

# Where Was Toterá Town?

*A Review*

by Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays

## INTRODUCTION

In this article the authors summarize and assess the many writings that attempt to answer the question "Where was Toterá town?" Toterá town (with various spellings [1]) was the place where the Tutelo (also with various spellings) Indians were encountered by the Virginian explorers Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam[2] on the 9th (the 20th new style) of September, 1671. (Ed. Note: Early historians spelled the names as Batts and Fallam, but later research has called them Batte and Hallam. This article uses both spellings, depending on the sources.) That Toterá town was somewhere in today's southwestern Virginia is accepted by all writers. However, as we will see, many different specific locations have been proposed and we summarize them in Table 1. (See page 43)

The difficulty faced in answering the question as to the location of Toterá town was well-stated over 100 years ago by the pioneer ethnologist James Mooney:

The tribes between the mountains and the sea were of but small importance politically; no sustained mission work was ever attempted among them, and there were but few literary men to take an interest in them. War, pestilence, whisky and systematic slave hunts had nearly exterminated the aboriginal occupants of the Carolinas before anybody had thought them of sufficient importance to ask who they were, how they lived, or what were their beliefs and opinions.[3]

Danville writer John Brubaker added in 1973:

The primary difficulties encountered in dealing with the story of the American Indians — finding them idealized as noble savages or rejected as uncivilized heathens...are magnified in Southside Virginia and the Carolina Piedmont because the natives were removed by the Europeans before they could make a real impression on the conqueror's mind. Substantial records of contact with the Indians by whites in this general area cover a span of less than 60 years. The Indians did not speak for themselves, so Europeans' accounts, as reinforced by limited 20th Century archaeological discoveries, are the sole sources of information.[4]

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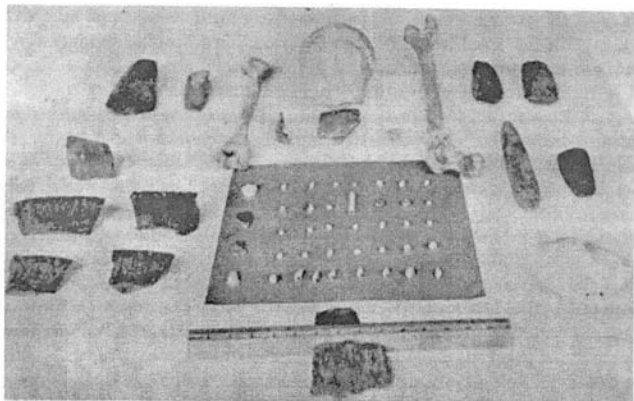


Figure 1. "Indian Relics from Totera Town" as pictured in F.B. Kegley's well-known book.[5] It is difficult to be certain, but the object on the lower far right appears to be a marine shell gorget—such objects are known from the Roanoke vicinity, and one of us (JG) has seen and photographed an engraved specimen in the Smithsonian collection in Suitland, Maryland. Shell was a valued, durable material in prehistoric American Indian cultures and one that endures archeologically.

The sum of the evidence for the location of Totera town is the journal kept by Robert Hallam in 1671, the account of the journey of Gabriel Arthur in 1673 as described in a letter written by Abraham Wood in 1674, and the limited archeological studies of southwest Virginia.

## DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE LOCATION OF TOTERA TOWN

Documentary evidence for the site of Totera town comes from the period 1670-1674. The first European known to be in the vicinity of the town was John Lederer and Lederer's notes of his travels in 1670 are the earliest written record of southwestern Virginia. Robert Hallam (in the journal he kept of his explorations with Thomas Batte in 1671) speaks specifically of being at Totera town twice in September that year. A letter from Abraham Wood to John Richards England in 1674, which reported the explorations made for Wood by Gabriel Arthur and James Needham, tells incidentally that Arthur's friend, the king of the Tomahitans, passed along by "Totero" on his way to visit Wood at Fort Henry (modern day Petersburg, Virginia).

### John Lederer

The first European whom history records as a possible visitor to Totera town was John Lederer, a German, born around 1644, who arrived in Virginia about 1669. For unclear reasons he was selected to prospect for an overland route to the "East India Sea," a project which had become important to Gov-

ernor William Berkeley. Lederer made three “marches” to the west. Sir William Talbot, the secretary of the colony of Maryland, translated Lederer’s travel notes from Latin to English, and published them in London in 1672.[6] Exactly where Lederer went remains speculative. Maps showing the many proposed routes that he might have taken on his marches have been published by the historian Alan Briceland.[7] The most westerly of the proposed routes[8] places Lederer in the Roanoke Valley in May of 1670. The best evidence that Lederer (via Talbot) provides comes from the map (Figure 2) that was published by Talbot that shows western Virginia extending to the Blue Ridge Mountains.[9] On Lederer’s map, the town named “Nahissan” has been identified by Hale[10] as a town of the Tutelos. So while Lederer tells us nothing specifically, the location of Totera town is probably somewhere on Talbot’s map.

### **Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam**

Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam were at Totera town. They set out from Fort Henry on 1 September 1671 carrying a commission from Abraham Wood “in order to the discovery of the South Sea” and explicitly to test “the Ebbing and flowing of ye water behind the Mountains” in the expectation that this would indicate an approach to the Pacific Ocean — Virginians had a poor understanding of North American geography at this time. Robert Hallam kept a journal of the trip which is presumed lost. However, there were at least four near-contemporary copies made.[11] two of which have been frequently published in the literature: one by Daniel Coxe which he sent to the government in England in 1687, the other by Reverend John Clayton which was sent by him to the Royal Society in London and read there in 1688.

The Coxe transcription of Hallam’s journal was copied in London around 1850 by agents of the New York state government who had been commissioned to obtain in England documents relevant to the early history of New York and the Coxe transcription was published as a printed version by the state of New York in 1853.[12] The Clayton transcription of Hallam’s journal was copied in London by David Bushnell in 1906 and published by him shortly later with his annotations and a discussion of the differences between it and the New York printed version of the Coxe transcription.[13] At about this same time the Canadian author Agnes Laut read the Clayton transcription in London and made a copy along with some notes. Then, in 1912 Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood reprinted the Bushnell version of the Hallam journal, reviewed Laut’s copy and her notes, made their own comparisons of the versions, and published[14] what remains to the present day the definitive compendium of sources on early Virginian westward exploration, as it included a comparison of the Clayton and Coxe versions along with reprint copies of many of the other documents relevant to the expedition of Batte and Hallam.

Here’s the description of the arrival at Totera town in the full Hallam journal entry dated 9 September 1671 in the Clayton version taken from Alvord and Bidgood with a Coxe version difference (cited in Alvord and Bidgood’s footnotes) included herein in brackets:

Sept. 9. We were stirring with the Sun and travelled west and after a little riding came again to the Supany River where it was very narrow, and ascended the second mountain which wound up west and by south with several springs and fallings, after which we came to a steep descent at the foot whereof was a lovely descending Valley about six miles over with curious small risings... [New York Colonial Documents: read in the hiatus “sometimes indifferent good way, their course etc.”]. Our course over it was southwest. After we were over that, we came to a very steep descent, at the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains. We got thither about three of the clock after we had travelled twenty-five miles. Here we were exceedingly civilly entertain’d.

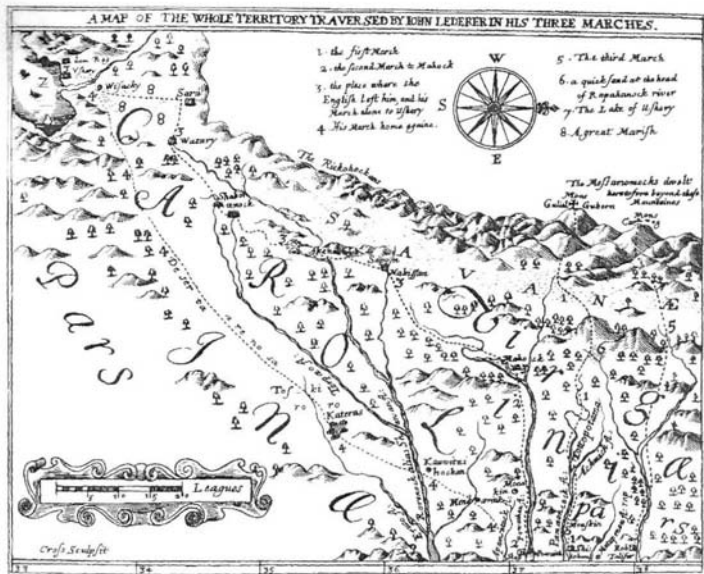


Figure 2. The map published in London by William Talbot in 1672 showing the marches of John Lederer. It is uncertain as to precisely what modern territory this 1672 map corresponds to, but broadly speaking it shows western Virginia. Note that the direction north is to the right and west is upward. The scale of the map is roughly 300 miles from left to right, i.e. from south to north. Totera town would probably have been somewhere on this map.

Obviously, it requires considerable interpretation to convert Hallam's journal entries such as the one above to actual lines of routes on a map. Many writers have speculated about the route to the mountains taken by Batte and Hallam and about the location of Totera town, beginning with John Mitchell in 1755.[15] Archeologist Carl Miller drew a map of the route in 1957,[16] as did historian Alan Briceland in 1989.[17] Roanoke area archeologist Tom Klatka has summed up as follows the difficulties in interpreting the route of Batte and Hallam:

Fallam's journal is an intensively studied, yet problematic, document relating to western Virginia's early history. Although various interpretations of the route taken by the Batts and Fallam expedition have been advanced, no consensus has emerged. This lack of consensus stems from the recognition that Fallam's brief journal of the expedition contains little detail in its descriptions of distance traveled, direction taken, or terrain traversed.[18]

## The King of the Tomahitans

James Needham and Gabriel Arthur with accompanying Indians and horses were sent westward by Abraham Wood in April 1673 and, after a false start, again on 25 June 1673 as part of Wood's ongoing campaign to open the western Indian trade from his base at Fort Henry. Wood told their tale in a letter to England written in August 1674.[19] These explorers soon fell in with a group of Tomahitan[20] Indians who apparently offered to escort the Englishmen to "ye Tomahitans towne," probably in today's east Tennessee.[21] On the way there Needham was killed by one of the accompanying Fort Henry Indians and Arthur began an epic solo year during which he underwent many hardships and undertook long-distance journeys with the Tomahitans that covered hundreds, maybe thousands of miles. Indians were great foot travelers. After many adventures, Arthur eventually returned to Fort Henry on the 18th of June 1674. A month later the king of the Tomahitans arrived at Fort Henry. Abraham Wood recorded in his letter to England that the route that the king took to Fort Henry "was along by Totero under the foot of the mountains, until they met with James river and there made a canoe of bark and came down the river to the Manikins. From thence to Powetan by land, and across the neck and on the 20th of July at night arrived at my house and gave certain relation how Mr. James Needham came by his death."

This brief reference to Totera town adds a little more geographic information to its possible location in the 1670s: at the foot of mountains as stated, and south of the James River as can be inferred because of the Tomahitan king's town probable location in east Tennessee.

## The Tutelo Indians

Roanokers have traditionally considered their city to have been home to the Tutelo Indians at the time that the first English-speaking explorers arrived at its location. That conclusion is probably correct, though it does not necessarily mean that Roanoke was Totera town. Here is the description of the Tutelo people in the period 1607-1740 taken from Raymond J. DeMallie's article "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups" in the conventionally regarded-as-highly-authoritative, and relatively recent, Smithsonian-published *Handbook of North American Indians* of 2004:

The Tutelo and their neighbors were poorly documented in the written record of European explorers and settlers. Never very populous, they were rapidly decimated by European diseases, alcohol introduced by European traders, and warfare — particularly by Iroquois attacks. It was a period of dislocation and continual social and cultural change. Most of the survivors of these groups came together and ultimately sought the protection of their former enemies, the Iroquois. [22]

The American Indian neighbors of the Tutelo included the Monyton Indians of present-day southern West Virginia, the Monacan Indians of central Virginia, and the Saponi Indians of southside Virginia.

Figure 3 is a much-modified version of a small portion DeMallie's map titled "Locations of the Tutelo and neighboring groups, with dates of known occupancy" taken from page 287 of DeMallie's article. Totera town was probably located near the place labeled "Tutelo 1650-1674." The place labeled "Tutelo 1676" is near present-day Clarksville, Virginia, on the Occaneechi trading path where the Tuteles were (probably) attacked that year there by forces commanded by Nathaniel Bacon.[23] The place labeled "Tutelo 1701" is where a party of Tutelo Indians was encountered on the Yadkin River by the traveler John Lawson in January of that year.[24] After 1701 the Tutelo wandered for many years before being finally absorbed at the end of the nineteenth century into the Cayuga tribe in Canada.

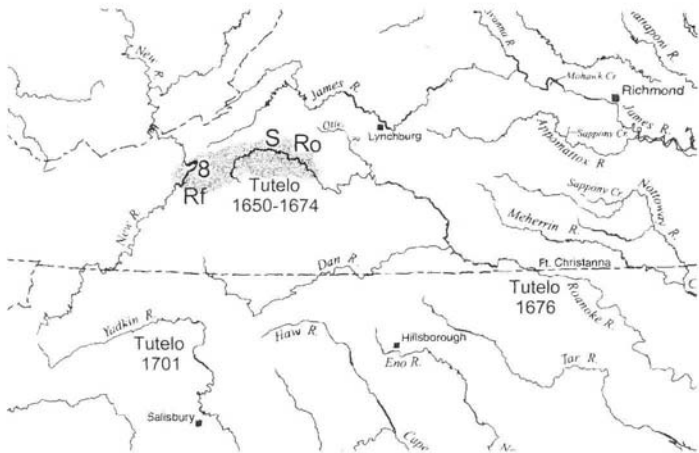


Figure 3. Locator Map. A modified [25] detail from Raymond DeMallie's 2004 map published on page 287 of the "Handbook of the American Indian," volume 14. The number "8" on the map is Totera town as it is numbered by DeMallie and said by him to be "Totero (1671, 1674); placed at the Trigg site." Actually, site "8" is at the big horseshoe bend on the New River, about five miles from downtown Radford labeled by us "Rf." In our modifications, "S" is the approximate location of Salem and "Ro" is the approximate location of Roanoke. The scale of the map as shown is approximately 300 miles west to east and approximately 200 miles north to south.

## THE LOCATION OF TOTERA TOWN REVIEWED

In this section we review in more-or-less chronological order the statements of the various writers who have speculated about the location of Totera town. The narrative in this section is then summarized at the end of the section in Table 1, using selected quotations. We have restricted the entries in this section to ones that are more-or-less independent judgments about Totera town's location and have omitted references that are merely restatements of one of those already included here.

Obviously Hallam himself in the journal gives the first statement of Totera Town's location when he wrote in 1671: "After we were over that [the Supany River], we came to a very steep descent, at the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains." This comes from the journal entry of 9 September which is quoted in full above.

The earliest suggestion of the site of Totera town on a map comes from Hale in 1883.[26] At the end of his long essay about the Tutelo Indians and their peregrinations he shows the path of Tutelo Indian migrations between 1671 and 1780. Hale places the starting point of this path on the north side of the Roanoke River not far from its headwaters. The earliest statement that we have found telling a specific

modern place as the location of the town is “probably near the site of Salem in Roanoke County.” This quotation comes from an 1893 book[27] which reproduces the journals of the frontiersman Christopher Gist (1706-1759) and in the context of a discussion of the Hallam journal. In 1894 the pioneer ethnologist James Mooney wrote of Totera Town’s location: “The site was probably about the present state line southwest of Stuart, in Patrick County, Virginia, or possibly within the limits of North Carolina.”[28] Alvord and Bidgood, in their discussion of Hallam’s journal (in their important work on the early explorations of western Virginia) concluded that Totero town was in the Roanoke Valley and “...not far from the modern city of Roanoke.”[29]

F. B. Kegley in his 1938 book *Kegley’s Virginia Frontier* wrote:

Some writers place this [Totera] town on the flat land south of present Salem, others on the south side of the Blue Ridge. Taking the journal [Fallam’s] at what it says we are favoring the route up the east side of Staunton River coming into the trail followed by the first road from Philadelphia through Virginia to the Yadkin Valley in North Carolina. In all probability this town was situated between Tinker Creek and the main Branch of Roanoke River.[30]

However, notwithstanding the above statement, Kegley in his book also published a map that shows what purports to be the exact site of Totera town; a detail from that map is reproduced in Figure 4. The map shows the earliest land grants in Roanoke City and the depiction of Totera town seems incidental. Kegley acknowledges in his introduction “Mr. J.R. Hildebrand and Miss Elizabeth W. Wilkins for their faithfulness and skill in the preparation of the maps.” We have no idea if it was Kegley or one of the map makers who chose this precise location for Totera town, nor on what evidence it was chosen.

John Swanton, writing in 1943, implied that Totera town was in the Roanoke Valley rather than in the New River Valley when he wrote “...before coming to New River and the ‘Moneton’ oldfields, Batts and Fallam visited the Totera or Tetera town.”[31] Richard Morton in 1960 in his well-known, two-volume work on the history of colonial Virginia wrote “Following the Staunton River, they [Batte and Hallam] reached the Roanoke Valley (where the name of the Staunton River is changed to Roanoke). Here lived a group of friendly Indians in Totero Town, near the modern city of Roanoke.”[32] Raymond Barnes in his *History of Roanoke* wrote “One of the most interesting things about this particular tract lying on a great bend of the Roanoke is that the Indian Village Totero Town lay about where the Viscose Corporation built its plant in 1916.”[33] The Viscose Corporation plant closed in 1958 and the great bend that Barnes mentions is today the site of the Roanoke Industrial Center at GPS coordinates 37.253774, -79.921247.[34]

The University of Virginia historian Alan Briceland has written extensively about the early explorations in western Virginia and has written more times about the location of Totera town than any other author. His writings include his 1987 book *Westward from Virginia*,[35] a 1991 essay in a book about preindustrial Appalachia,[36] and a second essay in a book about North American exploration.[37] Because of Briceland’s status as the most comprehensive analyst of western Virginia exploration we quote from his book at some length:

Having reached the crest, Hallam recorded, “we came to a steep descent at the foot whereof was a lovely descending Valley about six Miles over, with curious small risings. ...Our course over it was South West.” West of Blacksburg and Christiansburg, midway between the two, is Price Mountain. North and south of Price Mountain are valleys broken by several little intermittent ridges. The two valleys descend steadily for six miles before finally dropping sharply into the New River. Batte and Hallam probably crossed the northern valley.

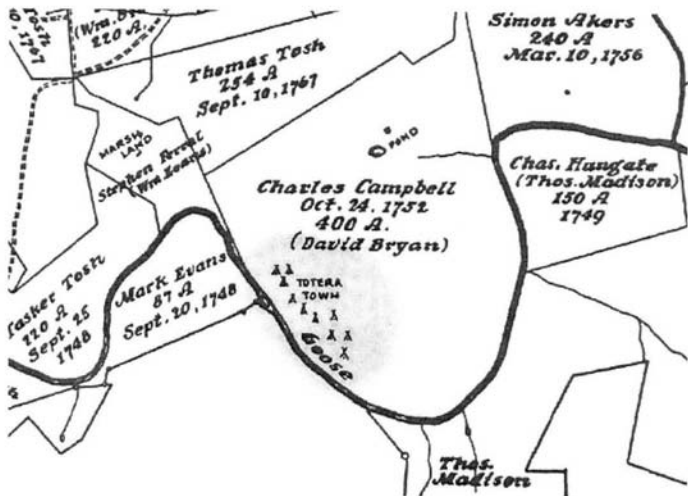


Figure 4. Map showing Toter town. This is a detail taken from "Map Showing the Original Land Grants of the Roanoke and Vinton Community" published in 1938 by F.B. Kegley in his book, "Virginia Frontier," between pp. 522-523. The grey-shaded (by us) region on Goose Creek (an early name for the Roanoke River hereabouts) is at the intersection of present-day Sixth Avenue and Morrill Avenue SE in Roanoke at GPS coordinates 37.259405, -79.931315.

Hallam recorded that at the west end of the valley "we came to a very steep descent at the foot whereof stood the Tatera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch of the main River of Roanoke, circled about with Mountains." At the west end of the northern valley the United States Army Radford Arsenal is set around a huge horseshoe bend in the New River. A steep descent leads down to the river. The swamp is no longer there, but there are several small, swampy areas along the New River south of Radford. Mountains surround the location on all sides. From Shawsville to Radford is a little over twenty miles. Hallam recorded a distance of twenty-five miles.

The only discrepancy between Hallam's description of Totero and the geographic setting at Radford is the name of the river. The river is not the Roanoke but the New. It should be remembered, however, that Hallam had a very limited knowledge of the region's geography and of its river systems. He could see that the river flows toward the mountains. But it would have been difficult for him to believe that this river could pass through the mountains to their west side. (Briceland 1987: 139-140)



Later in his book (on page 185) Briceland writes of "...the Toter Village at present-day Radford."

In his 1991 essay Briceland expresses the same opinions as he does in the quotation cited above. In his 1997 essay, he writes of "[T]he village of the Toter or Tutelo Indians, 'circled about with Mountains,' at present-day Radford." It is not clear to us from our reading of his work if he intends to place Toter town on the horseshoe bend in the New River at the present-day arsenal location or at downtown Radford. The horseshoe bend is about five miles north of downtown Radford.

In the mid-1990s archeologists began to speculate about the site of Toter town. In 1995 the Roanoke-based archeologist Tom Klatka wrote:

Using historical and archaeological information to determine conclusively the location of Toter Town is a difficult if not impossible task. With our current level of knowledge, the majority of contemporary scholars believe that the Batts and Fallam expedition of 1671 passed through the Roanoke Valley, and that Toter Town was located along the Roanoke River. Albeit inconclusive, the best evidence for Toter Town's location in the Roanoke Valley is at the Graham-White and Thomas-Sawyer sites in Salem.[38]

The many-year "Dean" of Virginia archeology, the late Howard MacCord, wrote in 1996: "The Tutelo had lived along the Dan River, although their Contact period villages have not yet been identified. One group seems to have moved westward and lived at Toter town in 1671, in the Roanoke-Salem area or near Radford. The others moved eastward to the Meherrin River, where they lived at several sites for short episodes, finally merging with the Saponi at Fort Christanna."[39]

MacCord added in 2001:

Historical references to a 1671 Toter Town have not yet been corroborated through archeology. Some historians place the town in the vicinity of Roanoke or Salem, but to date, no suitable site has been found in that area. European items found at the Graham-White and the Thomas-Sawyer sites date to the first half of the seventeenth century and cannot date as late as 1671, because of the lack of late-seventeenth century trade goods. Briceland (1987) puts Toter Town on New River, probably on the Radford Arsenal reservation. To date, only limited archeological work has been done there, and no site with quantities of European goods has been found. Toter Town remains "lost." [40]

The third archeological assessment of the location of the site of Toter town came in 1977 from two archeologists working at the time[41] for the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, Michael Barber and Eugene Barfield. They wrote:

The recovery of the snaphaunce rifle part from the Graham-White site is indicative of the acquisition of highly desirable English goods within the Valley. It may be that more such goods were desired but appropriation was prohibited by distance. Although the absolute ethnicity of the peoples of the Roanoke Valley is difficult to establish, a strong case can be made that they were of the Siouan-speaking Tutelo tribe. As related by the diary of the Batts and Fallam expedition in 1671, the town of Toter of the Tutelo Indians was visited near the end of the journey. Whether in the Roanoke Valley or along the New River in Radford, the Tutelo tribal group was located in proximity to the Roanoke Valley. If one accepts that the Tutelo were the occupants of the Salem sites, a portion of that group reported moved to the juncture of the Staunton and the Dan Rivers in the late seventeenth century and to the headwaters of the Yadkin by 1701.[42]

The North Carolina archeologist R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr. favors the Roanoke Valley over the New River Valley as the site of Totera town. He wrote of “[A] Totero, or Tutelo, village further up river, probably in the vicinity of Roanoke,” and on an accompanying map placed the highlight showing the location of the Tutelo on the Roanoke River, not the New.<sup>[43]</sup>

In closing we note that the definitive, modern study of the Tutelo Indians in the Smithsonian-published *Handbook of the American Indians* by Raymond J. DeMallie places Totera town at the Trigg site on the New River in downtown Radford (see Figure 3). DeMallie specifically states in a footnote “Totero (1671, 1674); placed at the Trigg site.”<sup>[44]</sup> As far as we can ascertain DeMallie is the only author to identify the Trigg site as Totera town.

The narrative in this section is summarized in Table 1.

## OUR CONCLUSION: WHERE WAS TOTERA TOWN?

Based on our above review, and absent the discovery of some hitherto unknown documentary evidence or some remarkable new archeological find, our answer to the question is easy. Totera town was doubtless in southwest Virginia and likely within 15 miles of the present path of Interstate 81 corridor somewhere between Pulaski and Buchanan.

Plausible specific locations for Totera town include downtown Radford, the nearby horseshoe bend of the New River, or somewhere along the Roanoke River in either the City of Salem or the City of Roanoke.

## Acknowledgments

We thank Michelle Babyok and David Lenk who got us started on this project. Our thanks to the staff of the Interlibrary Loan office and the professional research staff at Newman Library at Virginia Tech. Thanks to our editor George Kegley. Author JG as ever thanks his wife Deena Flinchum.

## Endnotes

1. The alternate spelling “Totero” is common and there are other variant spellings, particularly in the early documents.
2. These names have traditionally been written as Batts and Fallam and we use those spellings in this article for the purpose of making citations. For their correction see George Kegley: “Names of Batte and Hallam Misspelled for Centuries.” *Journal of the History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia*, XVI: 42, 2005. A definitive article laying out the spelling issues is under preparation by one of us (RM).
3. James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 22). Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1894. The quote comes from page 6. On line at <http://www.archive.org/details/siouantribeseas00moongoog>. Mooney in this long essay writes of the “Monacan confederacy” of people and includes in this category the “Monacan proper” along with the Saponi and Tutelo. As “collateral tribes” he lists the Mahoc, Nuntaneuck or Nuntaly, Mohetan, and the Meipontsky or Meipousky. Hereafter cited as Mooney, Siouan Tribes.
4. John H. Brubaker, III, “History and Culture of the Indians of the Danville Area, Virginia.” *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*. Volume 28(1): 41-47, 1973. This little-known article is well worth reading.
5. Frederick Bittle Kegley, *Kegley’s Virginia Frontier, the beginning of the southwest, the Roanoke of colonial days*. Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938, page 13. Hereafter cited as Kegley’s *Virginia Frontier*.
6. William Talbot, collector and translator. *The Discoveries of John Lederer, In three several marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina, And other parts of the Continent. Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670. Together with A General Map of the whole Territory which he traversed. Collected and Translated out of Latin from his Discourse and Writings.* London: Samuel Heyrick, 1672. On line at <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/Lederer.html>.
7. Alan V. Briceland, *Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia Frontier, 1650-1710*. Charlottesville: The Uni-

**Table 1: Suggested Locations for Totera Town**

**Citations for the authors listed in the left had column are in the accompanying discussion.**

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|--|---|
| Hallam's Journal, 1671                             | "[A]t the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains."   |
| Hale 1883, map on page 47.                         | In a map showing the path of Tutelo Indian migrations between 1671 and 1780, Hale places the starting point on the north side of the Roanoke River not far from its headwaters. To our knowledge this is the earliest map to hint at the town's location.   |
| Darlington 1893, page 18.                          | In his book about Christopher Gist, when discussing the Hallam journal Darlington adds the parenthetical comment that Totera Town was "probably near the site of Salem in Roanoke County." This is the earliest reference to a modern place as the location of the town.  |
| Mooney 1894, page 35.                              | "The site was probably about the present state line southwest of Stuart, in Patrick County, Virginia, or possibly within the limits of North Carolina."   |
| Alvord and Bidgood 1912, page 72.                  | "...not far from the modern city of Roanoke."   |
| Kegley 1938, footnote page 11.                     | "[T]he Totera town, the exact location of which cannot be determined. ... In all probability this town [Totero] was situated between Tinker Creek and the main Branch of Roanoke River."  |
| Kegley 1938, map page 522.                         | Shows "Totera Town" at the location of the intersection of present-day Sixth Avenue and Morrill Avenue SE in Roanoke.   |
| Swanton 1943, page 58.                             | "[B]efore coming to the New River and the 'Moheatan' oldfields, Batts and Fallam visited the Totera or Totera town"   |
| Morton 1960, page 203.                             | "Here lived a group of friendly Indians in Totero Town, near the modern city of Roanoke."   |
| Barnes 1968, page 20.                              | On the bend of the Roanoke River where the Roanoke Industrial Center presently is situated at the foot of Mill Mountain in Roanoke City.  |
| Briceland 1987, pages 139-140 and 185.             | Totera town was likely "At the west end of the northern valley the United States Army Radford Arsenal is set around a huge horseshoe bend in the New River." and "...the Totero Village at present-day Radford"   |
| Briceland 1991, page 31.                           | "The only discrepancy between Fallam's description of Totera and the geographic setting at Radford is the name of the river." (Repeating what he had written in 1987: 140.)   |
| Briceland 1997, page 290.                          | "at present-day Radford."   |
| Klatka 1995, page 26.                              | "Using historical and archaeological information to determine conclusively the location of Totera Town is a difficult, if not impossible task. With our current level of knowledge, the majority of contemporary scholars believe that the Batts and Fallam expedition of 1671 passed through the Roanoke Valley, and that Totera Town was located along the Roanoke River. Albeit inconclusive, the best evidence for Totera Town's location in the Roanoke Valley is at the Graham-White and Thomas-Sawyer sites in Salem." |
| MacCord 1996, page 72.                             | "Totera Town in 1671, in the Roanoke-Salem area or near Radford."   |
| Barber & Barfield 1997, page 146.                  | "Whether in the Roanoke Valley or along the New River in Radford, the Tutelo tribal group was located in proximity to the Roanoke Valley."  |
| MacCord 2001, page 22.                             | "Totera Town 'remains lost.'"   |
| Davis 2002, text page 149, map figure 5.           | "[A] Totero, or Tutelo, village further up river, probably in the vicinity of Roanoke. On the map the Tutelo are placed on the Roanoke River, not the New.  |
| DeMallie 2004, footnote page 286 and map page 287. | "Totero (1671, 1674; placed at the Trigg site)"   |

- versity of Virginia Press, 1987. Maps on pp. 104-107. Hereafter cited as Briceland, Westward from Virginia.
8. By Dieter Cunz in 1942. Briceland, Westward from Virginia, p. 214.
9. A high resolution copy of Talbot's map of Lederer's three marches is on line at <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/Image13.gif>.
10. Horatio Hale. "The Tutelo Tribe and Language." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 21(114): 1-47, 1883. On line at [http://www.archive.org/details/cihm\\_04399](http://www.archive.org/details/cihm_04399). Hereafter cited as Hale, Tutelo Tribe.
11. Coauthor Mays has examined all four of these original, handwritten copies of Hallam's lost journal, as well as other relevant primary documents from archives in Great Britain. His in-progress article reviewing the Batte and Hallam surnames will also include, for the first time, a complete study of the four journal transcripts and related documents.
12. Robert Fallam. "The Journal & Relation of a New Discovery made behind the Apuleian Mountains to the West of Virginia." Pp. 193-197 in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Volume 3. Eds., John R. Brodhead, Berthold Fernow, and Edmund B. O'Callaghan. Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company Printers, 1853. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=YmtAAAAcAAJ>.
13. David I. Bushnell, Jr. "Virginia from Early Records. [Annotated transcription of the Clayton version of the journal of Robert Hallam]." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 9(1): 31-44, 1907. On line at <http://books.google.com/books?id=AIF0AAAAIAAJ>.
14. Robert Fallam. "Journal," pp. 183-193 in Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood. *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians 1650-1674*. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912. On line at: <http://books.google.com/books?id=49-eAAAAIAAJ>. Hereafter cited as Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*.
15. John Mitchell. "Remarks on the Journal of Batts and Fallam in their Discovery of the Western Parts of Virginia in 1671 [About 1755]." Appendix C pp. 231-240 in Berthold Fernow, *The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days*. Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1890.
16. Carl F. Miller. "Reevaluation of the Eastern Siouan Problem, with particular emphasis on the Virginia branches – the Occaneechi, Saponi and the Tutelo." Pp. 115-212 in *Anthropological Papers* 49-56 (*Bulletin* 164 US Bureau of Ethnology), 1957. Map on page 178.
17. Briceland, Westward from Virginia. the map is on page 134.
18. Thomas Klatka. "Totera Town Reconsidered." *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society*, 13(2): 23-29, 1996. Hereafter cited as Klatka, "Totera Town Reconsidered."
19. Abraham Wood. "The Travels of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur through Virginia, North Carolina, and Beyond, 1673-1674, contained in a letter from Abraham Wood to John Richards, August 22, 1674" edited by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., *Southern Indian Studies* 39: 31-55, 1990. On line at <http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Needham/NeedhamEdited.html>.
20. Also spelled by Abraham Wood (version Alvord and Bidgood) as the Tomahittans, Tomahaitans, Tomahittins, and the Tomahitons.
21. Robert Rankin, personal communication 2009. Many authors have speculated as to the location of the Tomahitan town, Rankin has reviewed the speculations.
22. Raymond J. DeMallie, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups." Pp. 286-300 in William C. Sturtevant, General Editor. *Handbook of North American Indians* Volume 14 Southeast. Raymond D. Fogelson Volume Editor, Jason Baird Jackson Associate Volume Editor. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2004. The quote comes from p. 288. Hereafter cited as DeMallie, Tutelo and Neighbors.
23. DeMallie, Tutelo and Neighbors, p. 292.
24. John Lawson. *A New Voyage to Carolina*. Ed., & with an introduction & notes by Hugh Talmage Lefler. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967, page 53.
25. In addition to adding the locations of Salem and Roanoke, our modifications have been principally to eliminate many of the details not relevant to our topic here, and to increase the size of the labels for easier reading.
26. Hale, Tutelo Tribe, page 47.
27. William N. Darlington. *Christopher Gist's Journals with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his Contemporaries*. Pittsburgh: J. R. Weldin and Company, 1893.
28. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, page 35.
29. Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, page 72.
30. Kegley's *Virginia Frontier*, page 11.
31. John R. Swanton. "Siouan Tribes and the Ohio Valley." *American Anthropologist*, 45(1): 49-66, 1943.
32. Richard L. Morton. *Colonial Virginia* (2 volumes). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (Published for the Virginia Historical Society), 1960. Volume 1 page 203.
33. Raymond P. Barnes. *A History of Roanoke*. Roanoke: Commonwealth Press, 1968. Page 20.
34. The Roanoke Industrial Center web site at <http://www.roanokeindustrialcenter.com> shows an excellent map of the present state of this property.

35. Briceland, Westward from Virginia.
36. Alan V. Briceland. "Batts and Fallam Explore the Backbone of the Continent," pp. 23-36 in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, Robert D. Mitchell, ed.. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991.
37. Alan V. Briceland. "British Exploration of the United States Interior," pp. 269-327 (essay) and 419-423 (notes) in John Logan Allen, ed., *North American Exploration: A Continent Defined* (North American Exploration, Volume 2). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
38. Klatka, "Totera Town Reconsidered."
39. Howard A. MacCord, Sr. "Prehistoric Territoriality in Virginia." *North Carolina Archaeology* (formerly *Southern Indian Studies*), 45: 57-77, 1996.
40. Howard A MacCord,. Sr. "Dan River Culture and Its Expansion West of the Blue Ridge." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*, 56(1): 18-25, 2001.
41. At the time of present writing Barber is the State Archeologist of Virginia and Eugene Barfield is retired.
42. Michael B. Barber and Eugene B. Barfield. "Native Americans on the Virginia Frontier in the Seventeenth Century," pp. 134-158 in Michael J. Puglisi, ed., *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press: 1997. Page 136.
43. R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. "The Cultural Landscape of the North Carolina Piedmont at Contact," pp. 135-156 in Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, eds., *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*. Jackson: The University of Mississippi Press, 2002.
44. DeMallie, Tutelo and Neighbors, p. 286.

## Six Supplementary Photographs



Supplementary Photograph 1. The New River in seen from the north side of the Radford Army Ammunition Plant. Picture taken during a visit here by the authors in November 2010. Published with permission of the RFAAP.



Supplementary Photograph 2. The New River on north side of the Radford Army Ammunition Plant. The camera view is looking west towards Whitethorne. Picture taken during a visit here by the authors in November 2010. This location of both photographs on this page is to the left of the top of number "8" on Figure 3 (page 36 of the main article), Published with permission of the RFAAP.





Supplementary Photograph 3. The entrance to the Moyer sports complex on the north bank of the Roanoke River in Salem. Picture taken during a visit here by the authors in June 2010.



Supplementary Photograph 4. The entrance to the Moyer sports complex on the north bank of the Roanoke River in Salem. The Graham-White and Thomas-Sawyer sites discussed on page 39 of the main article are both near here. Picture taken during a visit here by the authors in June 2010.



Supplementary Photograph 5. Morrill Avenue in Roanoke City looking north from the intersection of Morrill Avenue and Sixth Street. This is approximately the location of the letter "G" in the word "Goose" in Figure 4 on page 38 of the main article. Picture taken during a visit here by author JG in November 2011.



Supplementary Photograph 6. The Roanoke River seen from near the intersection of Morrill Avenue and Sixth Street in Roanoke City. It is taken looking in more-or-less the opposite direction for the top picture on this page. Picture take during a visit here by author JG in November 2011.