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Southwest Virginia:
A Thoroughfare of Nation-Building[1]

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Introduction

This article tells the story of the part of America's westward expansion that funneled through Southwest Virginia. The expansion symbolically began in 1716 when a party of Virginia aristocrats, much later labeled the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe,"[2] explored beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. By 1770, the rutted wagon road traversing the region was briefly the most heavily traveled route in all America.[3] In the decades following Independence, hundreds of thousands of Virginians moved westward to newly created states carrying with them their culture and their political institutions. The expansion symbolically ended in 1869 with the driving of the Golden Spike[4] in Utah, uniting America by a transcontinental railroad.
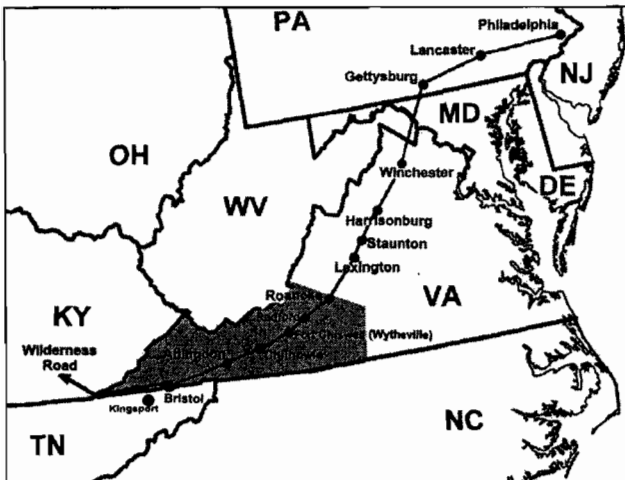

Figure 1. The Great Road and Its Extensions. The route of the Great Road in Virginia is today familiar as the Interstate 81 Highway corridor. "Southwest Virginia" is shaded. From the West Virginia state line to Roanoke County it has been designated "The Great Valley Road of Virginia." From Roanoke County to the Tennessee state line it is here designated "Virginia's Great Southwest Road." To the north, the Great Valley Road connected to the Great Wagon Road to Philadelphia. To the west, Virginia's Great Southwest Road connected to Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road across Scott and Lee Counties to the Cumberland Gap at Virginia's most westerly point. Author's diagram.

"The Great Southwest Road of Virginia" or "Virginia's Great Southwest Road" is the author's newly-coined name for the travel corridor between Roanoke County and Bristol, Virginia (Figure 1). Today that corridor is dominated by Interstate Highway 81. The author uses "Southwest Virginia" to refer to the Virginia counties that lie west of Bedford County and south of Bath County, i.e. the gray-shaded area in Figure 1. Virginia's Great Southwest Road runs northeast-southwest and bisects Southwest Virginia. In Virginia, Highway I-81 runs 323 miles from the West Virginia state line above Winchester to the Tennessee state line at Bristol. Recently, Warren Hofstra and Karl Raitz edited a collection of essays titled *The Great Valley Road of Virginia*.[5] Their Great Valley Road of Virginia runs 193 miles from the West Virginia border to the Roanoke County line, and thus to the beginning of Southwest Virginia. There it becomes the Great Southwest Road of Virginia, which continues the remaining 130 miles to Tennessee. Together, the Great Valley Road of Virginia and Virginia's Great Southwest Road compose the Great Road in Virginia. Or, stated a different way:

The Great Southwest Road of Virginia + The Great Valley Road of Virginia = The Great Road of Virginia.

Different sections of the Great Road in Virginia have at different times been known by many different names, and nomenclature has been controversial.[6] To its north, the Great Road connected to the Great Wagon Road to Philadelphia. To its west, the Great Road led travelers to Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road.

The present-day Virginia counties that lie successively (northeast to southwest) along the Great Southwest Road, and their formation years, are Roanoke (1838); Montgomery (1776); Pulaski (1839); Wythe (1789); Smyth (1832); and Washington (1776), which adjoins Tennessee. All were once part of Augusta (1738, organized in 1745, and now much reduced); Botetourt (1769 and now much reduced); and (with the exception of Roanoke County) Fincastle (1772, now extinct).

It was along the Great Road that travelers passed on their way to take up new lives in the regions to the west. Popular-audience books have been written about both the Great Road[7] and the Wilderness Trail.[8] One book on the latter topic carries on its dust jacket the squib "The path of empire in the conquest of The Great West." And indeed the Great Road and the Trail were a path that led to the conquest of an empire.

By virtue of its cultural and physical geography, Southwest Virginia served not only as a gateway for one of America's most important internal migrations but also as the key geographic element in the process of nation-building during the early republic. By providing access to the old southwest

in the early national period, the region linked East and West together at a time when many doubted the capacity of a republican form of government to oversee such a vast extent of territory effectively. It is these factors that enable Southwest Virginia to claim a special role in the process of building the Unites States.

In telling this story the author necessarily relies almost entirely on secondary sources. America's national westward expansion was a grand epic. Consequently, this article can present only one aspect of the story and does so by focusing on that aspect to the exclusion of almost all others. The challenges faced by a writer who undertakes to compose broad scale, interpretive history were summarized exceedingly well by the late John Whyte who wrote about the difficulty of understanding the history of Ireland as follows:

> Even if everyone read all the research; even if everyone was completely unbiased in studying it; even if the amount of research done was far more extensive than it has been; there would still be the problem of comprehending it. The human mind is unable to grasp the full complexity of a social situation. We need an organizing principle, some thread to guide us through the intricacies. Publishers insist on this from their authors. University teachers insist on it from their graduate students. If the organizing principle is not there, the book or thesis becomes just a jumble of facts, which no reader will accept. However, an organizing principle entails emphasizing some theme which the author thinks important so as to clarify reality. That brings with it the inevitable corollary — that other factors, really present, will be de-emphasized so as not to obscure the dominating theme. To organize is to simplify. To simplify is to distort. Writers who simplify reality in order to clarify it are by that very action making sure that the picture they put across is incomplete.[9]

Thus, the author's guiding thread has been to stand, as it were, beside the rutted wagon road, watch the passing traffic, and consider where it went and what cultural ideas the travelers carried with them.[10] There were, of course, other "thoroughfares." For example, westward emigration from New England is here omitted, while only slight attention is paid to the northwesterly migration from Virginia to the Ohio country which, beginning after 1760, traveled over the paths of the military roads built by the British Generals Braddock and Forbes during the French and Indian War, and down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh.

Taking a western Virginia perspective on Virginia history has been done before this author by the Virginia Tech historian Peter Wallenstein and others. In an important, and not widely known, paper entitled "The Grinch That Stole Southern History: Anthem for an Appalachian Perspective," Wallenstein wrote:

> It is easy, when the Tidewater region of the South appears to be the center of the universe, to see all southern history from the perspective of that portion of the South. ... That view, that version of the past, fails to specify that it has reference primarily to white men living in the Piedmont or the Tidewater.... Will the Grinch relent? Can "the South" get its history back? That history has been hijacked too long. The place to begin to retrieve it may be to ... survey the southern landscape, ... instead at Mount Rogers, the highest point in Virginia; Clingmans Dome, the highest in Tennessee; or Mount Mitchell, the highest peak in North Carolina. Each is on or west of the Blue Ridge and on or near the Appalachian Trail; each is more than a mile above sea level. The view from each differs much from a Tidewater perspective. ... We could, then, begin our view of the South, our understanding of its history, from a mountain perspective, from a perch somewhere west of the Blue Ridge. Let the plantation country recede in importance — reduce it to life size, down from bigger-than-life. A view from the mountains ... may give us a very different version of many portions of the history of 'the South.'[11]

The "Grinch" of Wallenstein's metaphor is the dominant slave-owning, plantation-based, white supremacist view of southern history. The view from Mount Rogers (pictured in Figure 2 and shown on the map in Figure 3) overlooks the Great Southwest Road of Virginia.

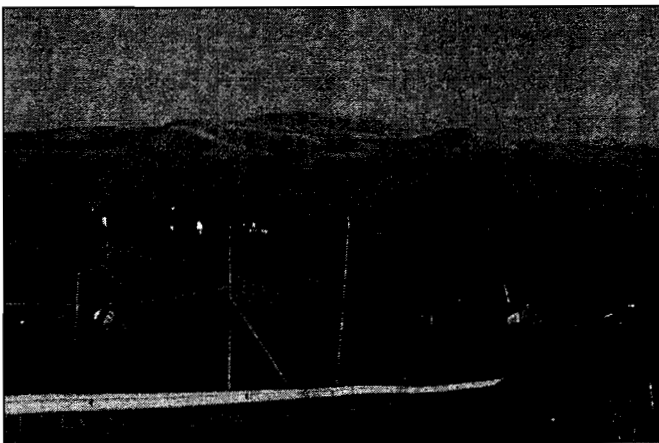Figure 2. Mount Rogers with a light dusting of wintertime snow. This picture was taken from Highway 107 between Saltville and Chilhowie from a spot about two miles north of Chilhowie. The camera view is looking to the southeast and the peak (Virginia's highest point) is about fifteen miles distant. Virginia's Great Southwest Road ran from left to right either through or close to modern-day Chilhowie. Author's picture, December 2006.

Another historian who has spoken about significance of western Virginia history is the two-time Pulitzer Prize winner David McCullough. In the video program shown at the Visitors' Center at the Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia in Staunton, and speaking of that place, he says:

> What started here a long time ago as a hodgepodge of dissenting immigrants evolved into the America of today — a patchwork quilt of many influences and beliefs existing side by side. These diverse immigrants from Europe became the backbone of America. Jamestown may have been the site of the first European settlement in Virginia, but it was here that America took root — here in the Valley of Virginia.[12]

The most famous proponent of the view of southern history from the backcountry was the Charlotte, North Carolina, journalist Wilbur J. Cash, author of the classic work *The Mind of the South*.[13] Cash's biographer Joseph L. Morrison wrote:

> Cash was a Southerner who "psychoanalyzed" his native South, who revealed its extraordinary talent for self-deception, and who warned that the South had better wake up and come to terms with the Twentieth Century. Since World War II ... Cash's prophetic book has come into its own. It has been cribbed from, plagiarized, and imitated. It has been cited and quoted endlessly. Nobody has excelled it as a feat of historical interpretation, sweeping in scope, detailing the Southern experience in its totality. Historians are generally agreed that studies of the South today must begin where W. J. Cash left off.[14]

The author will return to the work of Wilbur Cash later in this article.

Two frequently cited sources for this article have been: (1) The book *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* by David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, which began as a catalog for an exhibition at the Virginia Historical Society to mark the centenary of Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis concerning "The significance of the frontier in American History,"[15] and (2) The book *Steps in the Expansion of Our Territory* by the statistician Oscar P. Austin, which was published in 1903 and contains many useful and interesting maps that collectively provide a clear overview of the building of the American nation.[16] Additionally, in describing the people who traveled through Southwest Virginia, this article includes many citations of books and scholarly articles about the region and thereby serves as an overview of Southwest Virginia's history prior to 1800. A good Internet

source of detailed information, the presentation titled "Encountering the First American West," provides a useful overview of the westward movement.[17] The main page, titled "The Ohio River Valley, 1750 – 1820," consists of 15,000 pages of original historical material documenting the land, peoples, exploration, and transformation of the trans-Appalachian West from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.[18] Among the many works cited in the endnotes to this article are two heavily-footnoted, modern academic works that deal with the theme of this article: the third edition of the book *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775 – 1850* by Malcolm Rohrbough[19] and the long article "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History" by François Furstenberg.[20] Modern historians who study the Virginia frontier tend to place it within the context of a larger Atlantic world. Valley of Virginia historian Warren Hofstra has recently published a critique of the present state of historical studies of the Virginia frontier.[21]

The author has adopted the chronological approach in writing the article and in the earlier sections describe in some detail the opening of the Great Southwest Road. In the later sections the author paints with a broader brush and recounts the formation and settlement of new states during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Before 1513:[22] Prehistory

During the prehistoric period, American Indians traveled the trails of Southwest Virginia on their trade and hunting expeditions. A map (Figure 3) showing those trails prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Americas was published in 1925 by William E. Myer.[23] Controlled by topography, principal Indian trails in the region ran along a northeast–southwest axis, just as do today's highways and railroads.

Compared with many other regions of the country, there is relatively little professionally-obtained archeological evidence from Southwest Virginia. Much of what is professionally known comes from a broad survey of the region.[24] However, from the anecdotal evidence it is clear that the Saltville–Chilhowie region was a major trading center during the protohistoric period.[25] The author's work has documented a rich material culture from the region that has escaped the purview of the professional archeologists.[26.] One of the few roadside monuments to the prehistoric people of the region (in Tennessee) is shown in Figure 4. There are no monuments in Virginia's southwest region that commemorate American Indians.
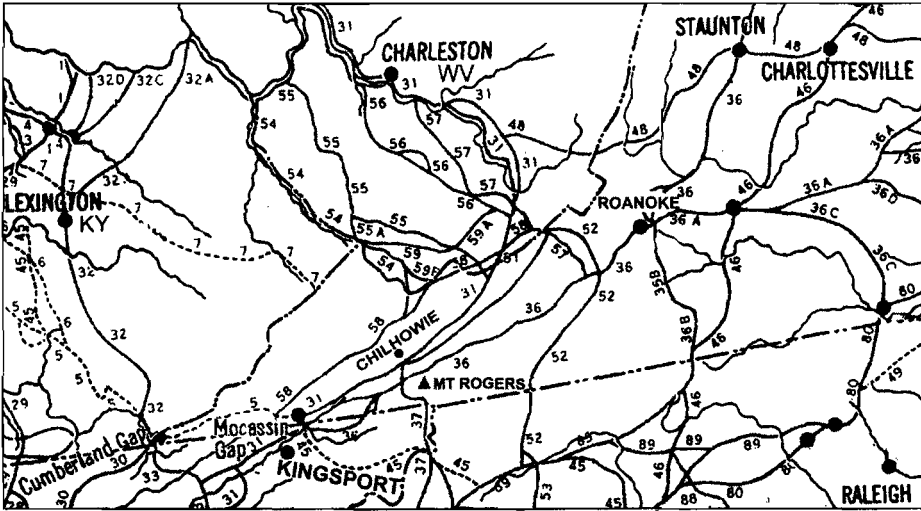
Figure 3. The Southwest Virginia section of the map of *Indian Trails of the Southeast*. Indian Trail 58 runs from the New River to Cumberland Gap via Bluefield and the Clinch Valley. Trail 31 is the Great Indian Warpath (today's Interstate 81 corridor at Chilhowie) and Trail 36 is the Chesapeake branch of the Great Indian Warpath. Modern towns and state boundaries are shown on the map for reference. The map has been somewhat simplified, and features such as Roanoke, Chilhowie, Kingsport, and Mount Rogers have been added.

Figure 4. The Indian Trail Marker in Kingsport, Tennessee. It stands beside West Stone Drive, about five miles south of the Virginia State line. The two bronze plaques on the marker together read: "The Great Indian Warpath. Placed by the Long Island Chapter, D. A. R. November 11, 1934." Author's picture, September 2008.

1513 – 1570: Spanish Contacts

Spanish influence made itself felt in Southwest Virginia by around the middle of the sixteenth century. Hernando de Soto and his army passed to the south of the region in 1541 and Juan Pardo's subordinate Hernado Moyano was likely in the region in 1567.[27] By this time, or soon after, an

observer would have seen Indians carrying European manufactured goods passing along the Great Southwest Road.

Spanish trade goods perhaps reached the region directly from one of these two expeditions, or more likely made their way along Indian trade networks, being carried into the region along the trails by Indian travelers. Formal archeology tells that Spanish glass beads were recovered during excavations in Radford (the Trigg site) and in the Roanoke Valley (the Graham–White and Sawyer sites). Relic collectors tell that blue Spanish glass beads were recovered at sites they excavated in Chilhowie. These Chilhowie beads were sold and are not available for study, but two Chilhowie residents confirm that they saw them before they were purchased by dealers.[28]

It is just possible that the English-speaking sailor David Ingram traveled through Southwest Virginia around 1570. Ingram was set ashore on the Gulf coast of Florida following the Spanish attack in 1568 on Sir John Hawkins' fleet. He walked, perhaps via inland Indian trails or perhaps along the seaboard, to the Canadian maritime coast where he found a French ship which returned him to Europe.[29]

1570 – 1700: Disease and Colonization

For the period of disease and colonization, it is hardly possible to write any history of the American Indians of western Virginia, or indeed most of the Southeast. This time has become known as the "forgotten centuries," an appellation taken from the title of a collection of essays that discussed the difficulty of writing documentary history for the period.[30]

American Indians lacked immunological resistance to common European diseases such as diphtheria, influenza, measles, smallpox, and typhus. Thus, the infection of Indians occurred almost at the moment of first contact. European diseases were quickly taken into the interior by Indians traveling from the coast whereupon waves of disease epidemics occurred among Indian populations who had never themselves met a European. Definitive numbers are impossible to establish, but typical estimates are that more than 90 percent of American Indians were killed by European diseases during this period.[31]

The problems faced when attempting to write an Indian history of the Southeast for the forgotten centuries have been eloquently described by the Yuchi historian Woktela:

> The muddled mess that is the agglomerated remnant culture of Post Contact Indigenous America can tell us little of these peoples as people. The confusion and duress of population collapse followed by years of

being drawn into the bloody politics of the European factions mostly destroyed the fabric of the original culture(s). One must look deeper in time to the pre-Contact period before the Contact holocaust in order to sort out the peoples and diversity of the subcultures involved in the Southeastern Mound building culture. It is only here that a meaningful understanding of these tribes may be had without the churning influence of Contact's chaos. Sorting out the agglomerated tribes and cultures post contact is rather like trying to appreciate a house after it's been flattened by a tornado. The fragments are torn asunder and spread about and are not likely to ever be sorted out and properly reassembled into anything like the house of which they were once a part.[32]

Colonization of North America, or at least the exploration and opening of the continent, was largely undertaken by the Spanish and the French.

For over a hundred years after the foundation of their colony, Virginians clustered around the rivers and inlets of the Chesapeake Bay. In 1650, the English-settled areas of the Virginia/Maryland and New England colonies, separated by the Dutch in the Hudson River Valley of New York, were small compared to the vast areas of French and Spanish land claims in North America. The regions claimed in North America by five different European nations in 1650 are shown in Figure 5.

One can see clearly from Figure 5 that European exploration of western Virginia came late compared to other parts of North America. The explanation of this relative lateness of exploration in the Middle Appalachian
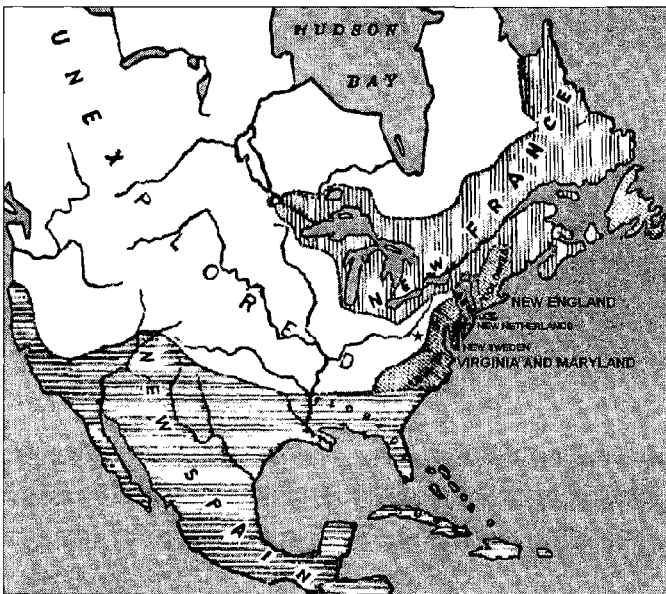

Figure 5. North America 1650. Showing European land claims arising out of exploration and occupancy. See the description in the text. The star near the center of the map shows the approximate location of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Map much modified from Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, 1913.[33]

region is its topography, as illustrated in Figure 6. Using the St. Lawrence River as a route to the American heartland, French explorers, missionaries, and traders were far west of the Appalachian mountains by the 1660s.[34] Virginians, on the other hand, were "Shut off by the Appalachians and unconnected to the South's river system," so "Virginia in the Mississippian and colonial eras had little impact on the region beyond the Jamestown colony's traders, who generally did not go farther than the Cherokee in the southern Appalachians."[35]

A map with delimited regions of political claims, such as that shown in Figure 5, tells only part of the story. In Figure 6 the political boundary of Virginia from 1784 to 1863 is outlined on the underlying topography. Topography is often a key to understanding history, and the Appalachian mountain chain was a great impediment to the early traders and settlers going to western Virginia. This map shows that the Appalachian barrier could be crossed by west-bound travelers at only a few points. Virginia's Great Road ran southwesterly along the eastern edge of the barrier with branches off it to the several crossing points. The three principal crossing points were (and still are) the New River route north to Ohio, the Cumberland Gap overland route west to Kentucky, and the Holston River route southwest into Tennessee and beyond.

The earliest English speakers who we can say with some certainty traveled at least a portion of the Great Southwest Road were Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam in 1671. These men had been sent west by Abraham
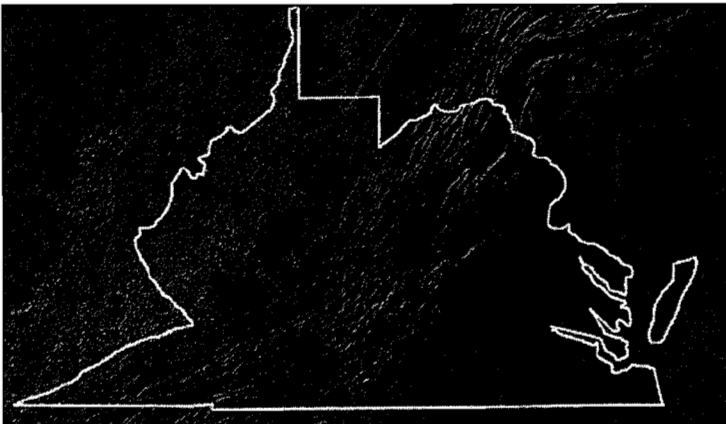

Figure 6. The political boundary of Virginia from 1784 to 1863 outlined on its underlying topography. Author's diagram modified from an original by Andrew D. Birrel.

Wood from his trading station at Fort Henry (at modern-day Petersburg) to explore and seek Indian trade contacts.[36] However, despite the efforts of Wood and others, Virginia trade through Southwest Virginia did not develop for another 50-60 years after Batte and Hallam's journey. The first English-

speaking traders who likely made use of Virginia's Great Southwest Road probably came from [South] Carolina. Wood's efforts notwithstanding, the English advance into the South was actually spearheaded by the Charles Town (Charleston, South Carolina) traders who sought deerskins and slaves in an aggressive policy of expansion. In the lower South this expansion brought them into competition with the French and thereby to the important realization that the English colonies were at risk of being encircled by the French.[37]

1700 – 1730: Governor Spotswood and Indian Trade

Only after the arrival of Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1711 was much attention paid by Virginians to the western regions of their colony.[38] A well-trained English soldier, Spotswood understood the global reach of the British Empire and realized (like the Carolinians before him) that French presence and control of the inner part of the continent, along the corridor of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, threatened permanent constriction of the Virginia Colony to the coastal plain.[39] As part of a newly implemented western policy, in 1714 the Virginia Assembly passed the "Act for the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade," which provided for the establishment of the Virginia Indian Company in which Spotswood became the leading investor. In 1716 Spotswood personally led an expedition party of leading Virginians, to which history gives the colorful name of "The Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," across the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Shenandoah River Valley near modern-day Elkton.[40] This trip sensitized Virginians to the possibility of westward expansion, and within a few years they were seeking to establish new western counties. By 1718, an Indian Company train of 70 deerskin-laden packhorses had returned from the Cherokee country, though we do not know the route they traveled.[41]

After the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe expedition, Spotswood reported the strategic situation to the Board of Trade in London and made recommendations for Virginia's western settlement and occupation:

> ... that the French by their trade and forts had surrounded the British plantations, and could engross the whole fur trade, harry the back settlements with Indians, and by widening their own settlements so as to join Louisiana with Canada could possess themselves of any of the British plantations. He recommended, therefore, that while the countries were at peace, settlements be made in the western region, and that the passes in the mountains be occupied. This far-sighted report

lays out for us at the start the policy which proved on the whole the controlling one, of encouraging western settlement in order to get the fur trade, and protect the colony against the Indians and the French.[42]

Settlement at the northeastern end of the Great Valley Road began in the late 1720s with that locality soon becoming a center for raising cattle. Cattle drives from the northern Shenandoah Valley to Philadelphia were one of the earliest uses of the Great Valley Road,[43] although the cattle traveled in the opposite direction to the settlers. No doubt the very first "Cowboys and Indians" conflicts occurred along the road at this time.

It is not possible to know exactly when packhorse caravans began to travel the Great Southwest Road; however, it must have been between 1728 and 1740. William Byrd II, who was about the business of surveying the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, was near present-day Martinsville, Virginia in October 1728. He knew that the then-current packhorse route from Tidewater to the Cherokee country was a long detour and thought that the Virginia Assembly should seek "a shorter cut to carry on so profitable a trade." He bemoaned that he could not himself seek the route because "want of bread and weakness of our horses hindered us from making the discovery," and wrote before turning back eastward on October 29, 1728:

> Our traders are now at the vast charge and fatigue of traveling above five hundred miles for the benefit of that traffic which hardly quits our costs. ... I am persuaded [a route exists] half the distance that our traders make it now. ... [Its] discovery would certainly prove an unspeakable advantage to this colony, by facilitating a trade with so considerable a nation of Indians. ... Our traders at that rate would be able to undersell those sent from the other colonies so much, that the Indians must have reason to deal with them preferable to all others.[44]

A report from Judge John Haywood of Tennessee states that twelve years after Byrd wrote the above, the shorter route Byrd believed existed had been found and put to use.

> Mr. Vaughan, who lived as late as the year 1801, in the county of Amelia, in Virginia, was employed about the year 1740, as a packman to go to the Cherokee Nation with some Indian traders. The country was then but thinly inhabited to the west of Amelia; the last hunter's

cabin that he saw was on Otter River, a branch of Staunton, now in Bedford County, Virginia. … The trading path from Virginia, as he describes it, proceeded nearly upon the ground that the Buckingham road now runs on, and to the point where it strikes the stage road in Botetourt County; thence nearly upon the ground which the stage road now occupies, crossing New River at the fort, at English's [Ingles] Ferry, onward to the Seven Mile Ford, on the Holston; thence on the left of the line, which now forms the stage road, and near the river to the north fork of the Holston, and crossing the same at the ford, where the stage road now crosses it [and into Tennessee]. … This was an old path when [Vaughan] first saw it, and he continued to travel upon it, trading with the Indians, until the breaking out of the war between the French and English nations about the year 1754.[45]

So here with Haywood's report we have the first description, albeit at secondhand, of the route of the Great Southwest Road in 1730. Today it is mostly guesswork as to where the packhorse trail ran, although it probably followed the Great Indian Warpath in Southwest Virginia. Figure 7 shows an image of a possible modern-day remnant of Virginia's Great Southwest Road.

Figure 7. A possible remnant of Virginia's Great Southwest Road at coordinates 36.791072, -81.731122 north of the equator and east of Greenwich. This site is on private property owned by B. B. Huff about two miles west of Chilhowie (shown on the maps in Figures 1 and 3) near Hutton's Creek between the present-day railroad and I-81/Route 11 (which hereabouts run adjacent to one another). The Indian Fields pictured in Figure 9 are about a mile distant from here. Author's picture, March 2009.

1730 – 1753: Settlement in Augusta County and Down Virginia's Great Southwest Road

During this period the seeds of future nation-building were planted in the funnel that Southwest Virginia became for people moving westward.

We come now to the first time period when Virginia's Great Southwest Road is historically well-documented. Settlement from about 1740 onward, and the taking up of land claims, have been described by F. B. Kegley in one of a number of now-standard books of western Virginia history.[46] Governor Francis Fauquier summarized the history of the 1740s' land grants along Virginia's Great Southwest Road in a letter to the Board of Trade in London in 1764.[47]

Around 1740, possibly a decade earlier, Virginians began to think of their Great Southwest Road as a segment of a continuous route that ran from Pennsylvania and Maryland down their western frontier (map in Figure 1). The concept of a frontier highway was certainly crystallized by 1744 when the "Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster" from Philadelphia to the Yadkin River (a distance of 435 miles, much of which was contiguous with the Great Valley Road) was formally adopted as part of the treaty.[48]
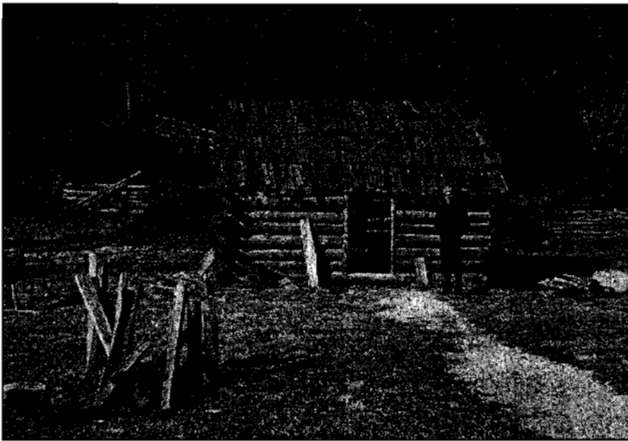

Figure 8. The recreated "1740s American Farm" at the Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia in Staunton. The interpretive sign in front of this cabin begins: "Settlement of America's Appalachian River Valleys began in the late 1720s. The colony of Virginia enacted land policies to attract settlers to create a buffer of Protestant farmers on the colony's western frontier...." Also seen here to provide scale is the author's frequent coauthor Ryan Mays. Author's picture, 2011.

The first-ever grant of land-ownership in the Valley of Virginia (at its northeastern end) was made by the soon-to-be exiled Charles II in 1649, in the form of the Northern Neck Proprietary, to Lord John Culpeper and six others. Lord Thomas Fairfax became the sole proprietor in 1685 when he married Culpeper's granddaughter and heiress. It took over 150 years

for the boundaries of what came to be called Fairfax Grant to be finally litigated. Squatters were probably in the Valley by as early as the 1720s, and legitimate settlers were there by 1731.[49]

By 1730 Tidewater Virginians were quickly expanding into the piedmont and forming new counties: Spotsylvania (1720), Goochland (1728), and Orange (1734).[50] Early grants of land along the Great Valley Road of Virginia included those to Jost Hite, who was settled on Occoquon Creek at the northeast end of the Valley Road in 1731, William Beverley's 60,000 acre grant in 1734 for land in present-day Rockingham County, and Benjamin Borden's grant of 1735 for land in present-day Rockbridge County (the Borden tract).[51]

Virginia Council member William Beverley of Essex County in August 1736 obtained his so-called Beverley Manor grant (also known as the Irish tract) of 118,491 acres in the vicinity of modern-day Staunton[52] (Figure 8). In the Valley, these so-called grants of land were not outright grants, but rather orders from the Virginia Council empowering the recipients to distribute land on behalf of the colony.[53] Beverley's leapfrogged the James River expansion, linked the upper and lower sections of the Great Road, and brought the long-lasting and dominant Scotch-Irish connection to Virginia and the American South. Subsequently, Scotch-Irish people and their descendants made an enormous impact on Virginia and U.S. history. Henceforth, our discussion of Virginia's Great Southwest Road is intimately bound up with the Scotch-Irish story.[54]

The Scotch-Irish connection began more or less by accident. During the 1730s William Beverley formed some type of business relationship, tobacco shipping and perhaps smuggling, with James Patton — a ship captain who had likely been born in the northern part of Ireland. The author has recently published two papers (coauthored with Ryan Mays) that explore the rise of James Patton and his relationship with Beverley.[55] Consequent to the relationship, Patton brought settlers to Beverley Manor (Beverley's land grant), where Patton quickly rose to prominence and prosperity. In 1745 (surprisingly speedily) Patton received his "Great Grant" of 100,000 of acres of land to be taken up piecemeal on the "Western Waters" (i.e., in the Mississippi watershed) and along Virginia's Great Southwest Road.[56] Among the many pieces of land surveyed for Patton were Draper's Meadows near present-day Blacksburg, Kilmacronan[57] near Chilhowie (Figure 9), the Aspenvale property near Marion, and the salt lick property at Saltville. John Buchanan (who later became Patton's son-in-law) was making surveying trips to this region as early as 1742.[58]
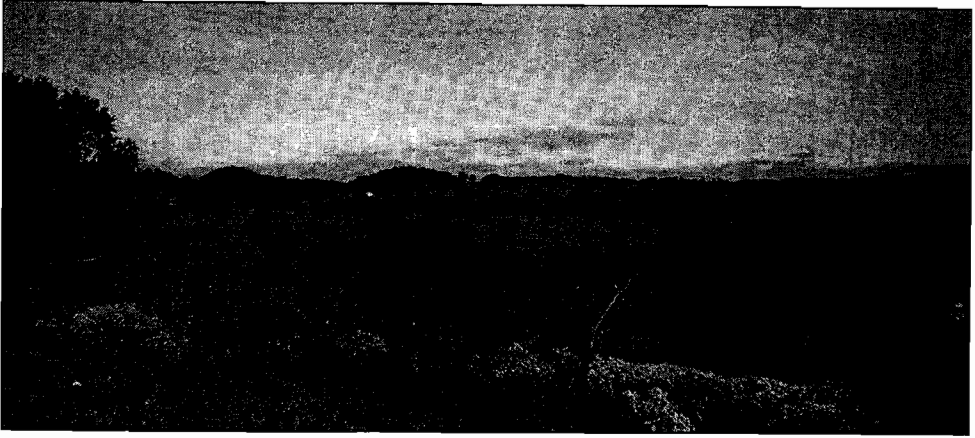
Figure 9. The Indian Fields near Chilhowie. Viewed from the back yard of the Kilmacronan House on the David Johnson Dairy Farm looking toward the Northeast. The Middle Fork of the Holston River runs behind the tree line in the center of the picture. Fort Attakullakulla was built near here in 1761, and was quite likely on this very spot. Author's picture, October 2011.

The grand sweep of the eighteenth century Scotch-Irish story in America has been famously told by David Hackett Fischer in his book *Albion's Seed*.[59] Unfortunately, Fischer focuses almost entirely on Carolina settlement and neglects the story of western Virginia.[60] For example, he devotes only a single sentence to James Patton whose Great Grant, as noted, was the first colonial endowment of land in the Mississippi River watershed.

It is axiomatic that the great western migration of Americans was about the travelers' search for land and the new life that went with land acquisition. Two books that describe the way western land was taken up by Virginians are the older work *Western Lands and the American Revolution* in 1937 by the Virginia historian Thomas Perkins Abernethy and a newer work, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land*, published in 1992 by the New York City businessman Daniel Friedenberg. Opening of land in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio established settlement and cultural patterns for American national expansion and thus for the entire western tier of states.[61] Historians of the Ohio Valley have particularly well-documented the land lust which one historian has called "the alchemy of property."[62]

Settlement of the New River Valley, a hundred miles down the Great Road from Staunton, was well under way by 1750,[63] with deer skin traders such as Adam Harman (a German) having already been on the New River for six or more years. In addition to the Scotch-Irish, many people of German origin made their way into Southwest Virginia. There are a number of books that tell the story of these German settlers.[64] Harman reached the

New River in the 1740s.[65] German Sabbatarian brethren from Pennsylvania established themselves in 1745 at Mahanaim (also known as Dunkard's Bottom and under today's Claytor Lake).[66] Samuel Stalnaker of German stock was settled on Virginia's Great Southwest Road fifty miles beyond the New River near present-day Chilhowie by 1749; he was likely located near the place pictured in Figure 8. The well-known explorer and land magnate Thomas Walker traveled the length of Virginia's Great Southwest Road in 1749 on his way to Kentucky, becoming the first person we definitely know to have traveled the entire length of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Walker's journal records that he helped Stalnaker put up a cabin near present-day Chilhowie on the 24th of March, 1749:

> We went to Stalnaker's, helped him to raise his house and camped about a quarter of a mile below him. In April 1748 I met the above mentioned Stalnaker between the Reedy Creek Settlement and Holstons River, on his way to the Cherokee Indians, and expected him to pilate me as far as he knew but his affairs would not permit him to go with me.[67]

In the summer of 1751 the desire for Virginia trade brought the Cherokee leader Attakullakulla up Virginia's Great Southwest Road from Tennessee all the way to James Patton's home near the Augusta County Court House. A group of Cherokees who had recently settled in the Holston Valley found their trade lines to South Carolina stretched, while the alternative French traders from the Mississippi region offered only costly goods. Thus, after sending word to James Patton that they wanted a conference, in July of 1751 Attakullakulla and a party of thirty-one Cherokees traveled from East Tennessee up Virginia's Great Southwest Road to meet Patton. Patton took a delegation of some of those Cherokees to Williamsburg where they met with Lewis Burwell, the Virginia Council President and acting Governor. After several weeks of negotiations the Council responded favorably to the proposal for Cherokee trade, and Attakullakulla and the others returned to Tennessee via Virginia's Great Southwest Road in September with the prospect of Virginia trade to come.[68]

1754 – 1775: Virginia's Great Southwest Road Becomes a Thoroughfare

During this period the first trickle of nation-building people passing through Southwest Virginia began.

The French and Indian War (or Seven Years' War)[69] which began in 1754 was called by Winston Churchill "the first world war."[70] Most of the fighting during the war took place along the corridor from New York to Canada and in the St. Lawrence basin. For Virginians, most of their action in the war revolved around the struggle for the Ohio country and its controlling point, the Forks of the Ohio (present-day Pittsburgh). Nonetheless, the sheer scope of the war influenced Virginia's Great Southwest Road.

Planning and building forts along the Virginia frontier were features of the war. Louis Koontz lists and describes eighty-one such forts stretching all the way from western Pennsylvania to eastern Tennessee.[71] Five of these forts are along Virginia's Great Southwest Road (MacNeal's Fort at Roanoke, Fort Lewis at Salem, Fort Vause at Shawsville, Fort Frederick at Mahanaim, and Fort Chiswell at Wytheville). They are shown on F. B. Kegley's map titled "The Virginia Frontier 1759."[72] In 1756 the 24-year-old George Washington traveled the frontier at the order of Governor Dinwiddie selecting sites for forts and readying frontier defenses. Kegley's map shows Washington traveled the northeast portion of Virginia's Great Southwest Road.[73] One fort he visited was Fort Vause; the historic marker now at that site is shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10. The Fort Vause Historic Marker in Shawsville, Montgomery County, Virginia. The concluding sentence of the narrative on this marker reads: "George Washington inspected Fort Vause in October 1756 during his tour of Virginia's frontier defenses." Author's picture, April 2009.

The first military action mounted from Virginia's Great Southwest Road, and the colony's only independent action during the entire French and Indian War, was the disastrous and abortive Sandy Creek expedition led by

Andrew Lewis with William Preston, William Fleming, other officers, and a force of 340 men, including fifty Cherokees. The expedition departed from Fort Frederick in February 1756 intending to attack the Shawnee villages in Ohio. It returned six weeks later shattered and starving and having reached no farther than the vicinity of present-day Matewan, West Virginia.[74]

Later in 1756, Andrew Lewis traveled down Virginia's Great Southwest Road from Augusta to Tennessee with sixty men and a hundred "beeves" to build the Virginia Fort at the Cherokee head town of Chota (Chote), on the Little Tennessee River, some 30 miles south of present-day Knoxville. This group was the first armed force of significant size to travel the entire length of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Lewis and his men went under orders from Governor Dinwiddie, whose principal objectives were to provide a protective base for Cherokee women and children, and so release the Cherokee men for service to support the British campaign in the Ohio country, and to counter French influence on the Cherokees.[75]

The major opening of Virginia's Great Southwest Road from the New River Valley all the way southwest to the future Tennessee came with the Cherokee War of 1760 – 1761, which brought an army into Southwest Virginia. Along its way, the Virginia army constructed forts. The war was caused when Cherokee relations with the Virginians and South Carolinians deteriorated in the late 1750s. In Fall 1759 the Cherokees rose up, provoked by the encroachment of white settlers on their land, by increasingly unfair treatment from the deerskin traders, and by falling deerskin prices. Initially, the Cherokees pushed back the line of frontier settlement by a hundred miles or more. However, the situation was soon reversed when Britain responded with two successive summer attacks into Cherokee territory. These attacks came from two directions as shown in Figure 11. The attack from the southeast was made by British regulars (mainly Highland regiments) who had been shipped to Charleston, South Carolina, from New England. Overcoming vigorous Cherokee resistance these troops engaged in what today would be termed "ethnic cleansing." The attack from the northeast was made by a Virginia army led successively by William Byrd III and Adam Stephen. The Virginia army never reached the Cherokee homelands, getting only as far as the Long Island of the Holston River, at present-day Kingsport, and never engaging in any actual Indian fighting.[76] Units of Stephen's force, led by Andrew Lewis and William Fleming, literally cut their way down Virginia's Great Southwest Road, thereby truly opening it. At the newly-constructed Fort Robinson at Long Island,[77] on 20 November 1761 Adam Stephen signed a peace treaty with the Cherokees.
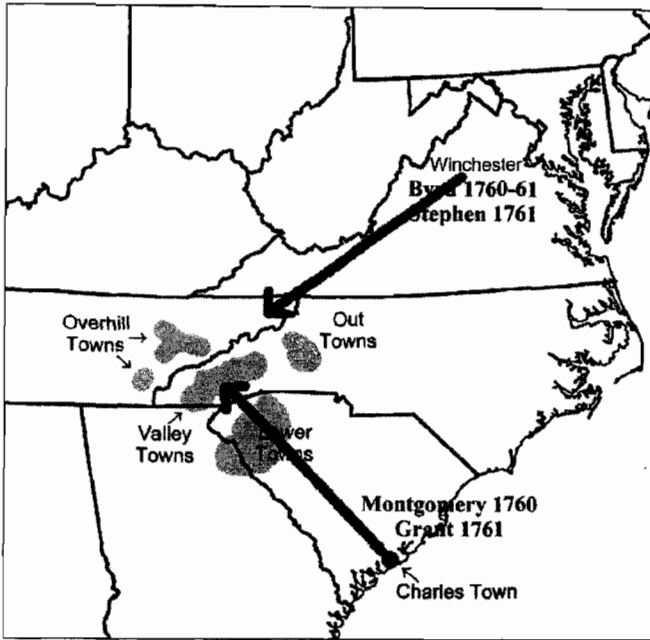
Figure 11. The Pincers of the Cherokee War, 1760 – 1761. The Virginia army opened Virginia's Great Southwest Road and extended it into what is now northeast Tennessee. Author's diagram.

Also present at the treaty signing at Fort Robinson was a force of 500 North Carolinians under the command of Colonel Hugh Waddell. They had joined the Virginians at Chilhowie and marched with them to the Long Island of the Holston where "The rich and beautiful lands which fell under the eye of the North Carolina and Virginia pioneers under Waddell, Byrd, and Stephen, lured them irresistibly on to wider casts for fortune and bolder explorations into the unknown, beckoning West."[78] Thus, many of the men who served in the army, having seen the fine land prospects in the region, later became among that region's earliest settlers. With its concluding treaty, the Virginians' campaign of 1761 formally brought Southwest Virginia for the first time into the orbit of world politics. The significance of the Cherokee War in the opening of Virginia's Great Southwest Road is large and generally not well-appreciated.

Fort Robinson was named by Adam Stephen in honor of John Robinson, who simultaneously occupied the offices of Treasurer of Virginia and Speaker of the House of Burgesses. Robinson, one of the three partners who owned the lead mines in Wythe County, committed suicide in 1766, and after his death it became known that he had severely abused his authority.[79] Carl Bridenbaugh wrote: "A very good case can be made for the view that Speaker John Robinson's illegal loans of £100,000 of retired currency to insolvent planters were a desperate attempt to save the Virginia

aristocracy from economic ruin."[80] The Robinson affair turned the eyes of the financially-stricken Virginians westward, to the prospect of riches from land ownership and land sales. Many hoped they could recoup their fortunes by profits in western land speculation and thereby accelerated western exploration, land acquisition, and subsequent migration. William Miller wrote:

> Many were not saved by Robinson's largesse. But even among those who crashed, perhaps especially among them, the vast West beckoned more beguilingly than ever, and Virginians' visions of landed wealth grew feverish enough, as Washington's and Jefferson's did, to encompass the entire continent and indeed the entire hemisphere.[81]

The French and Indian War formally concluded with the Treaty of Paris, signed by Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal in February 1763. The treaty ended the European struggle for eastern North America and excluded the French from all but a few minuscule islands near Newfoundland. The Spanish, who had assisted the French in the war, ceded their Florida territories to Britain. Thus, in 1763 all territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the Great Lakes became Britain's. In October of that same year George III issued a proclamation[82] redrawing the interior boundaries of North America and defining new political jurisdictions for the French- and Spanish-ceded lands. The newly-drawn provinces of east and west Florida were created in formerly Spanish territory, Quebec was created in formerly French territory, and trans-Appalachia was designated as an area of Indian reserve where land grants were forbidden (Figure 12). The British acquired *half a billion* acres of new territory in North America in consequence of the treaty,[83] and faced the complex problem — that they never solved — of administering, organizing, and controlling this territory.

The treaty created the so-called "Proclamation Line" as the boundary between the thirteen colonies and the newly-created "Indian Reserve." In western Virginia, the Proclamation Line follows the eastern continental divide. Thus, the Shenandoah and James River basins could be legally settled, while the basins of the New and Holston Rivers could not. The King had forbidden settlement west of the Roanoke River basin. These changes affected the use of Virginia's Great Southwest Road because the Proclamation Line crossed it in present-day Montgomery County. Travelers on Interstate 81 cross the Proclamation Line at the top of Christiansburg Mountain, near mile marker 118.
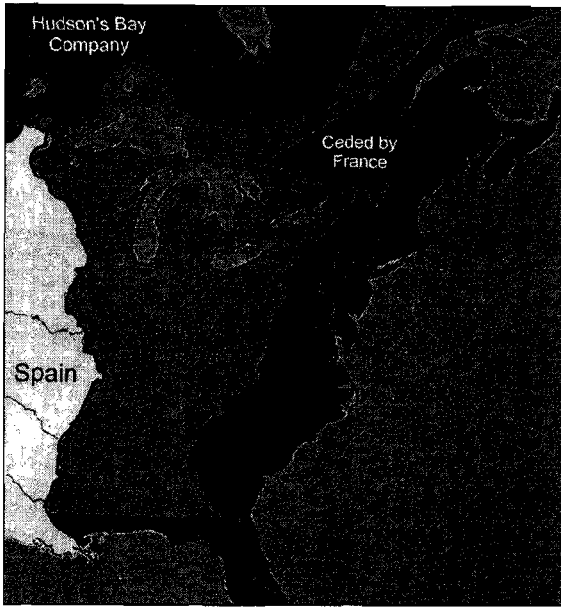
Figure 12. Political jurisdictions in eastern North America as they were dictated by the Proclamation of George III in October 1763. The Proclamation Line separated the colonies from the Indian Reserve. Virginia's Great Southwest Road crossed the Proclamation Line in present-day Montgomery County, Virginia. Author's diagram.

Historians refer to 1763 – 1776 as the period of the Imperial Crisis. François Furstenberg has recently said this period " began, like the French crisis before it, on the imperial periphery: at the crest of the Appalachians, where imperial authorities found themselves squeezed between the conflicting demands of the rebellious Native and settler populations."[84] The period is known popularly for issues and events in the prelude to the American Revolution such as the Stamp Act, "No Taxation Without Representation," and the Boston Tea Party. But the much less well-known events along the Virginia frontier also carried their sway in Williamsburg.[85]

In the wake of the 1763 Proclamation no western land claims could be legally made. Despite the prohibition on land acquisition, actual and attempted land procurement were rampant; it is a paradoxical period. Land companies proliferated, and speculators in England and the Virginia oligarchs, through their agents, lobbied in London for land grants and made deals to carve out big areas of land in the colonies.[86] Meanwhile, ordinary people just kept on trekking west and asserting "tomahawk" rights to land they marked by cutting notches on trees.[87] Ordinary people simply ignored the Proclamation, though it is difficult to more than guess at the numbers of persons who did so.[88] "Land, land, land" were the watch words for many Virginians of both low and high rank during these years. As mentioned above in connection with the John Robinson defalcation, high-ranking Virginians sought land to sell at a profit and pay off their debts to British merchants. George Washington regarded the Proclamation Line as merely a temporary inconvenience to his western land speculations.[89]

Already, early in this period the shadow of the coming Revolution lay on the land. In the outcome, most of the hoped-for large western land grants to private companies were obviated by the success of the Revolution.[90] By any account, whatever was in the minds of the Bostonians, it was the acquisition of western land that provided a major impulse for the Revolution in Virginia. Two other key features of this period were the ongoing conflict among settlers and American Indians, which was fierce and brutal, and the improvisation of local political arrangements such as the compact entered into by the Watauga settlers (Figure 13). One of the more paradoxical aspects of this paradoxical period is that Virginia continued the process of county formation in the Indian Reserve. Thus Fincastle County, which included the land of the entire present-day state of Kentucky, was formed in 1772.

Figure 13. The Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga River near present-day Elizabethton, Tennessee. Virginians traveled here via their Great Southwest Road. Near here the Watauga compact was made in 1772 when Richard Henderson and his associates purchased Transylvania in 1775, and here the Overmountain Men assembled in 1780 on their way to the Battle of King's Mountain. Author's picture, 2008.

As noted above, Carl Bridenbaugh wrote that the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road (and by extension Virginia's Great Southwest Road) in the years before the Revolution was the most heavily traveled road in all America, with more vehicles jolting along it than all other main roads combined.[91] Here's how the historian of the U.S. State Department has described why the route became so heavily used:

> With the official end of the [French and Indian] war, Anglo-American colonists began to pour over the Appalachian Mountains in search of land. Many of these settlers had no official claim to the land as local Indians had made no land cessions, and in many cases, the land was claimed by private land companies. The Virginia elite had invested heavily in these companies in an attempt to diversify their holdings

outside of the volatile tobacco market and thus had an interest in pressing the British Government to address ensuing tensions.

The settlement of the lands west of the Appalachians brought inevitable tension and conflict between settlers and indigenous peoples. British military officials attempted to halt settlement but eager settlers and land speculators ignored their directives. With the military unwilling to forcibly remove settlers from the lands, Anglo-American colonists continued to migrate west and lay claim [to] these lands.[92]

Also in the historical mix during this period of paradox were land grants made to individuals in recompense for military service. During the eighteenth century the Virginia Colony owned abundant western land while simultaneously having limited funds. Thus the colony used land bounties to induce and encourage military service and land grants to reward and compensate for already-given military service. In the outcome, few awardees of such lands ever took their land up in person. Rather, an active speculators' market developed in the purchase, consolidation, and resale of land. Speculators' land sales accelerated western migration and brought travelers down Virginia's Great Southwest Road.

The final logical extension of Virginia's Great Southwest Road, all the way to the Blue Grass country of Kentucky, was initiated in 1775 by Daniel Boone. On 14 March 1775 North Carolina judge Richard Henderson and his associates in the Transylvania Company made their "Transylvania purchase" from the Cherokee Indians at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga River (Figure 13). This purchase, later challenged by the Virginians, brought Henderson the northern part of the future state of Tennessee and most of the future state of Kentucky. By the time the purchase document was signed, Daniel Boone was already at a blockhouse near Moccasin Gap in Virginia (Figure 14). With him were about three dozen men ready to begin the hard work of making a trail through the forest by chopping down saplings and vines, tossing aside fallen timber, bridging sinkholes with logs, and cutting through cane brakes. Six weeks later Boone and his axmen were 200 miles to the northwest having cut Boone's famous Wilderness Road and planted a settlement at Booneborough.[93] Overland travelers along Virginia's Great Southwest Road traveled from Moccasin Gap to Cumberland Gap and beyond. Boone's venture, together with John Donelson's 30-flatboat, 60-family river convoy from Kingsport to Nashville in 1780,[94] began the tangible process of nation-building via Virginia's Great Southwest Road. A useful summary of the early settlement and history of northeast Tennessee has been published in a biography of Andrew Jackson.[95]
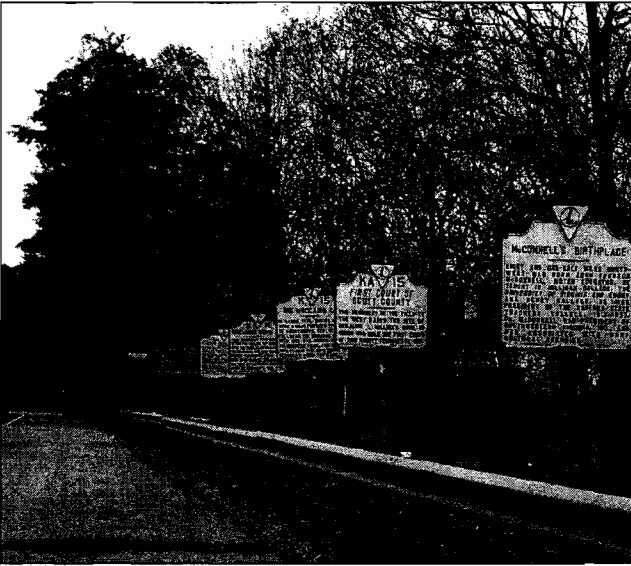
Figure 14. The row of historic markers at Moccasin Gap. This spot is about half a mile north of present-day Weber City, Virginia, and about five miles north of Kingsport, Tennessee. From here it is about sixty-two miles due west to the Cumberland Gap. The number of markers testifies to the historic importance of this place. Author's picture, November 2008.

1775 – 1804: Revolution and the Founding of the States of the Upper South

During this period the westward flow of people along Virginia's Great Southwest Road became a torrent.

During the Revolution, Virginia's Great Southwest Road continued to serve as a route to the south and west, and many settlers used it. However, with the exception of the skirmish between the settlers and the Cherokee at Island Flats (near Kingsport) in 1776,[96] no consequential military action occurred along its path.[97] The single significant military use of Virginia's Great Southwest Road during the War was by the so-called Overmountain Men in October 1781. These were the patriots from Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee who organized themselves into a fighting force, marched to King's Mountain at the border of North and South Carolina, and defeated a Tory force under the command of Patrick Ferguson. Thomas Jefferson called the battle of King's Mountain the "turn of the tide" of the War of Revolution.[98] Today, the annual recreation of the march of the Virginia Overmountain men begins at the Aspenvale Cemetery near Marion, Virginia, and is followed by a muster at Abingdon, Virginia, both located on Virginia's Great Southwest Road.[99] The entire Overmountain force assembled at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga (Figure 13) and consisted mainly of men of Scotch-Irish extraction.[100]

After the Revolution the period of nation-building began in earnest. So now, with Virginia's Great Southwest Road fully operational, so to speak, we will turn from considering the detailed history of how it was established to a broad brush discussion of how it served for nation-building.

Two critical issues for the young Republic in the 1780s were: How would western land be controlled? And how would it be developed? Describing this time period, historian Peter Onuf wrote:

> After the Revolution, American policymakers looked west with mingled expectation and anxiety. They entertained high hopes for the growth of national wealth and power through expansion of settlement and addition of states. At the same time, in darker moments, they feared that the opening of the West would release energies that might subvert social order and destroy the union. Images of anarchy and disorder in postwar America were drawn from, and projected onto, the frontier. Semisavage "banditti," squatters, and land speculators were seen spreading over the western lands. European imperial powers — British to the north, Spanish to the south and west — supposedly stood ready to exploit frontier disorder and Indian discontent. The success of the American experiment in republican government thus seemed to depend on establishing law and order on the frontier.[101]

This issue of how to deal with western land first arose during the process of the original 13 states adopting the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, which they did in 1781. During that process, some states which had no western land claims refused to join the Union until those states with such claims agreed to cede them. "Maryland was especially insistent upon this and it was her sturdy refusal to accept the Articles of Confederation without this precedent that finally led to this action."[102] The manner in which the ceded land would be turned into new states was addressed in the summer of 1787 by the "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, North-West of the River Ohio." This so-called Northwest Ordinance was an important piece of legislation that determined that the United States' central government would be sovereign and that the development of western lands would take place by the formation of new states to be admitted to the Union when ready. The Northwest Ordinance geographically demarked the regions (basically north or south of the Ohio River) in which slavery in newly-admitted states would be either permitted or forbidden. The Northwest Ordinance was adopted in July 1787. The Constitution, which formalized the Ordinance, was adopted in September 1787 and fully ratified in May 1790, when Rhode Island acted. With the legal framework for nation-building established, the stage was thus set for it to begin.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 with the British, which concluded The War of Revolution, the United States received generous

treatment and the British ceded vast areas of land to the newly-independent nation. From these lands, many new states would eventually be carved and the nation built. In 1783, Virginia claimed all the land from her western frontier to the Mississippi River, had an uncontested claim to northern land between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan and between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron, and had contested land claims with Massachusetts and Connecticut around lower Lake Michigan. By 1784 Virginia had ceded all these claims, as eventually would all 13 original states cede theirs as shown in Figure 15.
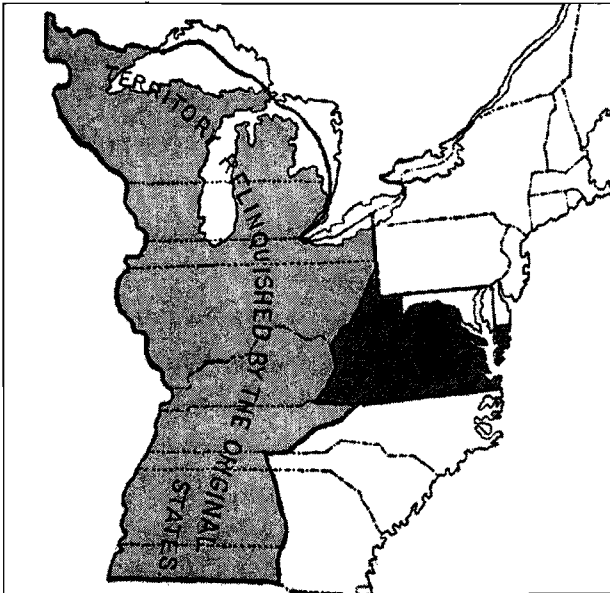

Figure 15. Western Territory Relinquished by the Original Thirteen States and Virginia in 1784. Map modified by the author from Oscar Austin, 1903 page 85. For a much more detailed examination of the evolution of the political boundaries of Virginia see the work of Charles Grymes.[103]

With the conclusion of the Revolution, the pre-War trickle of westward migration became a mighty flood — a great wave of optimistic self-transplantation:

> After the Revolution the Republic attracted a new class of foreign visitors. They were not casual tourists but serious students of American institutions who hoped to find in the New World a clue to the future of the Old. Of all the many sights they saw in the United States, none surprised them more than the human flood of migration that flowed westward from seaboard states to the interior of the continent. What most amazed them was not the magnitude of the movement, or the vast distance that it spanned, but the spirit in which it was undertaken.
> "The active genius of the Americans is always pushing them forward," Brissot de Warville observed in 1788. "After they have spent some time on any piece of land, they move on to another where they

hope to do better." On the road in Maryland, he passed a convoy of wagons heading across the mountains. "These caravans had an appearance of gaiety that surprised me," he wrote. "Apparently for Americans a migration to a place several hundred miles away is no more serious than moving from one house to another and is taken in the spirit of a pleasure party!"[104]

The people in this flood traveled with many motives, but to acquire land and obtain a new and better life were motives that they all probably shared. Other motives would have included a desire for freedom of political choice, lessened influence of government on their lives, and to gain free exercise of religion. Even while the War of Revolution was still taking place, people headed west, as illustrated by the above-mentioned Donelson expedition to Nashville, and the "Travelling Church" to Kentucky.[105] The tenacity and toughness of the members of these groups is very evident in the documentary record.

Between 1784 and 1802, in a drawn-out process, the original thirteen states all ceded their western lands to the common Union. Virginia, acting promptly, ceded its western lands in 1784, establishing the borders of the state that would last until the Civil War and the separation of West Virginia. The process of admitting new states to the Union (Figure 16) began in 1791 with the entry of Vermont, a non-slave-holding state, in anticipation of the admission of slave-holding Kentucky, which was admitted the following year. The admission of slave-holding Tennessee followed in 1792 and was counterbalanced in 1803 by non-slave-holding Ohio. Examination of the map in Figure 16 will show why the location of the Great Road of Southwest Virginia made it a thoroughfare of nation-building. It pointed the way to Kentucky and Tennessee and later to the entire Deep South.

The surveying of Kentucky lands by William Preston's Fincastle surveyors had begun as early as 1774. Some of these surveys were for military grant lands as far west as the Falls of the Ohio (present-day Louisville, Kentucky).[106] Because Preston lived at the Smithfield Plantation, in what was then Fincastle County, his surveyors traveled Virginia's Great Southwest Road on their excursions to the future Kentucky and Tennessee.

With the states of the Upper South admitted to the Union, and with the purchase of the Louisiana territory accomplished in 1803, next would come the flood of people along Virginia's Great Southwest Road to the Deep South.
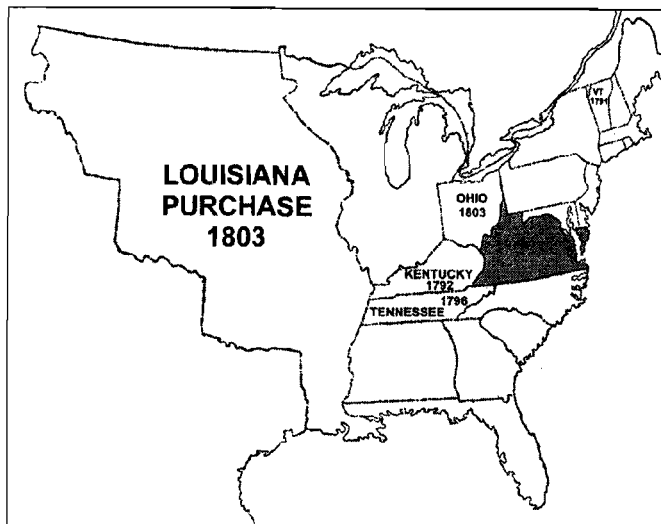
Figure 16. States Admitted to the Union 1791 – 1803 and the land of the Louisiana Purchase. Three of the four of the newly admitted states were contiguous to Virginia: Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), and Ohio (1803). The exception was Vermont (1791) in New England. Kentucky and Tennessee were slave-holding states, Vermont and Ohio were not. Map modified by the author from Austin page 115.

1805 – 1854: Founding of the States of the Deep South

During this period a great flow of enslaved Americans joined free Americans traveling down Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Late in this period the Cumberland Gap turnpike was planned as a second roadway through Southwest Virginia and mostly completed by 1841.[107]

States added to the Union during this period were: Louisiana, 1812; Indiana, 1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; Maine, 1820; Missouri, 1821; Arkansas, 1836; Michigan, 1837; Florida and Texas, 1845; Iowa, 1846; Wisconsin, 1848; and California, 1850. Figures 17 and 18 (based on Oscar Austin's maps) graphically show the process of state formation. During this period Virginia's Great Southwest Road remained a conduit for white settlers. However, at this time it also became a conduit for slaves being exported from Virginia to the Deep South, which placed Virginia's Great Southwest Road in the context of a great national debate as Clack, et al. describe:

> As the free society of the North and the slave society of the South
> spread westward, it seemed politically expedient to maintain a rough
> equality among the new states carved out of western territories. In
> 1818, when Illinois was admitted to the Union, 10 states permitted
> slavery and 11 states prohibited it; but balance was restored after
> Alabama was admitted as a slave state. Population was growing faster
> in the North, which permitted Northern states to have a clear majority
> in the House of Representatives. However, equality between the North
> and the South was maintained in the Senate. ... In 1819 Missouri,
> which had 10,000 slaves, applied to enter the Union. Northerners

rallied to oppose Missouri's entry except as a free state, and a storm of protest swept the country. For a time Congress was deadlocked, but Henry Clay arranged the so-called Missouri Compromise: Missouri was admitted as a slave state at the same time Maine came in as a free state. In addition, Congress banned slavery from the territory acquired by the Louisiana Purchase north of Missouri's southern boundary."[108]
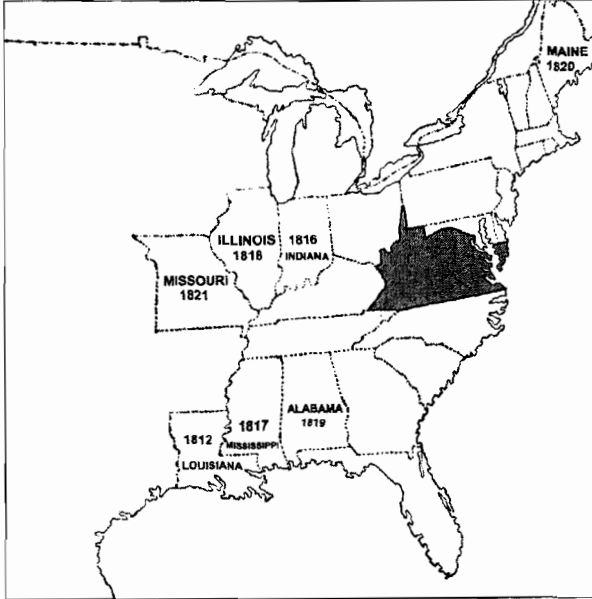

Figure 17. States Admitted to the Union 1812 – 1821. Maps embody the most literal and graphic demonstration of nation-building. The map was modified by the author from Austin 1903, page 169.

Figure 18. States Admitted to the Union 1836 – 1845. There were four states admitted: Arkansas (1836), Michigan (1837), Florida (1845), and Texas (1845). Map modified by the author from Austin 1903, page 169.
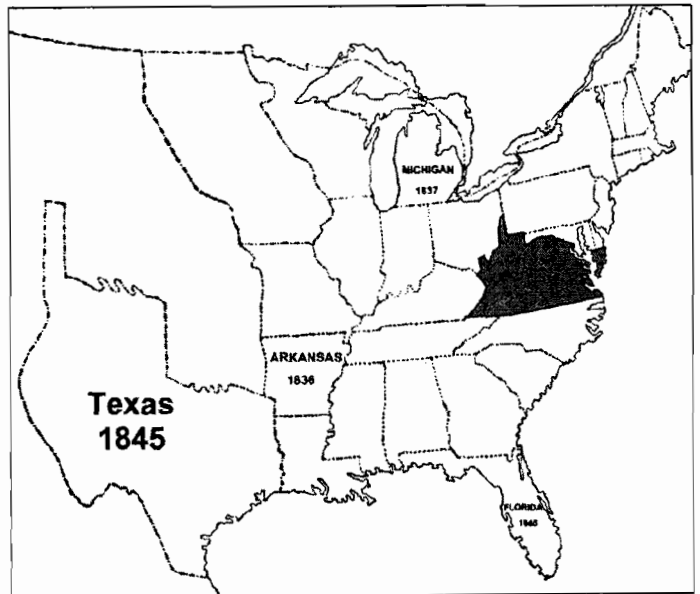
Until after 1805 the story of Virginia's Great Southwest Road belonged to people overwhelmingly of European descent and with white skins. But there is another part of the story that belongs to people of African descent with black skins. It is the story of the Cotton South and of slaves traveling

along Virginia's Great Southwest Road. The process of nation-building in America was inextricably bound up with slavery. To again quote Clack, et al.:

> Slavery, which had up to now received little public attention, began to assume much greater importance as a national issue. In the early years of the republic, when the Northern states were providing for immediate or gradual emancipation of the slaves, many leaders had supposed that slavery would die out. In 1786 George Washington wrote that he devoutly wished some plan might be adopted "by which slavery may be abolished by slow, sure and imperceptible degrees." Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, all Virginians, and other leading Southern statesmen, made similar statements. ... The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had banned slavery in the Northwest Territory. As late as 1808, when the international slave trade was abolished, there were many Southerners who thought that slavery would soon end. The expectation proved false, for during the next generation, the South became solidly united behind the institution of slavery as new economic factors made slavery far more profitable than it had been before 1790.[109]

As late as 1773, George Washington was importing bales of cotton to his Mount Vernon plantation from the Old World. For centuries, cotton had been grown only in regions such as the Nile and Indus valleys; at the time of the Revolution, New World cotton production was minuscule. That situation changed dramatically after the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793. This invention, combined with the vast acreage of cotton-suited land in the South, quickly led to skyrocketing production using slave labor. From 1790 to 1860 U.S. cotton production rose over one thousand-fold. Meanwhile, the US slave population rose from 640,000 to 3,950,000, or six-fold.[110]

Virginia, which has only a small area of land suitable for cotton growing, became a major source of the slaves sold into the cotton belt of the Deep South (Figure 19), where the well-watered river valleys of the American southern coastal plain are ideally-suited for cotton growing. During this first half of the nineteenth century an estimated half million slaves were sold away from Virginia to the owners of cotton plantations. Virginia originating slaves were marched overland in "coffles" down Virginia's Great Southwest Road. On a trip to Virginia in 1853, the Pennsylvanian Lewis Miller sketched in watercolors (Figure 20) a slave coffle heading down the Valley turnpike south of Staunton and commented "I was Astonished at this boldness, the carrier Stopped a moment, then Ordered the march."[111]
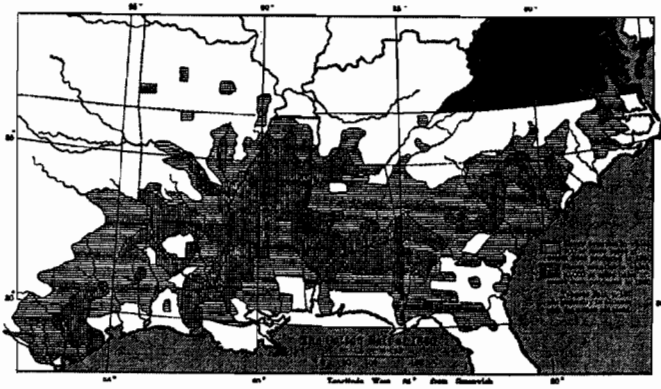
Figure 19. A map of the cotton belt.[112] The horizontally-hatched regions show counties in which 600 or more bales of cotton were produced in 1860. The cross-hatched regions show counties in which more than 10,000 bales of cotton were grown in 1860.

Figure 20. A slave coffle. This image was reproduced in the *Smithfield Review* in 2001 in an article by Phillip D. Troutman. The *Review* editors noted the article presented a vivid picture of the transportation of human cargo through Southwest Virginia and made good use of the relatively scarce first and secondhand accounts of these "melancholy journeys." The same image is also used in Fischer and Kelly's *Bound Away*.

Here is how the depression-era Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Virginia estimated the number of slaves who went west:

> After 1808, when Negroes could no longer be legally imported from Africa, Virginia became a breeding place for slaves needed in the cotton country. ... In the decade from 1830 to 1840, when slave trading was at its height, Virginia's Negro population dropped from 517,105 to 498,829, although Frederic Bancroft assumes that the natural increase of slaves during the decade must have been about 24 percent. Bancroft places the yearly exportation at 11,793, a figure that checks closely with Thomas Marshall's estimate in 1830 of an exportation from Virginia of 10,800 Negroes.[113]

Much, probably most, of this traffic passed along Virginia's Great Southwest Road. Wilma Dunaway wrote:

Global demand for cotton spurred in the United States the largest internal forced migration of slaves that has ever occurred in world history. For that reason, slave trading was pervasive throughout the South. As part of the exporting upper South, Appalachia lay at the hubs of the national slave trade routes. Contrary to popular mythology and much scholarly romanticism, southern Appalachia was neither isolated from nor culturally antagonistic toward the interstate slave trade. From poor white to local sheriffs to wealthy elites, numerous Appalachia households participated directly or indirectly in the interstate trafficking. Only a small minority of Appalachians may have exported black Appalachians directly, but local merchants and nonslaveholding farms benefited from the economic spin-offs from that trade. Thus, every court house, even in those counties with tiny black populations, sported its own slave auction block, and the movement of slave coffles and speculators is easy to document in regional newspapers.[114]

Fischer and Kelly give a chapter-long account of African American migration from Virginia[115] and conclude that "The migration of black Virginians had a profound impact on the future of their nation." Slave narratives record some individual stories of forced migration. For example, the slave James Williams, who was born on a tobacco plantation in Powhatan County, Virginia, in 1805, was sent to Alabama where he endured a number of years in a fearful situation on a cotton plantation before escaping north and eventually across the Atlantic to Liverpool.[116]

In an attempt to estimate the number of white Virginians who went west during the first half of the nineteenth century, Fischer and Kelly analyzed the earliest available statistical data which bears on the matter and comes from the 1850 census data table titled "Places of Birth of the White and Free Colored Population of the United States, 1850." This table shows the numbers of "white and free colored" persons living in other states than Virginia where they had been born. The census does not record the places of birth of slaves, so their westward movement cannot be tracked in the same manner as that of white and free colored persons.[117]

Detailed analysis of the 1850 census data tells a good deal about the westward flow of Americans. In 1850, five states had populations of over a million: New York (3.1 million); Pennsylvania (2.3 million); Ohio (1.9 million); Virginia (1.4 million of which 0.5 million were slaves); and, Tennessee (1.0 million of which 0.24 million were slaves). The counts of out migrants (free persons born in those states but living in other states) were New York (547,000), Pennsylvania (422,000); Ohio (295,000); Virginia
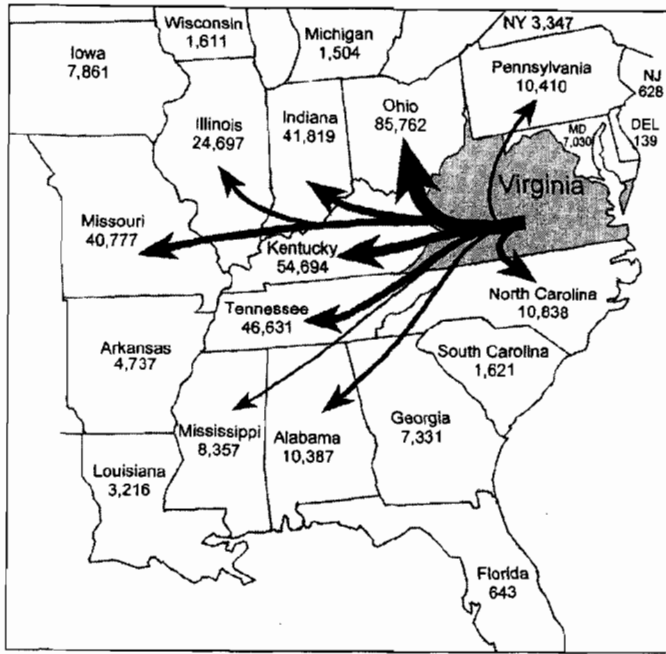
Figure 21. Out Migration from Virginia. The numbers shown in each state are the count in that state of the number of "white and free colored" persons who were born in Virginia, with data taken from the 1850 census.[118] The map is based on the one found on page 139 in *Bound Away*. The author has shaded Virginia and added counts for all of the thirty then-existing states. The thickness of each of the black arrows gives a rough impression of the numbers of persons moving.

(388,059); and, Tennessee (241,600). Given Virginia's much smaller white and free colored population compared with New York and Pennsylvania, Virginia's number of out migrants is exceptionally large. Two-thirds of the out migrants from Virginia were concentrated in the five states of Ohio (86,000); Kentucky (55,000); Tennessee (47,000); Indiana (42,000); Missouri (41,000); and Illinois (25,000). Many of these migrants likely passed through Southwest Virginia — probably most of those who went to Tennessee and Kentucky, and perhaps a few who went to Ohio. Almost half (45 percent) of Pennsylvania's out migrants went to Ohio. In 1790, some Pennsylvanians heading for Ohio might conceivably have traveled the Great Road; by 1850 direct routes were available, though Pittsburgh and Cincinnati were not linked by rail until the 1860s. Out migrants from New York went principally to the northernmost tier of states, with Wisconsin and Michigan receiving over a third of the New Yorkers. Out migrants from Ohio went mainly to Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin. Out migrants from Tennessee went mainly to Arkansas, Mississippi, Illinois, and Texas. Out migrants from Kentucky went mainly to Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois. Out migrants from Massachusetts, the most populous of the New England states, went to New York and the nearby states of New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont, as well as a modest number to Ohio. It is clear from the census data that even as late as 1850 the Great Southwest Virginia Road remained important — particularly for the transport of enslaved Americans.

The Ideas the Virginians Carried Down Virginia's
Great Southwest Road

Fischer and Kelly sum up the westward, nation-building migration of the Virginians as follows:

> Altogether, the movement beyond Virginia was one of the largest migrations in American history. No other state could match it, in terms of magnitude, duration, range, variety, and complexity. ...Virginians were quick to plant colonies on the best soil that lay beyond the Mississippi. They peopled the fine planting land of Missouri's Little Dixie. They took leading roles in Texas, California, and the opening of the Rocky Mountains, where cities bear the names of such Virginians as James Denver and Jesse Reno.[119]

If the life and works of a single individual can symbolize and recapitulate Virginia's westward expansion, then Stephen F. Austin (1793 – 1836), known as "the Father of Texas," is probably that individual. He was born in Wythe County (Figure 22) near the lead mines, and at the age of four was taken to Missouri where his father found a new lead-mining opportunity. Trained as a lawyer, he was elected a member of the legislature of the Missouri Territory. Austin moved on to the new Arkansas Territory after a business reverse and became a judge there. Austin later moved on to Louisiana, and in 1821 successfully settled the future state of Texas with 300 U.S. families.

Figure 22 The Stephen F. Austin Memorial Park in Austinville, Virginia. Today, the Texas flag flies here in a rarely-visited region of Wythe County. The place was once important for the lead that the mines near here produced. Author's picture, 2009.

Perhaps even more prominent than Austin was Sam Houston (1793 – 1863). Houston was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, of Scotch-Irish lineage. He was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1827, emigrated to Arkansas in 1829, and was later President of the Republic of Texas (twice), U.S. Senator for Texas after it joined the Union, and Governor of Texas. The city of Houston is named after him.[120]

Fischer and Kelly in *Bound Away* call the aggregate of ideas that the Virginians carried down their Great Southwest Road the Virginians' "Cultural Legacy."[121] These authors include in that legacy relatively mundane aspects of culture such as architectural styles and patterns of land use, including details of the Virginia systems of field design and fence-building. They also include major aspects of culture such as slavery, attitudes towards class stratification, and the exportation of Virginia political institutions and laws.

Fischer and Kelly also tell of some of the men (history says less about the women) who carried Virginia culture to the newly-forming states. Among such men were: John Breckinridge (1760 – 1806) a Staunton-born, prominent and wealthy Albemarle County lawyer who removed to Kentucky, became Speaker of the Kentucky House and founded a family dynasty with his grandson John C. Breckinridge becoming a United States Vice President; William Henry Harrison (1773 – 1841) was born in Tidewater Virginia, became a member of the rich and powerful "Virginia Clique" in central Ohio and after a successful political career became U.S. president in 1841; in Tennessee, John Sevier (1745 – 1811) born in Newmarket, Virginia, who moved to East Tennessee in his mid-twenties, became a notorious Indian fighter, gave important service at the battle of King's Mountain, was four times elected Governor of Tennessee, and once of the lost state of Franklin. The list of such successful Virginia transplants to the west is very long and their influence on the future course of the growing nation was correspondingly great.

Men from western Virginia also emigrated. In 1775, sixteen men from western Virginia signed the Fincastle Resolutions.[122] Of these sixteen, Arthur Campbell moved to Kentucky where he died in 1811; William Christian moved to Kentucky in 1785 and was killed there by Indians the following year; William Preston (as mentioned above) directed the first surveys of Kentucky and had a grandson who earned the sobriquet "Kentucky's Last Cavalier"[123]; William Russell's son moved to Kentucky where Russell County is named for him; Evan Shelby's son, Isaac, became Governor of Kentucky; Daniel Smith took up a military land grant in Sumner County, Tennessee, in 1790 and was once appointed (to replace Andrew Jackson) and once elected as United States Senator for Tennessee; and Stephen Trigg

moved to Kentucky in 1777 to be killed at the Battle of Blue Licks in 1782. Five of the sixteen Resolutions signers went west and others had prominent western descendants. The exodus of the Virginians created a rich cultural and political heritage to be adopted by the new states of the Deep South.

To understand more about Virginians' cultural legacy to the nation, it is valuable to read Wilbur J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*,[124] published in 1941, the year its author died. Despite the book being over seventy years old, and despite its being severely criticized over the intervening years, coauthor of *Bound Away* David Hackett Fischer says:

> Cash's book, for all its flaws, remains a very great book indeed. For anybody who is interested in the hillbilly South, it remains the indispensable guide — a veritable Baedecker to the boondocks. And anybody who is interested in Southerners has to know about hillbilly Southerners.[125]

In line with our perspective in the present article, viewing history from astride the great thoroughfare of southwestern Virginia, Fischer also says that Cash's

> perspective has been unkindly called the "Hillbilly view" of Southern history. For Cash, "the man at the center" of Southern culture was the man who scratched out his living on an Appalachian hillside. The inhabitants of the other Souths are seen at a distance, like people from a mountain top.[126]

With this present article, also written with a hillbilly view,[127] the reader is encouraged to visit (or revisit) *The Mind of the South*. Particularly recommended are chapter 1, "Time and Frontiers," in which Cash defines the notion of the Virginia Cavalier and who he was, and chapter 3, "Of an Ideal and a Conflict." The ideal is the Virginia planter aristocracy as nobility and of the southern woman as ideal creation. The conflict is the one with the Yankees. Cash argues that Virginia became the model for the newly growing nation and tells a fine tale of how the culture of Virginia conquered the South. It is a complex book that remains controversial 70 years after its publication.

On 2 October 1856 the arrival of a steam locomotive at Bristol, Virginia and Tennessee, was greeted by cannons, two bands and 8,000 spectators.[128] The Great Southwest Road of Virginia had finally been supplanted.

In conclusion, the author notes that history tells us that Southwest Virginia has often been a place for people to go through rather than to go to. Today, the region is at the center of a great "X" made by Interstate Highways I-77 and I-81. The Clinchfield Railroad, completed only a century ago, still links Florida to Chicago and the Midwest. Orthogonally to that route, just this past year, the Norfolk Southern Railroad completed its "Heartland Corridor," linking the port of Norfolk to Chicago with two-tiered freight train service through tunnels with heightened ceilings or lowered floors.

Southwest Virginia has long been, and to a fair degree remains, the Nation's Thoroughfare.

Acknowledgments

Endnotes

* Jim Glanville is a retired chemist and independent scholar. Copyright © Jim Glanville, 2012. All rights reserved.

1. This article is revised and expanded from a presentation made in the Virginia Highlands Festival lecture series, Saltville, Virginia, Sunday 7 August 2011.

2. The appellation "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" seems to date from the title of an 1845 work of fiction written in Lexington by Dr. William Caruthers. So Edward Porter Alexander says in his introduction to the 1972 reprint of John Fontaine's *Journal* cited in endnote 40.

3. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (New York: Atheneum, 1970). The full quote from page 130 reads: "Like most of our historic highways, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road followed the meanderings of old Indian trails; in fact it was only made possible by the willingness of the Iroquois at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744 to permit the use of their Great Warrior's Path through the Shenandoah Valley, and in North Carolina it took the course of the Cherokee Trading Path for many miles beyond Salisbury. Prior to 1760, 'the bad road began'

south of Augusta Court House in the Valley of Virginia, but thereafter it was passable over its entire length of over 735 miles for the sturdy wagons devised by the Pennsylvania-German craftsmen of the Conestoga Valley. Year after year, along this narrow-rutted intercolonial thoroughfare coursed a procession of horsemen, footmen, and pioneer families 'with horse and wagon and cattle.' In the last sixteen years of the colonial era, southbound traffic along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road was numbered in tens of thousands; it was the most heavily traveled road in all America and must have had more vehicles jolting along its rough and tortuous way than all other main roads put together."

4. The implicit subtitle of the article is thus "From the Golden Horseshoe to the Golden Spike."

5. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz, eds., *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010). See the map of the Valley Road on page 2.

6. Some of the many names for various portions of the "Great Road" have been the "Valley Pike," the "Wilderness Road," the "Trading Path," the "Great Warrior's Path," the "Island Road," the "Indian Road," and the "Wagon Road." Historian Mary Kegley has strong feelings about the appropriate nomenclature as she describes in her book *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road, 1745 – 1796* (Wytheville: Kegley Books, 2008). Kegley (p. 61) considers that the true "Wilderness Road" to Kentucky ran west from the Anderson's Blockhouse site (in Virginia about five miles northeast of Kingsport, Tennessee) through Scott and Lee Counties to the Cumberland Gap. The blockhouse site is about ten miles west of the southwestern end of Virginia's Great Southwest Road. For a different point of view to that of Kegley see Fess Green, "The Wilderness Road Controversy," 2006, published at the website of the Daniel Boone Wilderness Trail Association at *http://www.danielboonetrail.com/historicalsites.php?id=81*, accessed December 2011.

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

8. Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road*, 3rd ed. (Middlesboro, Ky.: publisher not stated, 1966); Fess Green, *Wilderness Road Odyssey, A Cyclist's Journey Through Present and Past* (Blacksburg: Pocahontas Press, 2003).

9. John Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 249.

10. A particularly noteworthy distortion introduced by the author's approach is that it ignores westward emigration from the New England states.

11. Peter Wallenstein, "The Grinch That Stole Southern History: Anthem for an Appalachian Perspective," *Smithfield Review* 4 (2000): 67-82.

12. David McCullough, "Visitor's Program," shown at the Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia, Staunton: Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia, 2002.

13. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1941), reprinted (New York: Vintage Books, 1991) with an introduction by Bertram Wyatt-Brown.

14. Joseph L. Morrison, "A Biographical Detective Story," *Red Clay Reader* 4 (1967): np stated. On line at *http://www.wjcash.org/WJCash1/WJCash/WJCash/RedclayMorrison_etc.html#Prisoner*, accessed 30 November 2011.

15. David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000). Frederick Jackson Turner famously wrote, in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), p. 12, "Stand at Cumberland Gap, and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file — the buffalo following the trail to the salt spring, the Indian, the fur trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer — and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between." Turner's 1920 book is on line at *http://books.google. com/books?id=mdx1AAAAMAAJ*, accessed August 2011. Copy in author's files.

16. Oscar P. Austin, *Steps in the Expansion of Our Territory* (New York: D. Appleton, 1903). Full view on line at *http://books.google.com/books?id=l31fDZDuwSoC*. Accessed August 2011. Copy in author's files.

17. No stated author, Library of Congress web page "Special Presentation: Encountering the First American West," on line at *http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/award99/icuhtml/fawsp/fawsp.html*. Accessed August 2011.

18. No stated author, Library of Congress web page "The Ohio River Valley, 1750 – 1820," on line at *http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/award99/icuhtml/fawhome.html*, accessed August 2011.

19. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775 – 1850*, third edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).

20. François Furstenberg, "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History," *American Historical Review* 113 (Fall 2008): 647–677. See also B. Scott Crawford, *Economic Interdependence Along a Colonial Frontier: Capitalism and the New River Valley, 1745 – 1789* (MA Thesis, Old Dominion University, 1996).

21. Warren R. Hofstra, "Review: From Backcountry to Trans-Appalachian Frontiers," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 66 (Fall 2009): 640–652.

22. The author chooses 1513 to begin this period as it is generally regarded as the year that Juan Ponce de Leon was the first European to set foot on land in the US southeast, somewhere on the Florida coast.

23. William E. Myer, *Indian Trails of the Southeast* (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology and the US Government Printing Office, 1925).

24. C. G. Holland, *An Archeological Survey of Southwest Virginia: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology Number 12* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970).

25. Michael B. Barber, "Saltville and Environs: The Woodland Period," 39–50, in Eugene B. Barfield and Michael B. Barber, eds., *Upland Archeology in the East: Symposium Number Five* (Richmond, Va.: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1996).

26. Jim Glanville, "Improper Archeology, 'Fabulous Saltville,' and the Ancient History of Southwest Virginia." *Smithfield Review* 9 (2005): 55–100; "The Space Farms Museum Collection of Southwest Virginia Artifacts," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 62 (Spring 2007): 7–30; "Engraved Marine Shell Gorgets: A Review," *Prehistoric American* 44 (Spring 2010): 3–13.

27. Jim Glanville, "Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence," *Smithfield Review* 8 (2004): 70–108, and "16th Century Spanish Invasions of Southwest Virginia," *Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal* 17 (2009): 34–42.

28. Tom Heffinger and David Frye, telephone interviews with the author, November 2011.

29. Jim Glanville and John M. Preston IV, "Aspenvale Cemetery and Its Place in the History of Southwest Virginia," *Smithfield Review* 13 (2009): 89, 92. Ryan Mays is very skeptical that David Ingram was ever in Southwest Virginia.

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

31. Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492 – 1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 206.

32. Woktela (David Hackett), *www.yuchi.org*, personal communication, email message, April 4, 2011.

33. Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, *An American History* (Boston, Mass.: Ginn and Company, 1913), 77.

34. Harriette Simpson Arnow, *Seedtime on the Cumberland [River]* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 56–75. This is the chapter titled "Rivière des Chaouanons" or "River of the Shawnees."

35. Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670 – 1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 31. Also on page 31 Gallay notes perceptively: "It is only by reading history backward, and faultily, that the Virginia area appears to be part of the South in the prehistoric and colonial periods. It is ordinarily assumed

that Virginia had always been part of the South, and the most important part of that region, for it was the first English colony to develop a plantation society based on slave labor, and the colonies that formed south of it ostensibly imitated Virginia by doing the same. But slavery and plantations were ubiquitous in the European colonial world. Moreover, there was little migration by Virginians to the South, by which they could carry their ideas and institutions, until a much later period. Certainly South Carolina had far more in common with Barbados than it did with Virginia: Carolina received European settlers, African slaves, trade goods, and its model for plantation agriculture from the West Indies."

36. Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians 1650 – 1674* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), and Alan V. Briceland, *Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia Frontier, 1650 – 1710* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987).

37. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670 – 1732*, with a preface by Peter H. Wood (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1981 [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929]). See also Gallay, *Slave Trade.*

38. Ryan Mays points out that Governor William Berkeley, Abraham Wood, and others, had previously been interested in exploring and exploiting the western regions of the colony, but that nothing much came to fruition before Spotswood.

39. Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (2 Volumes); Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960 (Published for the Virginia Historical Society). Chapters 1–8 in Volume 2, 409–485, are all about Spotswood. See also chapter 13 pp. 536–564, "Westward Expansion in the Rappahannock and Potomac Basins;" chapter 15, pp. 565–582, "Expansion Beyond the Alleghenies;" and Chapter 16, 583–598, "The Coming of the Presbyterians."

40. Edward P. Alexander, ed., *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710 – 1719* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972). The journey over the Blue Ridge is described on 101–109.

41. W. Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607 – 1763* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 121–138.

42. Charles Ramsdell Lingley, "The Transition in Virginia From Colony to Commonwealth," *Studies in Economics, History and Public Law* 36 (1910): 327–542, 340.

43. Richard K. MacMaster, "The Cattle Trade in Western Virginia, 1760 – 1830," 127–149, in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 130.

44. Louis B. Wright, ed., *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover: Narratives of a Colonial Virginian* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1966), 274–275.

45. John Haywood, *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* (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1891 [1823]), 40.

46. Frederick B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days* (Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938). Other standard works of western Virginia history include: Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871*, second edition (Staunton: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902); Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746 – 1786, Washington County, 1777 – 1870* (Johnson City, Tenn.: Overmountain Press, 1989 [1903]); Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769 – 1800* (Abingdon, Va.: Self Published, 1929); Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier 1740 – 1789* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991).

47. Fauquier, Francis, "Letter from Williamsburg of February 13, 1764 to the Board of Trade, with Enclosure," *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758 — 1768*, three Volumes, George Henkle Reese, ed. (Charlottesville: published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1980), 1076–1084. This document,

prepared for the Board in the wake of the 1763 Proclamation, tells of Fauquier's difficulty in locating land with respect to the Proclamation Line.

48. Charles E. Kemper, "The Early Westward Movement in Virginia, 1722 – 1734," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13 (July 1905): 1–16, 5–6.

49. Kevin R. Hardwick, "Culpeper, Thomas, second baron Culpeper of Thoresway," *The Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, Volume 3, ed. Sara B. Bearss (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006), 596–598, at *http://encyclopediavirginia.org/Culpeper_Thomas_second_baron_Culpeper_of_Thoresway_1635-1689,* accessed January 19, 2012; Charles A. Grymes, "The Fairfax Grant," *Virginia Places* website, *http://www.virginiaplaces.org/fairfaxgrant.html,* accessed August 2011; Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9–11; Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 93.

50. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Volume 2, 536–537.

51. F. B. Kegley *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*; Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); Hofstra, *Planting*.

52. The roughly rectangular Beverley Manor property measured about 13 by 14 miles and is centered on today's town of Staunton. Two decades earlier, William's father, Robert Beverley, had been a member of Spotswood's Golden Horseshoe party, so William was well aware of the potential value of valley land. Augusta County was formed in 1738 and formally organized in 1745 with its court house at Staunton (where it remains today). Some pioneers had already settled on the Manor before Beverley received his grant.

53. Warren Hofstra (personal communcation, January 2012).

54. Bolivar Christian, *The Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia*, Alumni Address at Washington College, Lexington, Va. (printed by MacFarlane and Fergusson, 1860); Joseph A. Waddell, "The Scotch-Irish of the Valley of Virginia," *The Scotch Irish in America: Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress*, 7 (1895): 79–89; Lyman Chalkley, *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); Howard M. Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom: A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732 – 1952* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1954); James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch Irish, A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Billy Kennedy, *The Scots-Irish in the Shenandoah Valley* (Londonderry: Causeway Press, 1996) and *The Making of America: How the Scots-Irish Shaped a Nation* (Belfast: Causeway Press of Ambassador Productions, 2001); James Webb, *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America* (New York: Random House, 2005); Charles Lewis Taylor, "Early Presbyterians in Montgomery County," *Smithfield Review* 14 (2010): 5–21.

55. Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "William Beverley, James Patton, and the Settling of the Shenandoah Valley," *Essex County Museum and Historical Society Bulletin* 55 (2010): 1–5, and "The Mysterious Origins of James Patton, Part 1," *Smithfield Review* 15 (2011): 35–64.

56. Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Verona, Va.: McClure Press, 1973), Chapter 7, "The Great Grant," is 67–80.

57. There are at least fifteen different spellings the author has found for "Kilmacronan." Here the author follows *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 119.

58. Johnson, *Appalachian Colonists*, 81–88.

59. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). See especially "Borderlands to the Backcountry: The Flight from North Britain, 1717 – 1775," 605–782.

60. An anonymous referee (whom the author thanks) pointed out: "*Albion's Seed* had a lot of information on the Scotch-Irish immigrants, though he's [Fischer] unbalanced in nearly ignoring

the Shenandoah Valley people (a passing reference to the Beverley Manor misplaces it in the Rappahannock!) and over-emphasizing the South Carolina settlers."

61. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York: Appleton-Century Company for the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia, 1937); Daniel M. Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1992); Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); see especially 197 ff.

62. Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673 – 1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Chapter 8, 134–175, is titled "The Alchemy of Property."

63. Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, Volume 3, *The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745 – 1805* (2 parts; Wytheville: Kegley Books, 1995).

64. David E. Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory* (Huntington: The Author, 1906); John W. Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (np: The Author, 1907); Archibald Henderson, *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); Samuel A. Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia* (Strasburg: Shenandoah Publishing House, fourth edition, 1925); Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969); Parke, *Great Wagon Road*; Patricia Givens Johnson, *The New River Early Settlement* (Blacksburg: Walpa Publishing, second reprinting, 2003 [1983]).

65. Zola Troutman Noble, "Adam Harman, German Pioneer on the New River," *Smithfield Review* 13 (2009): 5–28.

66. Johnson, *Appalachian Colonists*, 89–94.

67. J. Stoddard Johnston, ed., *First Explorations of Kentucky: The Journal of Thomas Walker and Christopher Gist, with Notes, Appendices, Biographical Sketches* (Louisville: The Filson Club, Publication Number 13, 1898), 41–42.

68. Johnson, *Appalachian Colonists*, 111–120.

69. Fred Anderson, *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 also Walter R. Borneman, *The French and Indian War* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006).

70. Winston S. Churchill, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples: The Age of Revolution* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1957). Chapter 11 is about the Seven Years' War and is titled "The First World War." Churchill popularized this designation and may have been the first person to use it.

71. Louis K. Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754 – 1763* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925), 111–148.

72. *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 244a.

73. *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 238.

74. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1976); Clare White, *William Fleming, Patriot* (Roanoke: History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia, 2001); Patricia Givens Johnson, *General Andrew Lewis of Roanoke and Greenbrier* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, second revised edition, 1994), 44–55.

75. Johnson, *General Andrew Lewis*, 56–71.

76. Harry M. Ward, *Major General Adam Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia 1989). Stephen's march and treaty are described on 62–76. See also Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 453–471; David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740–62* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Tyler Boulware, "The Effect of the Seven Years' War on the Cherokee

Nation," *Early American Studies Journal* 5 (2007): 395–426. Many primary documents relating to the Virginians' march to the Long Island are to be found in Edith Mays, ed., *Amherst Papers, 1756 – 1763, the Southern Sector: Dispatches from South Carolina, Virginia and His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs* (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1999); Marion Tinling, 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); George Henkle Reese, ed., *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758 – 1768*, three Volumes (Charlottesville: published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1980).

77. The site of Fort Robinson is now inaccessible on the property of Tennessee Eastman Company which rechanneled the Holston River near the fort site in the 1950s. See the map and discussion in Lawrence J. Fleenor and Dale Carter, *The Forts of the Holston Militia* (Big Stone Gap: Lawrence J. Fleenor, 2004), 1–9.

78. Henderson, *Conquest of the Old Southwest*, 94–95.

79. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, Volume 2, 749–750.

80. Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities,* 14.

81. William Miller, *A New History of the United States*, revised edition (New York: Dell Publishing Laurel Edition, 1963). Miller provides a useful discussion of the John Robinson affair on page 86, whence the cited quote comes.

82. Bill Henderson, website at *http://www.bloorstreet.com/200block/rp1763.htm*. The author, a Canadian lawyer specializing in Native Rights issues, here provides useful background for understanding the Proclamation of 1763 and related issues, accessed August 2011.

83. Eric Hinderaker, and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 125.

84. Furstenberg, *Trans-Appalachian Frontier,* 682–683.

85. Jim Glanville, "The Fincastle Resolutions, *Smithfield Review* 14 (2010): 69–119; "Fort Gower: Forgotten Shrine of Virginia History," *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, 46 (2010): 74–90.

86. Friedenberg, *Pursuit of Land.*

87. James Morton Callahan, *The History of West Virginia, Old and New*, three volumes (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1923). In Vol. 1, 66–79, Callahan writes: "The people were determined to occupy the land without purchase of Indian titles, and during the peace on the frontier from 1764 to 1774 proceeded first to secure tomahawk rights and soon thereafter to establish settlement rights — pushing the frontier to the Ohio [River] and into Kentucky. A tomahawk right, respected by the frontiersmen, was often merged into a settlement right. Although Virginia took no step until 1779 to sell lands in West Virginia, and no titles can be traced beyond that year, she respected the claims of the earlier settlers and in fact taxed these settlers on their lands before patents were issued."

88. In the chaotic scramble to take up land it is impossible to do more than make guesses at the numbers of people who went west in the decade before the Revolution. Hinderaker and Mancall, *Edge of Empire*, 171, say that in the Ohio Valley "squatters and land developers were everywhere" and that "by 1771 North Carolinians and Virginians were both moving into the valleys of the Clinch and Holston Rivers," 174. Callahan in *History of West Virginia,* Vol. 1, 66–79, writes: "These permanent settlements [on the Watauga and Holston Rivers], tentatively beginning as early as 1764, became especially augmented both in extent and number from 1772 to 1774, numbering a total population of about 30,000 by 1775." After the Battle of Alamance in 1771 many North Carolinians left for the fertile parts of Tennessee behind the Proclamation Line.

89. Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Ohio River: A Course of Empire* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906), 85–86. "The rapidity of the movement of population and the proportions it assumed amazed those in control. ... The proclamation is not more remarkable for its selfishness than for its stupidity; as well might the King of England have issued a mandate ordering the laurel buds not to burst in the Alleghenies in the spring of 1764 as to so misjudge the genius of the American people as to attempt to prohibit their expansion simply to secure the good-will of the Indians ...

George Washington ... wrote William Crawford: 'I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but I say this between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years.'"

90. M. Eugene Del Papa, "The Royal Proclamation of 1763: Its Effect upon the Virginia Land Companies," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1975): 406–411; Woody Holton, "The Ohio Indians and the Coming of the American Revolution in Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 60 (August 1994): 453–478.

91. Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities,* 130.

92. No stated author [US State Department Office of the Historian], "Proclamation Line of 1763, Quebec Act of 1774 and Westward Expansion," nd, on line at *http://history.state.gov/milestones/1750-1775/ProclamationLine1763,* np, accessed 10 December 2011.

93. John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 98–120.

94. John Donelson, "Journal of a Voyage [From Kingsport to Nashville] Intended by God's Permission, in the Good Boat Adventure," in Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest: A Chronicle of the Dark and Bloody Ground* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 187–193.

95. John Buchanan, *Jackson's Way: Andrew Jackson and the People of the Western Waters* (New York: Wiley, 2001). Chapter 1 is on line at *http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/samples/wiley031/00040818.pdf,* accessed December 2011.

96. Howard Long, *Kingsport: A Romance of Industry* (Johnson City, Tenn.: The Overmountain Press, 1993 [1928]), 18–23.

97. William R. Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002); Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763 – 1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974 [1967]).

98. Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain and the Events Which Led to It* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, Co., 1983 [1881]); Jim Glanville and Hubert Gilliam, "An Unexpected Enemy and the Turn of the Tide: Andrew Creswell's King's Mountain Letter," *Smithfield Review* 10 (2006): 5–20.

99. The US National Park Service sponsors the Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail in Virginia, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina, see *http://www.nps.gov/ovvi/index.htm.* The Overmountain Victory Trail Association is a private organization dedicated to preserving the trail, see *http://www.ovta.org/.* Both accessed December 2011.

100. Jonathan Smith, "The Scotch Presbyterian in the American Revolution," *The Granite State Monthly* 50 (1919): 37–44. This article notes "One Captain Johann Heinrich of the Hessian troops wrote thus from Philadelphia in 1778 to a friend, 'Call this war by whatever name you may only call it not an American rebellion, it is nothing more or less than a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian rebellion.' "

101. Peter S. Onuf, "Liberty, Development, and Union: Visions of the West in the 1780s," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series, 43 (Spring 1986): 179–213. Despite its being written for professional historians, this articles engagingly describes the complex issues facing the new American Republic as it began the process of transcontinental expansion.

102. Austin, *Steps in the Expansion,* 83–84.

103. Charles A. Grymes, "Virginia Land Cessions," at the Virginia Places website at *http://www.virginiaplaces.org/boundaries/cessions.html,* accessed August 2011. Excellent maps are provided here.

104. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away,* 135. The Fischer and Kelly quotations come from Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, 1788* (Dublin: P. Byrne, et al. 1791). On page 261 of the Dublin edition, de Warville presciently added: "The active genius of the Americans is always pulling them forward. [S]ooner or later the Spaniards will be forced to quit the Mississippi, and ... the Americans will ... establish themselves in Louisiana."

105. George W. Ranck, *The Travelling Church: An Account of the Baptist Exodus From Virginia to Kentucky in 1781 Under the Leadership of Rev. Lewis Craig and Captain William Ellis* (Louisville: Press of Baptist Book Concern, 1891). This account confirms that as late as 1781 travelers going down Virginia's Great Southwest Road had to change from wagons to packhorses at Fort Chiswell (Wytheville).

106. Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia's Western War, 1775 – 1786* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002), xii–xviii and 2–6.

107. Mary B. Kegley, "The Cumberland Gap Turnpike," *Retrospective, The Journal of the Wythe County Genealogical and Historical Association* 7 (2011): 1–24.

108. George Clack, Mildred Sola Neely, and Alonzo L. Hamby, eds., *Outline of U.S. History* (New York, Nova Publishers, 2007), 85. These authors also say on page 85 that chief among the factors that led to the extension of slavery into the South "was the rise of a great cotton-growing industry in the South, stimulated by the introduction of new types of cotton and by Eli Whitney's invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, which separated the seeds from cotton. At the same time, the Industrial Revolution, which made textile manufacturing a large-scale operation, vastly increased the demand for raw cotton. And the opening of new lands in the West after 1812 greatly extended the area available for cotton cultivation. Cotton culture moved rapidly from the Tidewater states on the East coast through much of the lower South to the delta region of the Mississippi and eventually to Texas."

109. Clack et al. Outline, 84–85.

110. Jean M. West, "King Cotton: The Fiber of Slavery," no date stated, on line at *http://www. slaveryinamerica.org/history/hs_es_cotton.htm.* An extensive essay about the history of cotton and the place of slavery in the cotton industry; includes many links. Accessed August 2011.

111. Phillip D. Troutman, "A 'Sorrowful Cavalcade': Enslaved Migration through Appalachian Virginia," *Smithfield Review* 5 (2001): 23–46. The word coffle is believed to be an English version of the Arabic word for a caravan of slaves and to derive from slave traders who purchased slaves from Arabs on the West African coast.

112. William Edward Dodd, ed., *The Riverside History of the United States,* Volume 3 (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1915). On line at *http://books.google.com/books?id=Rc0Kf_kSLHYC.* The map comes from page 196.

113. Federal Writer's Project, *Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 79.

114. Wilma A. Dunaway, "Put in Master's Pocket: Cotton Expansion and Interstate Slave Trading in the Mountain South," in *Appalachians and Race,* John C. Inscoe, ed. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 116–130.

115. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away,* 229–252.

116. James Williams, *Narrative of James Williams, an American Slave, Who Was for Several Years a Driver on a Cotton Plantation in Alabama* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society; Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838). Available on line at *http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/williams/menu. html,* accessed September 2011.

117. Mary Kegley has suggested that the birth places of some slaves can be found in the Freedmen's Bureau Records of 1866.

118. J. D. B. DeBow, "Table CXX: Places of Birth of the White and Free Colored Population of the United States, 1850," *Statistical View of the United States: A Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington: Superintendent of the United States Census, 1854), 116–119.

119. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away,* 201.

120. Samuel Pyeatt Menefee, "Sam Houston (1793–1863)," *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture,* on line at *http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID= 3543,* accessed December 2011.

121. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away,* 253–292.

122. Glanville, Fincastle Resolutions, 92–94.

123. Peter J. Sehlinger, *Kentucky's Last Cavalier: General William Preston, 1816 – 1887* (Kentucky Historical Society: Distributed by the University Press of Kentucky, 2004).

124. Cash, *Mind of the South.*

125. David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1970), 220.

126. Fischer *Historians' Fallacies*, 220.

127. The author recalls first reading Cash's book around 1970, the year after the author moved to Virginia. Cash's description of Virginians as cultural founders of the nation stuck in the author's mind over the intervening forty-plus years.

128. Kenneth W. Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis in the Civil War Era* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994).

Figure 2

Figure 4

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

K 73
FORT VAUSE

Ephraim Vause was appointed Captain of Horse in 1753 and was considered a man of considerable influence. For the protection of his family and his neighbors he built a simple palisaded fort nearby on his farm. In June 1756, during the French and Indian War, Indians attacked and burned the fort; a relief party led by Maj. Andrew Lewis arrived too late to save most of the occupants. Capt. Peter Hogg quickly rebuilt the fort, as a composite earth-and-palisade structure. George Washington inspected Fort Vause in October 1756 during his tour of Virginia's frontier defenses.

Figure 10

Hudson's Bay Company

Ceded by France
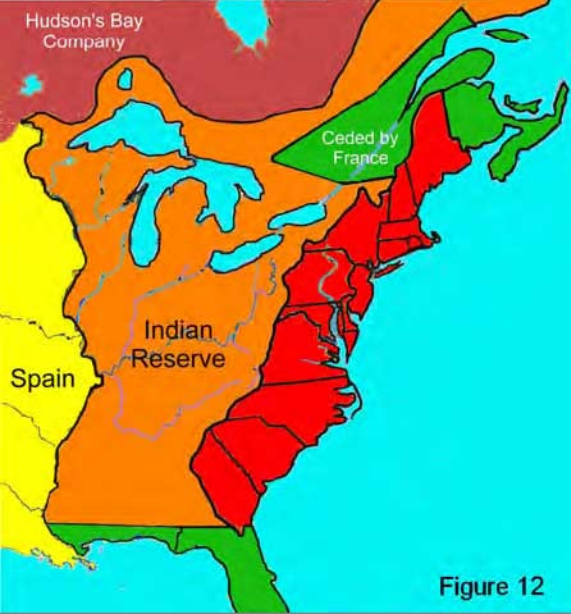
Indian Reserve

Spain

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

The Cotton Belt of 1860
SCALE OF MILES
0   50   100   150

Shows area thin to which 500 or more bales of cotton were produced in 1860.

Shows area thin to which 50,000 or more bales of cotton were produced in 1860.

Volume Belt, p. 58 was proximity to cohesion with the recent planters.

Figure 19

Stephen F. Austin
Memorial Park

Figure 22