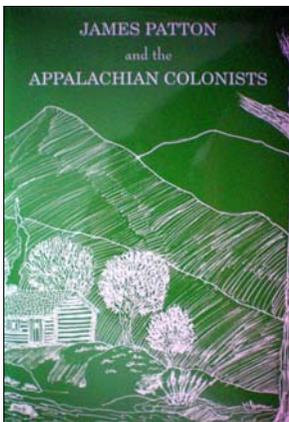
Figure 5. The principal military movements during the Cherokee War of 1760-1761. British forces engaged in a pincer operation against the Cherokee towns. Virginia's northern wing never progressed beyond the Long Island of the Holston, where a peace treaty was signed in November 1761. This war was "...one of the most savage and brutalizing conflicts in the entire history of Indian-white relations."

Concerning the military leaders of the Virginian or northern wing of the pincers of the Cherokee War we have excellent documentary information. William Byrd III left us dozens of the letters⁹⁹ which provide primary, written evidence for the development of Holstonia. Remarkably, for a tidewater oligarch, about half of the extant letters written by William Byrd III were penned by him in Southwest Virginia. Byrd's successor, Adam Stephen, is yet another significant figure in Southwest Virginia history who deserves to be far better known. I mentioned Harry Ward's biography of Stephen in an earlier section. On line, there is a web site about Adam Stephen derived from Ward's book.¹⁰⁰

The Post War Years: 1763 to 1769

The peopling during this time period was much influenced by the issue of land acquisition, which occurred under the cloud of the Proclamation of 1763. The proclamation was an imperial edict of George III which reserved land west of the crest of the Appalachian mountain to the Indian tribes and forbade settlement by Virginians and others.¹⁰¹ A useful starting point to examine the proclamation and its consequences is the web site¹⁰² of an Ontario barrister and solicitor involved in litigation and advice on issues of Aboriginal, Treaty and other rights and concerns of 'First Nations.'

Below are shown the covers of some books relevant to the development of Southwest Virginia around the time of the French and Indian War and up to the beginning of the Revolutionary War.



99. Tinling, Marion, ed. *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia 1684-1776*. Volume 2. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Virginia Historical Society, 1977.

100. The Adam Stephen web site. At <http://www.libraries.wvu.edu/adamstephen/>.

101. Del Papa, M. Eugene. "The Royal Proclamation of 1763: Its effect Upon the Virginia Land Companies." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 83(4): 406-411, 1975.

102. Henderson, Bill. At <http://www.bloorstreet.com/200block/rp1763.htm>. and <http://www.bloorstreet.com/200block/lawoff.htm>.

In addition to the effects of the proclamation, major issues of the period were the consequences the John Robinson scandal (which greatly illuminates the dynamics of Holstonian land acquisition); the beckoning western land, about which the book by Daniel Friedenberg¹⁰³ is required reading; and the role of military land grants on the development of western land.¹⁰⁴ The treaty of Fort Stanwix dates to 1768 and the treaty of Lochaber to 1770. Indian land cessions were an important feature of this period and are summarized at an excellent website which is a model contribution to the history of Holstonia, etc., from the genealogical community.¹⁰⁵ The Regulator Movement developed during this period. This is also the time period during which the so-called long hunters were at their most active in venturing across the Appalachian mountains.

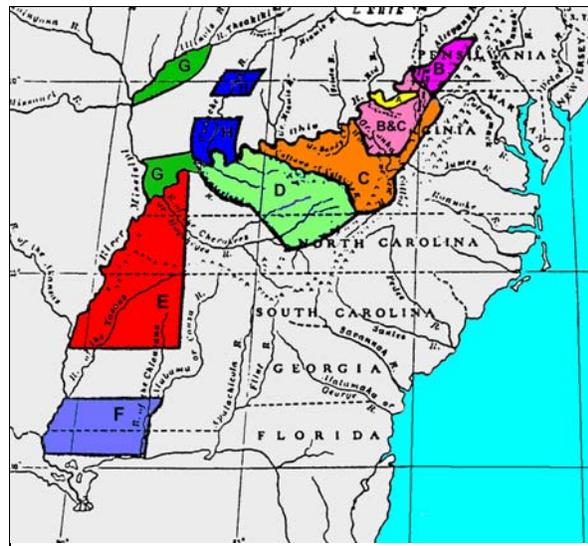
Indian warfare on the Virginia frontier did not abate substantially during this period. In a 1763 letter to British General and Commander-in-Chief Jeffrey Amherst Governor Fauquier wrote of: "... the Devastation the Indians had made on our whole frontier, from Potowmack almost as low as the Carolina line," and added that Andrew Lewis had been authorized to raise men to defend southwest Virginia.¹⁰⁶ Two county histories by Oren Morton available on line describe the Indian conflicts of this time.¹⁰⁷

Under the provisions of the Proclamation of 1763 no Virginia western land claims could legally be made. But this situation did little to deter the speculators either in England or in the colonies. The speculators operated with the expectation that the Proclamation would be revoked, and new land companies proliferated. Some of the land companies created during this period are shown below in Figure 6. The proclamation also did little to deter the ordinary people who simply went west and settled empty land without the benefit of any legal sanction. It has been estimated that 30,000 settlers ignored the Proclamation and went "over mountain" between 1765 and 1768 alone. The spirit of the moment was well captured by Governor Dunmore who considered the land-hunger of the Virginians to be insatiable and wrote in December 1774:

...I have learnt from experience that the established Authority of any government in America, and the policy of Government at home, are both insufficient to restrain the Americans; and that they do and will remove as their avidity and restlessness incite them. They acquire no attachment to Place: But wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature; and it is a weakness incident to it, that they Should for ever immagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already Settled.¹⁰⁸

Figure 6. Land Company Claims.

- A. Indiana Company, 1768
- B. Mississippi Company, 1768
- C. Vandalia, 1769-1774
- D. Transylvania, 1773
- E. Georgiana, 1772
- F. Mississippi Colony, 1768
- G. Illinois Purchases, 1773
- H. Wabash Purchases, 1775



Map modified from Friedenberg who in turn based it on John Mitchell's map

103. Friedenberg, Daniel M. *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1992. See also Sosin, Jack M. *Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy 1760-1775*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

104. Bockstruck, Lloyd deWitt. *Bounty and Donation Land Grants in British Colonial America*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1996. Summarizes the nature of land grants to soldiers which played an important role in Holstonia.

105. Smoot, Fred, "Wild Bill" Oliver, and Glen Davis. *Colonial Period Indian Land Cessions in the American Southeast and Related Documents: An Overview*. On line at: <http://www.tngenweb.org/cessions/colonial.html> with many links. Related maps at <http://www.tngenweb.org/cessions>.

106. Fauquier, Francis. "Letter to Jeffrey Amherst." Written from Williamsburg, 2 August 1763. Pp. 1001-1002 in *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758-1768*, George Henkle Reese, ed. Charlottesville: Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1980.

107. Morton, Oren Frederic. *Annals of Bath County, Virginia*. Verona: The McClure Company, 1918. . On line at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=OkGUAAAAYAAJ> and Morton, Oren Frederic. *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia*. Verona: The McClure Company, 1920. On line at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=rtF4AAAAMA AJ>.

108. Dunmore, Lord. "Affairs in Virginia: The Indian Expedition." Dunmore's official report to Lord Dartmouth, December 1774. Draper mss., 15J4-28. Pp. 268-395 in Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*.

Southwest Virginia Settlement Begins in Earnest: 1769 to 1772

The peopling of Southwest Virginia and Holstonia began in earnest during this period. In this three year time span William Preston moved to Smithfield Plantation, in present day Blacksburg, and from there presided over the surveying of, and the direction of settlement in, a vast Appalachian western region that would eventually include all of the future state of Kentucky and much of Tennessee. Treaties between whites and Indians were signed during this period and in consequence the westward movement of settlers accelerated.

The Independence movement in our region manifested itself in the formation of the Watauga Association and the signing of the Fincastle Resolutions and the Resolutions of other frontier counties. The early pioneer Aspenvale settlement at present Seven Mile Ford was founded 1769 and is today the site of one of the most historic cemeteries in Holstonia.¹⁰⁹ The traditional first settlement of present-day Tennessee by historians of that state is dated to 1769, when William Bean crossed the mountains and settled on the Watauga River.¹¹⁰ The first recorded deed for land in present-day Ashe County, NC, (located in the corner of that state where present Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina meet) is dated 1773. Martin's Station (shown in figure 7), destined to become a key way-station in western emigration, located just five miles east of Cumberland Gap was begun in March 1769, but was soon abandoned as a place too dangerous, and only later permanently reoccupied in 1775. Today, Martin's Station is said to be the most authentically recreated frontier fort in Virginia, and is incorporated into a Virginia's Wilderness Road State Park. I have noted elsewhere that the fort is 240 miles distant from Blacksburg.¹¹¹



Figure 7. The reconstructed Fort Martin in far western Lee County, Virginia. Seated on a broad plain below the Cumberland mountain range, the fort was intended to protect the settlers who traveled west to the Cumberland Gap a few miles to the west.

Today, it is a somewhat lonely place but a powerful symbol of the peopling of America and the flow of settlers through Holstonia.

There are a number of books and articles that cover the 1769-1772 time period, some of them available for on line reading. John Filson's 1784 work about the settlement of Kentucky is at the Library of Congress web site.¹¹² Also useful (and on line) for a study of early Kentucky settlement is an article by Wilbur Siebert.¹¹³ President Theodore Roosevelt described the early over mountain settlements within the broad context of western settlement;¹¹⁴ dated but still of considerable interest is Virginia scholar Thomas Abernethy's analysis of the early settling of Tennessee which offers an excellent overview of the history of land in our region and has useful maps;¹¹⁵ Thomas Ramsey's classic work of early Tennessee history is available on line;¹¹⁶ despite its title (which should read more like "A History of Upper East Tennessee" is Pat Alderman's work¹¹⁷ of local history; which has useful maps, a decent

109. Glanville, Jim and John M. Preston, IV. "Aspenvale Cemetery and Its Place in the History of Southwest Virginia." *Smithfield Review*, XIII: 87-136, 2009.

110. Goodpasture, A. V. "Why the First Settlers of Tennessee Were from Virginia." *Tennessee Historical Magazine*. 5: 229-231, 1919-20. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=jWkUAAAAYAAJ>.

111. <http://listva.lib.va.us/cgi-bin/wa.exe?A2=VA-HIST;TwrvSQ;20080822174657-0400>.

112. Filson, John. *The discovery, settlement, and present state of Kentucke and an essay towards the topography and natural history of that important country....* Wilmington: Printed for the author by James Adams, 1784. At: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/fawbib:@field> and search there for "Kentucke."

113. Siebert, Wilbur H. "The Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands." *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. 28(1): 48-71, 1919. On line at http://books.google.com/books?id=t_0KAAAIAAJ.

114. Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Winning of the West*. New York: Putnam's, 1889. At: <http://books.google.com/books?id=95YgAAAAMAAJ>.

115. Abernethy, Thomas Perkins. *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee; a Study in Frontier Democracy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932. Substantially on line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=xWt9mDRwODgC>.

116. Ramsey, James Gettys McGready. *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. Charleston, SC: John Russell, 1853. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=U0EbAAAAYAAJ>.

117. Alderman, Pat. *Nancy Ward/Dragging Canoe*, 2nd ed., with added index. Johnson City: The Overmountain Press, 1990 (original copyright 1978).

bibliography, and is worth reading. Recommended is Max Dixon's short and extremely well written account¹¹⁸ of the Watauga Association, which symbolizes the special nature of the spirit of independence among frontier Virginians as the colonial period was about to come to an end.

The Hunt for Land, the Spirit of Independence, and Dunmore's War: 1772 to 1775

The extent of peopling during this time period was great. Perhaps as many as 100,000 persons arrived in Holstonia and its environs during the four years 1772-1775. These years were dominated by Indian conflict, lust for land acquisition, growing sentiment against British colonial policies, and by the activities and actions of the last colonial governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore. Despite the existing prohibition of western settlement under the Proclamation of 1763, Dunmore encouraged westward movement as the number of persons who went west demonstrates. In December 1773, Dunmore proclaimed that holders of military warrants might acquire tracts of land wherever they chose and thereby enabled fresh invasion of the country beyond the Allegheny mountains spearheaded by ambitious speculators willing to profit from such warrants.¹¹⁹

Lord Dunmore perhaps felt he could take liberties with British land policy because he was well connected: his daughter was married to the Duke of Sussex, son of George III. Dunmore's basic notion about western land acquisition seems to have been that properly made Indian treaties voided the Proclamation. Before coming to Virginia as Governor in 1771 he had been British Governor of New York. Daniel Friedenbergl wrote that Dunmore was "Among the greedier of the greedy tribe of Britons who came to the colonies to carve out a quick fortune [and] ...the greatest plunger of them all." In my view that's too harsh and assessment. Dunmore is a man about whom a fair and balanced biography remains to be written.

From July to December 1774 Lord Dunmore led the campaign to Ohio called by history Dunmore's War.¹²⁰ This was, of course, an Indian-settler conflict but also had the usual object of land gain, with the interests of the oligarchs being deeply involved. Fighting the war took Dunmore and his army almost as far as Chillicothe and sent Indian power in that region into a sharp decline from which they never recovered, losing their hunting rights in the region and being forced to accept the Ohio River as the western boundary of the boundary of the British colonies.



Figure 8. The Grand Union flag, seen here flying at Smithfield Plantation in April 2010, serves as a reminders that the Fincastle men who fought at Point Pleasant were loyal British Americans.

The central event of Dunmore's War was the Battle of Point Pleasant (on the Ohio River in northwest West Virginia) in October, 1774. There, colonial forces led by Andrew Lewis defeated Indians led by Chiefs Logan and Cornstalk. A very valuable, on line work is the documentary history of the War by Thwaites and Kellogg drawn from the Draper manuscripts; letters and writings on many prominent western Virginians are recorded in that documentary history, along with many names of soldiers who participated in the battle.¹²¹ Modern-day West Virginians claim the Battle of Point Pleasant as a key event in their history, and have written much about it.¹²² An on line article records the role of William Fleming in the War.¹²³ Today, there is a fine park in Point Pleasant where stands a

118. Dixon, Max. *The Wataugans*. Nashville: Tennessee American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976; Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1989.

119. Rice, Otis K. *Frontier Kentucky*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975, p. 53.

120. Downes, Randolph C. "Dunmore's War: An Interpretation." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 21(3): 311-330, 1934.

121. Thwaites, Reuben Gold, and Louise Phelps Kellogg. *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts...* Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905. On line at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=zOJEAAAIAAJ>.

122. Lewis, Virgil Anson. *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant Fought Between White Men and Indians at the Mouth of the Great Kanawha River (now Point Pleasant, West Virginia) Monday, October 10th, 1774: The Chief Event of Lord Dunmore's War*. Charleston WV: The Tribune Printing Company 1908. On line at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=oMjxD8yfrEC>.

123. Hoyt Jr. William D. "Colonel William Fleming in Dunmore's War, 1774." *West Virginia History*. 3(2): 99-119, 1942. On line at http://www.wvculture.org/HISTORY/journal_wvh/wvh3-2.html.

large monument dedicated to the men of western Virginia who fought on that spot. Large, bronze plaques on the monument commemorate the Fincastle soldiers who were there.

The commemorative obelisk at Point Pleasant is pictured in figure 9. Figure 10 shows the bronze plaque that lists the names of the officers and men from Augusta, Botetourt, and Fincastle counties who fought in the battle.



Figure 9. This obelisk, with its adjacent statue of the "frontier Virginian" stands at the confluence of the Kanawha (New) and Ohio Rivers at Point Pleasant, West Virginia. Here, in November 1774, western Virginians led by Andrew Lewis fought a day-long engagement with Indians led by Chief Cornstalk.

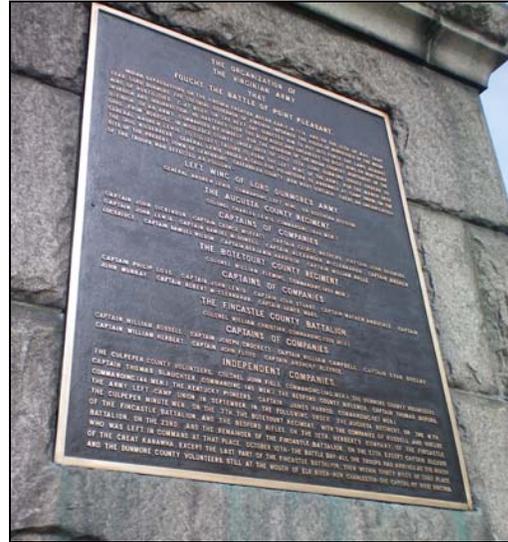


Figure 10. This bronze plaque mounted on the Point Pleasant obelisk records "The Organization of the Virginian Army" that fought at the battle there. Inscribed here, under the title "Left Wing of Lord Dunmore's Army," are the names of men from Augusta, Botetourt, and Fincastle counties. Family historians with an ancestor listed here should be well pleased.

It seems appropriate to conclude this article intended to help genealogists and family historians in their work with a picture that shows a list of names of western Virginia pioneers.

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