The Smithfield Review

Studies in the history of the region west of the Blue Ridge

Volume 18, 2014

Published by the
Smithfield Preston Foundation
in cooperation with the
Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

This publication has been made possible
through the generous contributions of

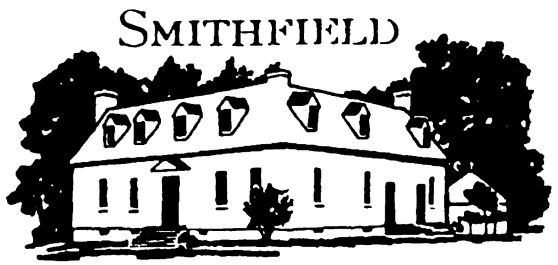
National Bank
Blacksburg, Virginia

Published in cooperation with the
Department of History
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
through funding from the
Frank L. Curtis Fund

The Smithfield Review

Studies in the history of the region west of the Blue Ridge

Volume 18, 2014



Published by the
Smithfield Preston Foundation
in cooperation with the
Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

The *Smithfield Review* is published annually, in the spring, by the Smithfield Preston Foundation, Blacksburg, Virginia, in cooperation with the Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Subscribtions are $14.70 per year: Individual copies or the entire set of sixteen volumes are available from:

Smithfield Museum Store
1000 Smithfield Plantation Road
Blacksburg, VA 24060

Or call 1/540-231-3947
or email *info@smithfieldplantation.org*
Please include $3.50 shipping/handling per copy.

Multiple copies are available at a discount.
Complete sets are available at a further discount.

ISSN 1093-9652

Printed in the United States of America

Smithfield is an important historic property adjacent to the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. The manor house, constructed around 1774 on the frontier, is a premier example of early American architecture and is one of few such regional structures of that period to survive. It was the last home of Colonel William Preston, a noted surveyor and developer of western lands, who served as an important colonial and Revolutionary War leader. Preston named the 1,860-acre plantation "Smithfield" in honor of his wife, Susanna Smith. Today, the manor house is a museum that is interpreted and administered by a local group of volunteers.

In 1997 the *Smithfield Review* was founded with the purpose of helping to preserve the often neglected history of the region west of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia and adjacent states. We seek articles about important personages and events; reports of archaeological discoveries; and analyses of the social, political, and architectural history of the region. Whenever possible and appropriate, the articles will incorporate letters, speeches, and other primary documents that convey to the reader a direct sense of the past.

A Note from the Editors

This issue tells the story of exploration, land development, and conflict in the midst of a huge human migration, as masses of people from the eastern hemisphere abandoned their homelands, under a variety of conditions, to make a new life in the western hemisphere. The articles in this issue of the *Smithfield Review* provide illustrations of the lives and times that occurred during that large migration.

Our first article, "Political Passions in the Backcountry of Tennessee and Kentucky in 1797: As Reflected in the Travel Diary of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans," is the third article in a series presented by Sharon Watkins, a retired history professor from Western Illinois University. This final part includes an excellent analysis of the diary of a well-educated French prince as he completed his long journey in the new, rapidly evolving United States during a time of exploding westward migration.

Many years ago, the land now within the town limits of Blacksburg, Virginia, was called Draper's Meadows. This early community of migrant settlers was named for the first, or at least one of the first, settlers to live within the legally surveyed village consisting of about two dozen large parcels of land. Our second article, "The Draper's Meadows Settlement (1746-1756), Part I: George Draper and Family," provides a considerable extension of what we know about these early settlers. It was researched and written by Ryan Mays, a staff biologist at Virginia Tech.

Ryan Mays also collaborates with Jim Glanville, a retired chemistry professor at Virginia Tech, to present "The William Preston/George Washington Letters." These eight letters, written on the eve of the American Revolutionary War, provide ample evidence of the importance of land development in the mind of each of the correspondents. As the authors state: "Both men were obsessed with land acquisition, though despite growing problems with Britain, they continued to abide by British policies and regulations." At the outset, the authors describe the approximately 26-year acquaintance of the two men.

In "A summary of 19th-Century Smithfield, Part I: The Years Before the Civil War," Laura Wedin begins a three-part series that summarizes the transition of both the Smithfield Plantation and members of the Preston family during a century of dramatic change. In the years prior to

the outbreak of the Civil War, Smithfield remained a seat of considerable political and economic power. All three sons of Governor James Patton Preston, an owner and resident of Smithfield, remained in Blacksburg. They enjoyed a relatively prosperous lifestyle during the antebellum period, and their homes and families are described. Laura Wedin is an active volunteer at Historic Smithfield Plantation and is the author of an earlier *Smithfield Review* article about the Smithfield Cemetery that appeared in Volume 7.

"Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567 Revisited," by Jim Glanville, provides additional insights concerning Spanish excursions into what is now called the Southeastern United States. His first article on this subject appeared in Volume 8 in 2004. The current article presents additional evidence and a new mapping analysis in the ongoing study of the early Spanish presence in southeastern North America by historians and archaeologists. As the author states in his conclusion: "The hybrid map developed in this article changes what Virginia historians have traditionally labeled as 'English' America and 'Spanish' America ... in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." In other words, as the author states elsewhere: "Virginia historians tend to overlook the fact that Virginia was Florida before it was Virginia."

As the *Smithfield Review* has grown, we are indebted to an increasing number of people who continue to donate funds and/or numerous hours to make this publication possible. We are particularly grateful for the assistance rendered by the Virginia Tech Department of History, our authors, reviewers, financial donors, and Smithfield Review Management Board members. The final preparation of this issue required the special talents of Peter Wallenstein of the Virginia Tech history department, Christy Mackie, Rachael Garrity, and Barbara Corbett, and we are indeed grateful for their help.

Political Passions in the Backcountry of Tennessee and Kentucky in 1797

As Reflected in the Travel Diary of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans

Sharon B. Watkins

In the spring of 1797, the youthful head of the junior branch of the French royal family, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans (1773–1850), traveled extensively throughout the states of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. At age 24, he stood fourth in line for the French royal throne, behind three adult male cousins who had no other male heirs. For two months, he recorded in a journal his observations and speculations as he rode on horseback through the interior of the United States, where white settlers were pushing the frontier westward and Native Americans still lived in significant numbers on their own land. Three decades later, after the revolution in July 1830, Louis Philippe became King of the French people by swearing his allegiance to a constitution which established a moderate parliamentary monarchy. He claimed to rule not by divine right but by the will of the people; legally he was King of the French (the people) and not King of France (a geographic expression which hinted of hereditary real estate). His regime is frequently called the July Monarchy to distinguish it from its predecessors, and he became known as the "citizen king" or "bourgeois king." He was a successful head of state until another revolution in 1848 ended his reign and established the Second French Republic.

In 1797, however, the future of the young prince seemed less promising. Since the spring of 1789, his homeland had been in turmoil as the French Revolution moved from moderate to radical phases, executing his cousin Louis XVI, abolishing monarchy, establishing a republic, and reaching an apogee of extremism in the Reign of Terror (1793–1794). Louis Philippe himself had participated in the early liberal stages of the revolution and he served as an army officer on the battle front when Austria, Prussia, and other European governments had attempted to invade France and crush the new constitutional government. By 1793 his father had been executed and Louis Philippe had been forced into exile. His mother and sister had been placed under house arrest and his two younger brothers imprisoned

under miserable circumstances. As foreign invaders were beaten back, the Reign of Terror lost momentum and the political pendulum in France began to swing back toward the center. In 1796 a new moderate republican government, the Directory, had guaranteed the three Orleans brothers their personal freedom upon condition they would journey to the United States, remain there, and refrain from all attempts to intervene in French politics. Louis Philippe arrived in America in late 1796 and was soon joined by his brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and the Duke of Beaujolais. Their household was completed by the constant assistance of their valet and man of many talents, known only as Beaudoin. This middle-aged Frenchman had refused to abandon his young masters and had accompanied Louis Philippe throughout his travels in exile; he, like the princes, was comfortable conversing in English.

The royal exiles took up residence in the federal capital of Philadelphia and received a kind welcome from the political, financial, and social elite of the United States who clustered there. The Orleans family had possessed an extraordinarily large private fortune before the Revolution and keen instincts on how to increase their holdings; the eldest brother was quite comfortable at the highest levels of wealth as well as political power. For numerous reasons, however, Duke Louis Philippe decided to lead his younger and less experienced brothers on a long horseback journey south into Virginia and then westward. He wanted to see more of the regions and peoples of the United States and to reestablish fraternal bonds as the brothers and Beaudoin found adventures along the trail. An embarrassing shortness of cash determined that the travelers would dress in buckskins, ride on ordinary horses, stay at inexpensive roadside inns, and eat the plain food offered to other travelers. After a two-day visit to former President George Washington at Mount Vernon, the brothers avoided the hospitality and comfortable beds which leading families would have gladly offered to such royal guests and opted to travel on their own on the unfamiliar roads and trails. They did not hide their nationality or their names (Messieurs d'Orleans, de Montpensier, and de Beaujolais) but neither did they volunteer their exalted aristocratic rank and titles. Their precise identity was only once recognized by a stranger, Arthur Campbell in western Virginia. Usually they were treated as simply one more group of newcomers riding west, leaving Europe for various reasons of their own. By blending in and listening, Louis Philippe learned—and then recorded in his journal—some intriguing insights along the way.

The first two stages of this 2,400 mile journey are discussed in previous issues of *Smithfield Review*.[1] The present article recounts the next stage of

the royal brothers' journey, from the region of the Overhill Cherokee people near Knoxville, Tennessee to Nashville and then northward across the Kentucky Barrens to Bardstown, Kentucky. Louis Philippe's travel diary ends with an entry on May 21, 1797, just north of Bardstown, making detailed discussion of their further journeys impossible. Despite this disappointing end to his entries, the final portions of Louis Philippe's journal reveal much of interest about the frontier and people of central Tennessee and Kentucky in the spring of 1797, a time of intense political passion and debate inside the United States.

Public Opinion and Political Passions in the West in 1797

During the three weeks he traveled the trails of central Tennessee and Kentucky, Louis Philippe in his diary referred to the local inhabitants as "westerners," "new settlers," and less frequently "pioneers" or "colonists." He employed the term "frontier" but seldom the word "backcountry"; he was clearly aware that by passing through and leaving behind the Appalachian Mountains he had entered a different region of the United States. He commented upon the fertile soil, less dense forests, and gentler landscapes easier to cultivate. Along the roads and at river crossings he was impressed by the large numbers of white Americans or Europeans thronging westward to claim better farmland or to begin entirely new lives in these two recently admitted American states (Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796). The trans-Appalachian west was a gigantic tract of land stretching from the western border of the U.S. on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, southward to the international border with Spanish colonial holdings, northward to British Canada, and eastward to a line of more settled permanent population somewhere in the western Appalachians or their foothills.[2] No single subsection of this area could display all the qualities of such a varied wilderness, but it seems fair to assert that the frontier communities visited by Louis Philippe in central Tennessee and Kentucky reflected many of the concerns common to western Americans in the late 1790s.

In order to understand better Louis Philippe's diary entries concerning westerners, it is necessary to consider various political, economic, and cultural patterns prevalent in the 1790s. The following pages provide a background summary for readers not conversant with this material; readers familiar with the 1790s may wish to skim this section or proceed directly to the next section of this paper, which sets forth the observations made by Louis Philippe.[3] This decade witnessed the growing identification of the west as a separate region of the United States. Geography and international boundaries gave westerners a sense of isolation from the earlier settled

eastern part of the country. In an era when water transportation was by far the easiest available, the barrier of the eastern continental divide shunted rivers of the backcountry away from the Atlantic Ocean toward the west and the south. The fact that a foreign nation controlled the mouths of the Mississippi River and of other significant streams meant that the products of the west were liable to Spanish taxes and Spanish regulation before they could continue their long voyage to markets in the eastern U.S. or international destinations. Western producers had almost no share in the large scale commerce with Europe, which underlay the economic advancement of the northeastern states and made profitable the specialized agricultural exports of the southeastern plantations.

It was galling to westerners that, more so than for other Americans, their prosperity and security depended upon the decisions of foreigners. Spain might at any time have chosen to prevent western products from reaching the sea or to impose crippling taxation. They feared that Spain, whose power was waning, might lose control of territories bordering the U.S. to another and more hostile European power. France might reclaim its former possessions or, more worrisome, an unfriendly Great Britain might seize the area through its naval power. Some westerners toyed with the possibility of striking protective bargains with Spain for themselves, or entirely detaching their area from the U.S. (seceding) and placing it under the protection of a strong European government.

A second factor which impacted most of the western frontier but had little effect upon the eastern regions was the frustrating and frightening nearness of well-organized tribes of Native Americans. Along most of the frontier the federal government had by 1795 fought and then signed treaties with tribes adjacent to white settlements. Yet the memory of warfare was still fresh in 1797. Local settlers often resented that large swaths of land had been officially forbidden to whites and placed under the permanent control of Indians that had so recently been enemies. Some tribes, including various Iroquois around the Great Lakes, and Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and others further south remained formidable fighting forces. A small incident might easily erupt into serious fighting. European governments, notably Great Britain, sometimes encouraged and assisted the Native Americans by providing them weapons or safe havens across international borders. For their part, several tribes displayed great skill in playing off another group of whites (British or Spanish agents in Canada or in Florida) against Americans, thereby increasing the sense of insecurity and fear among nearby settlers.

Most vividly, perhaps, the large influx of migrant Americans and immigrant Europeans into the west clearly distinguished the frontier region

from eastern areas. Despite lingering uncertainty, the recent cessation of active warfare and the presence of federal soldiers scattered along the frontier enticed large numbers of new settlers to rush westward to claim land and homes. The lure of owning a productive farm and of exercising personal freedom and initiative to make a better life was irresistible to many. The optimism of the pioneers was high. When they discovered it was actually quite difficult for people of limited incomes to purchase land in the west, the prospective settlers did not hesitate to criticize the government and the wealthy, whom they blamed for this disappointment.

By the time of the prince's visit to the backcountry, westerners were able to join their voices to a much broader current of political dissatisfaction against the government of the United States, which had been under the majority control of the Federalist political faction since the new federal Constitution had been ratified and put into practice (1789). It was logical that control of the new executive branch and both houses of the legislature created by the Constitution should be entrusted to those who had led the successful struggle to create that government. With many former revolutionary leaders working together under America's greatest hero as President, hopes were high that Americans would unite in a peaceful common effort.

However, after a few years of relatively harmonious effort, two distinct political factions had begun to form and foreshadow the two-party system prevalent in later decades.[4] Primarily through the efforts of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and President Washington, the Federalists first produced an influential grouping generally sharing a program and vision for the United States of America.[5] The issues uniting Federalists are discerned more easily in hindsight than they were in the early 1790s. In greatly simplified terms, they sought to lessen the importance and power of the states and to increase that of the federal government. They intended to use the new federal powers to create a much greater income for the federal government, build support for it among important elite groups, reorganize its finances, increase its lowly international status, and encourage large scale international commerce. They anticipated that America's most valuable exports at first would consist of exotic products grown on large plantations and farms primarily in the southeastern portion of the country. According to Hamilton's report to Congress on manufacturing, Americans would later become less dependent upon foreign manufactured imports and develop a significant domestic industrial sector. Inefficient small farms were to be phased out and their inhabitants, including children, converted into factory wage-earners. Hamilton hoped to model the new U.S. government and economy upon those of Britain in order to create an America equal in

power to Britain. During the building process he attempted to regain British trade lost during the revolutionary period and to avoid further antagonizing arguably the most powerful country in the world.

Hamilton's program won the solid support of President Washington, of many affluent men of the elite groups in the northeastern and southeastern regions, and of many free working and middle class men dependent upon those elites for their livelihood. The Federalist-inspired government programs offered those who were already affluent numerous opportunities to increase their fortunes and to dominate local and national affairs. The Federalists hoped such tangible benefits would cement the support of the powerful behind the new national government. In 1790 the federal Treasury assumed the burden of paying outstanding war debts still owed by the Confederation and by the states. The Treasury called in and extinguished all the pre-existing Confederation bonds and state war debt instruments; in exchange, it issued to bondholders new, uniform federal government Treasury certificates. These new debt instruments were guaranteed to be redeemable at full face value in specie (gold and silver, also known as "hard money") and to pay attractively high interest on a regularly scheduled basis. The first and only bank chartered by the federal government was created in 1791 (the Bank of the United States, abbreviated as the BUS). It was given the monopoly to conduct all federal financial business and to issue a limited supply of large denomination paper banknotes (currency) also redeemable at full face value in specie.

Another priority for the Federalist program was to maximize the income stream of the federal government in a variety of ways. In addition to traditional customs revenues (defined as tariffs on imports), internal revenue taxes were devised. Under the Constitution, the national government had gained the power to levy taxes directly upon individual Americans and their products for the first time; previously only states could do so. These new federal taxes came in the form of excise taxes, which are fixed sales taxes usually regressive in nature. The first federal excise tax was levied in 1791 on distilled alcoholic spirits, a product produced and consumed widely in western and rural areas of the U.S. This controversial measure became known as the Whiskey Tax, since other popular forms of alcoholic beverages such as wine, beer, and cider were not taxed.[6] The tax was regressive because it was not based on the sale price but rather on the proof of every gallon of whiskey, rising as the percentage of alcohol did. Thus an expensive smoothly finished gallon of whiskey was taxed no more than a cheap home-made gallon, so long as the proofs were equal.

Criticism arose immediately. Distilling alcohol was often a family operated business in the west, just as some farmers owned water mills and

ground grain or sawed wood for their neighbors in return for a processing fee. Since grain was difficult to store safely and expensive to transport under frontier conditions, surplus grain crops were often made into whiskey to add to the value of the product and make storage and transportation easier. In some areas where there was no reliable currency, wages for farm hands were paid in whiskey. Yet small producers actually paid a higher tax rate per gallon than large scale commercial producers, who received a discount if they paid on a quarterly basis. Smaller producers were required to pay the tax in a lump sum, in specie or equivalent, immediately upon demand after visitation by federal revenue agents, the original "revenuers." An entire bureaucracy of hundreds of men was specifically hired, trained, and paid well to enforce the excise tax. In an added insult to the small producers, the revenue agents were instructed to search sheds, barns, basements, and other areas to make sure that the farmer had presented his entire stock of distilled alcohol for inspection and taxation. Agents were specially equipped with a Dicas' hydrometer, an instrument to ascertain the correctness of the proof indicated on each container. Intentionally or not, the excise tax on whiskey was widely considered an unfair burden on farmers and entrepreneurs in the backcountry and the tax agents compared to the hated British tax collectors before the Revolution. Opposition reached its most politicized and violent stage in the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania (1794); determined refusal to pay was widespread in Tennessee, Kentucky, and the western portions of Virginia and North Carolina. In Kentucky, scene of some of Louis Philippe's most interesting observations, the federal government received no revenue at all from this excise tax because no one was sufficiently brave, or foolhardy, to try to collect it. By the late 1790s the federal government had placed excise taxes on two other commonly used items, snuff and sugar.[7]

In another issue of great significance along the frontier, the sale of federally held public land was also organized so as to maximize government revenue and draw specie and other reliable forms of money away from rural areas and to the eastern commercial centers. The pioneers of the 1790s faced far more difficulties in obtaining land from the federal government than the later beneficiaries of the settler-friendly Homestead Act of 1862.[8] In the earlier period, all sales of public lands proceeded by competitive public auctions of specific plots predetermined by the federal Land Office. The absolute minimum transaction allowed was the purchase of an entire section (640 acres) of land at a minimum cost of one dollar per acre. The bidding procedure often drove the price of choice land much higher, and the government gave preference to massive purchases of multiple sections and

multiple townships (with 23,040 acres per township). Payment of the entire price was due immediately and required in the form of gold and silver or U.S. government bonds and banknotes. Very few pioneers, seeking only a family farm of perhaps 100 acres, could afford to pay the minimum $640 immediately; even fewer possessed specie or federal debt instruments and BUS notes to fulfill these stringent terms. Usually consortiums of wealthy investors and speculators acquired the massive tracts of land offered at these auctions; they held the land until demand increased its value and then made a tidy profit by subdividing and reselling small acreages at higher prices. A well-known American financier who also had served as U.S. Minister to France, Gouverneur Morris, once offered participation in such a money-making scheme to help Louis Philippe finance his exile.[9]

As the list of Federalist legislation grew, so did opposition, particularly among westerners and other rural people. The Federalists appeared to favor urban and commercial interests over rural and agricultural ones, to enrich the wealthy at the expense of the middle and lower classes, to be heartless in extracting taxes from those who could least afford to pay, to toady to the recent British oppressors, to exalt federal powers and diminish state and local powers, and to favor the northeastern states in all cases. In contrast, the agrarian ideals articulated by Thomas Jefferson, who resigned from Washington's Cabinet in 1794, offered the hope of a more broadly equal society consisting chiefly of small independent landowners and family farmers. His primarily agrarian outlook anticipated the development of regionally organized economies with manufacturing, transportation, and commerce on a smaller scale than Hamilton's ultimate goals. Jefferson's efforts to offer voters national alternatives gained momentum after he separated himself from Washington's administration. James Madison, already known for his prominent role in crafting the Constitution and in gaining its ratification, abandoned his Federalist associates and joined the fledgling opposition. Jefferson and Madison preferred to lodge more power and responsibility in local and state governments, as was traditional, and less power at the highest level. Thus in the 1790s a new political alignment began to emerge and provide a focal point for those at odds with Federalist policies. This group was first referred to as the Democratic Republicans, or Jeffersonians, or simply Republicans; the emerging movement was not a political party in the modern sense, but within a few decades it transformed into the Democratic Party. By the time of Louis Philippe's visit in 1797, increasing numbers of American citizens in western and rural areas had begun to support the leaders and journalists critical of many federal decisions and policies.

Critical developments in foreign affairs also intruded upon and skewed the development of domestic politics in the 1790s. In Europe and on the oceans of the world, Great Britain and France engaged in yet another round of their armed struggle for hegemony. In one sense, the two wealthiest and strongest European powers continued the contest left unfinished after the Seven Years War (French and Indian War) and the American Revolutionary War. In another crucial regard this struggle was different, because the world-shaking advent of the French Revolution had transformed France from an aristocratically dominated hereditary monarchy of the old style to a more modern nation state. Older distinctions of class, caste, and religion dating from medieval times had been abolished, and men of talent and ability could, and did, rise to lead the nation. The French Revolution had generated a nation built upon new principles enunciated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.[10] Much like the introductory statements of the American Declaration of Independence, these values and rights could be idealized, generalized, and adopted by other peoples. The French ideals of liberty, equality, broad religious freedom, and the rights of citizens stood far closer to many Americans' understanding of their own national aspirations than did the British values of king, country, nobility, and common subjects. Britain, once the mother country to many Americans, had proved a punitive parent who pursued warfare against her colonial children when they sought to achieve their own maturity and autonomy. France in contrast had provided valuable assistance to the American patriots, including the fleet which prevented General Cornwallis from evacuating his troops from Yorktown by sea and forced his surrender to General Washington. After the Treaty of Paris of 1783 officially ended the war, the British government continued to punish the United States; it imposed restrictions on commerce, stationed its own troops on U.S. soil adjacent to Canada, and encouraged unrest among Native tribes against American pioneers.

If forced to favor one of these great nations over the other in their titanic duel, Americans would be severely divided. In 1792 President Washington attempted to avoid this problem by issuing a Proclamation of Neutrality, promising not to assist and not to harm either side. Pressure to choose one side mounted on Americans as the war continued and developed into a deadlock; the rejuvenated and inspired army of France dominated on land, and the naval power of Britain dominated on the sea. The Federalists generally inclined toward Great Britain, the Democratic Republicans toward France. American public opinion grew more polarized when the newly appointed French minister to the U.S., Edmond Genet, used his office and personal charisma to whip up American popular support and commission privateers for France

(1793–1794). The Washington administration's decision to complete a new commercial treaty with Britain in 1794 (Jay's Treaty) led to a furor and rioting in the streets of several cities. The Republicans claimed the treaty gave so many concessions to Britain that it cancelled U.S. neutrality, an interpretation shared by the French government. The Federalists defended Jay's Treaty as a wise and necessary move to preserve America's trade and commerce.

As opposition to his policies mounted, Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton resigned from the Cabinet (1795) and returned to private law practice. Although he was no longer a government official, Hamilton remained personally very influential; he seemed to hover critically over the early administration of President John Adams, who took office in 1797. An undeclared naval conflict ignited between U.S. and French ships in the Caribbean (1797–1798), one area the British navy did not then control. Adams' efforts to negotiate collapsed when Federalist negotiators declared they were insulted by French diplomats' solicitations of "gifts" to ease the path of conversations (the XYZ affair, 1798).

Ultimately one decision made by the President and Congress seemed to tip the balance and crystalized the opponents of the Federalists into a broad coalition of Americans transcending economic, social, and regional divisions. In actions which seemed highly partisan and clearly in violation of the Bill of Rights, Adams and Congress tried to repress their critics by means of the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798). Louis Philippe's visit on the frontier occurred in the contentious year leading to this development. The Sedition Act in effect made it illegal to utter or to publish criticism of the President or the federal government; it was used to end the publication of several newspapers and imprison editors and journalists.[11] Judges appointed by the Federalists sent newspapermen and politicians to jail for exercising what most Americans considered basic freedoms clearly protected from federal regulation by the First Amendment to the Constitution. So overt was this attempt to use federal powers to intimidate the press and political opposition that it gave the Jeffersonians an issue that they easily exploited and turned into a great electoral victory in the autumn of 1800. As will be seen below, westerners were deeply involved in this political struggle in the 1790s and, for the most part, clearly opposed the Federalists and supported the Democratic Republicans. Louis Philippe overheard much rhetoric that reflected these passions redefining American political life.

The Observations of Louis Philippe in His Travel Diary

It is impossible to know how well Louis Philippe understood this ongoing political drama as he and his party moved further into the backcountry

alongside a throng of new settlers. The four Frenchmen left the Overhill Cherokee Indian communities and their protective federal fort of Tellico on May 5, 1797. They paused for a visit to Fort Southwest Point, then under construction, and gratefully accepted a supply of dried meat and freshly baked bread to carry on the trail. Until they reached Nashville, they were accompanied by Major George Colbert (c.1764–1839), a Chickasaw leader and U.S. Army officer of mixed European and Native American ancestry. Colbert had assisted the federal government in its warfare against other tribes and lost valuable property during the conflict. Colbert, having just learned the U.S. government had denied him monetary compensation for his service and his property losses, was returning virtually bankrupt to his homeland in northern Georgia. The Frenchmen had met him at Tellico Block House, where he was visiting other officers, and found him both good company and a valuable source of information and insight. They ferried across the Clinch River and gradually climbed toward the Cumberland River's headwaters. Grass for horses and accommodations for humans were so scarce that Major Colbert persuaded the others to leave the road and camp out by a nearby stream. They built a fire, let the horses graze, dined on dry cornbread and bacon from their saddlebags, and slept on the ground. They camped in this fashion for three consecutive nights, eating trail provisions each morning and evening.[12] Wildlife abounded, with "more game in this *desert* [original emphasis] than in a hunting preserve at home."[13] Some buffalo and elk remained in the area; bear, deer, and various small animals were numerous.

As they neared the Cumberland River, the visitors encountered for the first time a substantial area of cane, a "marshy terrain covered with tall trees and a species of rushes that grow ten or twelve feet tall." The area was barely penetrable, via roads that were "terrible."[14] They forded the Cumberland River at the shallow ferry crossing protected by Fort Blount (near present-day Gainesboro, Tennessee). Here most of the settlers had only arrived and cleared their fields in the previous fall, so that little food was available in the spring. The princes sampled the dried bear meat offered them and found it almost impossible to chew and swallow. They were fortunate to obtain lodging at one of the typical frontier roadside inns, small public houses operated by former military officers in return for meager pensions or half-pay. Their host, Major Dickson, provided real coffee and dried parched corn for the evening meal and two beds which the Frenchmen shared. Colbert, who was unable to pay and possibly unwelcome because of his mixed ancestry, apparently slept outdoors. Dickson informed his guests that since the 1794–1795 federal agreements with the tribes of the area, the flow of pioneers had grown "prodigious." In 1796 the Clinch River ferry had carried some 24,000

whites and 4,000 blacks westward. Most of the settlers came from parts of North Carolina where land was infertile or prohibitively expensive.[15]

From the innkeeper's account and his own observations, Louis Philippe concluded in his journal that fate was turning dramatically against local Native Americans. He predicted that the new white settlers "will have nothing to fear from the Indians; on the contrary, they will pose an ever greater danger to the Indians, the newcomers' general desire being to strip the tribes of their lands, as has already been done to several in the north." He had already learned of land-hungry settlers near Tellico murdering two Cherokee leaders, in hopes of provoking violent actions in return. Once fighting resumed, the whites could call for the aid of the military and a new treaty that would allow them to settle in areas previously reserved for the Native Americans. The prince also pondered the significance of the fact that enslaved blacks were being carried along with the migrant tide. He speculated that "the obduracy and laziness of slave-owners" might retard the "level of culture and prosperity" that the area otherwise seemed capable of attaining. He repeated his surprise that Indians (whom he here called "savages") had adopted slaveholding and concluded that they and the incoming whites shared an "excessive laziness" that encouraged dependence upon enslaved laborers. These judgments echoed his earlier firm disapproval of the British border lifestyles dominating the backcountry and his conclusion that Cherokee men were lazy. In the next sentence, after perhaps recalling that he never considered George Washington obdurate or lazy, he acknowledged the larger societal factors sustaining slavery. Pensively he wondered "who can predict the strength and permanence of this slave system?"[16]

On the way to Nashville their progress was delayed by the exhaustion and sore hooves of their horses. They had ridden many hundreds of miles since leaving Philadelphia two months earlier, and their mounts had been poorly nourished in the early spring. In Nashville they spent two days to rest and feed their animals properly; they disposed of an animal that had foundered and purchased a new horse for only $85. Louis Philippe praised the excellence of the local horses and considered the price "dirt cheap"; his original four horses were serviceable but not exceptional and had cost an average of $230 each.

Outside Nashville they parted company with Colbert after escorting him to the home of a friend. There they "discovered just how unfortunate our major was. He was penniless and if he had not come along with us, I do not know how he would have managed."[17] In his journal Louis Philippe paid close attention to pennies and dollars because years earlier hostile French republicans had denied him access to his family fortune and possessions.

He and his brothers borrowed extensively and lived relatively simply. International lenders correctly believed that as France moved toward a more stable situation, the Orleans family would recover much of its property and repay the loans with generous interest. In the meantime, the Duke of Orleans had grown very observant of prices and careful with his money. [18]

The visitors found Nashville much smaller than Knoxville but with a superior location; the Cumberland River was navigable all the way to the Ohio, assuring inexpensive transportation to larger markets. Louis Philippe did not, however, comment on the uncertainties of commerce on the Mississippi River. When they arrived the town was packed with men attending local court sessions, so the travelers resigned themselves to "floor space" at an inn. While the horses rested, the prince sat down and caught up entries in his diary (May 11–12). Possibly this updating included his experiences at Fort Southwest Point. Such a delay might well explain why he found his memory uncertain about the name of the early sixteenth-century Spanish explorer who visited Tennessee.[19]

From Nashville the four Frenchmen turned northward toward central Kentucky and soon entered the region "very incorrectly" called The Barrens. His comment on this place-name indicates the writer was unaware that this rather daunting name was an old British term defining an area devoid of large trees. Louis Philippe had been very uncomfortable riding through the mountainous terrain and thick forests of the Appalachians, where he could see neither the route ahead nor the sun above. He and his companions were delighted at the prospect of

> a high and dry plateau, where trees are sparse and grass and shrubs plentiful. One sees only small stunted trees, most of them oaks and hickories, and everywhere lush grass dotted with charming flowers. We found excellent strawberries here, and in great quantity. So these Barrens struck us as exceedingly pleasant and were a happy change from the forests we were so weary of.[20]

The next afternoon they stopped for dinner at a public house operated by a former officer, Captain Chapman. They opted to stay until the following morning to rest their mounts once again. This decision led to an unexpected experience deeply revealing of the political and social attitudes of the western settlers in Tennessee and Kentucky. The innkeeper had heard talk about looming war between the U.S. and France, and he feared that resumption of Indian attacks on the frontier would be fomented by French agents. Chapman vigorously condemned the Federalist administration of President John Adams for preparing to undertake active naval hostilities against the

current republican government of France. The former soldier "vilified the American government roundly, stating that it imposed crushing taxes to pay a lot of useless people's salaries, and neglected honest men's political interests scandalously, etc."[21] Here Chapman apparently referred to the federal excise taxes and the revenue agents paid handsomely to collect them.

When the French guests remained silent during his monologue, Chapman turned to them and suggested they were themselves French agents "sent out to incite the Indians to declare war" on American settlers. Shrewdly, the landlord observed that they did not appear to be "the kind of people" who would normally travel as roughly as they had been doing. He openly doubted they were making their arduous trek through the backcountry for personal pleasure and experience, as they claimed. Chapman enjoined them in strong terms against stirring up the Indians.

> Don't do it, because all the poor people are for you [the French] now, but they'd turn against you. Plunder the rich, capture their ships, whatever you like. That makes no difference here. But don't rouse the Indians against us. That's what beat the English. Punish the rich Americans who try to cheat France, we won't mind that a bit, we'll even help you; we all hate the American government. All through the West you only hear one opinion: if it was French or even English the government couldn't be any worse than it is now.

Louis Philippe confirmed in this entry that most people in the backcountry and new western states expressed similar sentiments, observing "I report it [Chapman's speech] because it is almost word for word what the new settlers and most of the western population said."[22]

The oldest brother gradually calmed their host and convinced him they really were visitors on a long tour to gain knowledge about the United States, observe Native Americans, and satisfy their own curiosity. If the captain truly knew "the kind of people we were," Louis Philippe assured him, he would not suspect them of aiding the current French government in any way. Eventually the innkeeper apologized and explained that "six months ago I saw a Frenchman come by here botanizing and I had the same thoughts" about him and said nothing. However, the sight of four more wandering Frenchmen now provoked him to speak out and clear the air.[23] There is little doubt that the "botanizing" Frenchman encountered by Chapman was the internationally known biologist, André Michaux. This eminent botanist had stayed near Fort Blount for some time in 1796 while he scientifically classified American flora and searched for useful or previously undocumented plants.

Yet Chapman's suspicions were understandable, because Michaux was a close friend and supporter of Edmond Genet, previously French Minister to the United States and center of the notorious Citizen Genet affair of 1793–1794. Genet had lost his office when the French government changed hands, but he remained in the U.S. and continued to cultivate public opinion against Britain. Logically neither Genet nor Michaux would have attempted to stir up Indians against frontiersmen. As Chapman indicated, westerners generally sympathized with France, so it would be self-defeating for French agents to antagonize local residents. It seems more likely that Michaux had been sounding out public opinion as he moved through the area botanizing and news had got around that he had asked political questions.[24] Chapman's misplaced fears of French agents fomenting Native American attacks did, however, provide a vivid example of frontier worry about renewed warfare with nearby tribes.

With that misunderstanding smoothed over, the travelers and their hosts retired for the night. The tiny public house had only one room and two beds at the fireplace end. Mr. and Mrs. Chapman took one bed, their two single daughters the other. The four paying guests spread their blankets on the floorboards between the two beds, feet toward the fire. Before sleep overtook them, Louis Philippe heard Chapman telling his wife that "we were odd fellows, to leave our home and undergo all the travail of a painful journey to see deserts, savages, and a thousand other things a man might reasonably think not worth all the trouble." Meanwhile, a sturdy young man arrived, quietly took off his clothes, and crawled into the girls' bed. Soon he and one of the daughters had managed to realign themselves at the foot of the bed. Louis Philippe quipped that "while that was indubitably natural, it occasioned a certain surprise on our part . . . we saw all that one can see, while the paternal word-mill continued to grind away as before. And now what do you think of those novels by Crèvecoeur, Brissot, etc.!!!" [25]

Here the very pragmatic prince had a chuckle at the expense of two other Frenchmen who had traveled in America and then written idealistic accounts of the new political, social, and economic order being created in the United States. The English translation using the word "novels" does not convey the full meaning of the French term "*romans*" which Louis Philippe used. In his time *roman* did not exclusively mean a long fictional work; it could also denote any prose work with elevated or flowery tone and elements of the Romantic style, such as praise of nature and human sentimentality. Neither Frenchman wrote a novel in the present day sense. Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur was the better known author; this Norman nobleman had immigrated to New France in 1759, later resettled in New York state, become a naturalized U.S. citizen, and published *Letters*

from an American Farmer in 1782. He also pioneered in print the phrase "melting pot" to describe the equality of opportunity and tolerance he found in the U.S. Jacques Pierre Brissot (de Warville) was a French lawyer, philosopher, and anti-slavery activist; he traveled in the U.S. in 1788 and published a three volume work describing his experiences. Brissot, active early in the French Revolution, was executed by political foes in 1793.[26]

Unique though their visit with the Chapmans had been, the Frenchmen were eager to ride away the next morning and reached the Green River ferry by nightfall. For breakfast next day they feasted on fresh venison. They paid 25 cents for one quarter of the recently killed deer, which they carried on the trail for future dinners and breakfasts. The day after leaving Chapman's (May 16), Louis Philippe wrote about the hazards of travel in the area and gave vent to his major complaint.

> What really makes a trip through this region absolutely unbearable is the quality of the new settlers. They are the most villainous breed of men I have ever come across. By and large they are the scum of Ireland and America. They are crude, lazy, and inhospitable to an extreme. Nothing, nothing is more disgusting than the constant company of that sort of man. I must admit that whatever my prejudice against the Irish settlers, I always found them more hospitable and less disagreeable than the American settlers. All in all, I do not believe that such men exist anywhere in Europe.[27]

This diatribe and the story about the night with the Chapmans compose a relatively small total of the pages in the prince's journal, yet they have been singled out elsewhere as though they summed up his entire journal and his opinions of the people of the United States. It is unfortunate when this one part is taken to represent the whole. However it is quite true that Louis Philippe's level of irritation rose each time he had to endure the political rhetoric of uninhibited frontiersmen, regardless of their ethnic ancestry.[28] It should be noted that in the category of "Irish" he included anyone from that island, including those of Scottish and Protestant descent as well as Irish Catholics. By "American" he appeared to mean all other people of European descent who were born in or had resided some years in the U.S. Within days he faced another encounter with egalitarian-minded frontiersmen, this time with new "American" settlers who were of German ethnic background.

On May 17 a violent thunderstorm drove the French visitors into "a shanty abominable even for this part of the world," where a "German" couple from Pennsylvania named Räcker had given shelter to quite a few passers-by. According to his diary entry,

> The bad weather collected a fairly large number of travelers in the vicinity and we were exceedingly uncomfortable. Shortly a conversation arose about the distress of the western folk, and everybody railed to his heart's content. They claim to be overwhelmed by taxes, although there may be no civilized people who pay anywhere near as little. They pronounce it useless even to pay for the support of the local government of Kentucky. Everywhere they complain with the same angry acerbity, of government by the rich eastern businessmen; everywhere they parrot paltry Jacobin commonplaces, that the poor work hard and the rich get richer, that the rich are not happy merely selling land at exorbitant prices but find various ways to extort what little money the settlers make, etc.[29]

These comments encapsulated the frontiersmen's critical perception of the Federalists and their national policies. The constant refrain of frontier egalitarianism owed much to the fervor awakened by America's own revolution and relatively little to the French Revolution. However, Louis Philippe assessed the comments in terms of his own country's recent experiences and equated the westerners' anger with the extremist arguments of the most radical and violent phases of the French Revolution by labeling them "paltry Jacobin commonplaces." Yet he softened the judgment by accusing the westerners of "parroting" Jacobinism, suggesting these ordinary Americans were mindlessly repeating radical phrases without any valid cause and, presumably, without any intention of violently overthrowing an elected government and guillotining its leaders.

Despite his dislike of local political and social inclinations, Louis Philippe continued to find new experiences to engage his insatiable curiosity and observant mind. Descending from the Barrens and approaching Bardstown, he admired the thick dark soil and pronounced it as good as any in Europe. He described Bardstown (which he consistently spelled "Beardstown") as possessing some 150 houses, fairly large to be so far west. The travelers spent two days there "to bring our diaries up to date, rest our horses, and make repairs on whatever equipment had not survived so sore a trial" as their recent rough travel. Despite staying two days, Louis Philippe found little to note about Bardstown, except that "its population is, like that of all American towns, [composed of] merchants or innkeepers or laborers." He was impressed that the entire population of all ages turned out to see a traveling marionette show; the innkeeper and his entire family were so eager to attend that they left their paying guests on their own for several hours. Later their host and hostess apologized and explained it was important to take their children to the performance, so that in their "old

age they would be able to say they had seen it." He found the episode a humorously charming reminder of the population's lack of sophistication.[30]

Back on the road to Louisville, their progress was blocked by the rain-swollen Salt River. Since the horses could not carry them in the swift current, they obtained a dugout canoe and paddled themselves and their gear across while the horses swam. They had never before used a canoe, and Louis Philippe was clearly pleased with their ability to manage the unfamiliar double-bladed paddles and to maintain the delicate balance of the strange craft. He enjoyed its ability to "skim along" rapidly with relatively little effort. This was the last day's events he recorded in his travel journal, written on May 21.[31] Since leaving the region of the Overhill Cherokees, he had neglected the diary, writing nothing for several days and then attempting to catch up when his party rested their horses. His next step may have been to postpone updating his journal until writing seemed more effort than justified to record routine events or irritating conversations.

Other historical sources indicate that the royal brothers and their manservant did achieve their planned rendezvous with friends and associates outside Pittsburgh in a French enclave appropriately named Elysium (after the Paris neighborhood and palace of Élysée). They were received in Pittsburgh at a ceremony featuring a speech by the mayor and band music. They found letters from distant friends and family and obtained additional funds, new clothing, fresh horses, and welcome supplies. After several days of recuperation, they continued their journey. Local newspapers announced their visits and described their royal status as they moved at a more leisurely pace in more settled territory. The woes suffered in the backcountry of Tennessee and Kentucky seemed far behind them. They traveled to the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario, past Niagara Falls, and through much of New York state. They paused to visit with more Iroquois-speaking Indians at towns of the Six Nations. From upstate New York they reentered Pennsylvania, followed the Susquehanna River much of the way, and returned to Philadelphia in late July, four months after they had left it.[32] They had covered some 4,000 kilometers (over 2,400 miles), almost all on horseback.

Late in 1797 they decided to make their way to Spanish territory, in hopes of reuniting with their mother and sister, who had recently been permitted to live in comfortable exile in Spain. To avoid possible capture by either side in the naval warfare escalating between the U.S. and France, they traveled again through the North American interior, this time following the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. After various adventures involving adverse weather, some rather primitive watercraft, and sometimes rough boatmen, they departed U.S. territory and arrived in Spanish New Orleans in February 1798.

Conclusion and Epilogue

Despite his unsympathetic view of the new settlers he witnessed flooding into the western frontier, Louis Philippe nevertheless faithfully recorded both the actual wretched conditions facing many of them and their dissatisfaction with the federal government. His diary depicted frontier families in desperate economic conditions, struggling to survive through the spring on last fall's dwindling corn and scraps of bacon or dried bear meat, until fresh food became plentiful again. He noted the scant supply of milk and eggs, saved to feed newborn livestock and hatch new chicks. Coffee was not "real" and sugar, when available at all, was of poor quality and subject to an excise tax. The French visitor described pitiful housing conditions, astonishing overcrowding, and families living in "shanties," and "hovels." The federal government's shabby treatment of its former military defenders was painfully revealed in its refusal to compensate its Chickasaw ally Major Colbert for his considerable sacrifices and in the obvious hardship of many of the former captains and majors tending impoverished public inns. And throughout its pages, the prince's journal records an unceasing stream of displaced humanity, people who had given up or been driven from their former homes and lives. Today one might label many of them refugees rather than pioneers. All were proceeding westward in the firm belief that in the United States they too had a right to life, liberty, property, and that alluring "pursuit of happiness."

When their optimism clashed with the economic, social, and political realities of the 1790s, their hopeful enthusiasm often turned to bitter complaints. Louis Philippe did not sympathize with the opinions of the backcountry people, but he did record the schism that westerners perceived between east and west, big city and small farm, affluent and needy, privileged and mistreated, in America in 1797. He described an important portion of the trans-Appalachian west as Americans moved toward the electoral "revolution of 1800," in which the westerners and agriculturalists had the satisfaction of being heard and vindicated by the majority of voters. The Federalists were dismissed from high elected offices, and the Democratic Republican allies of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison swept into control of the national legislative and executive branches. Louis Philippe was not in the U.S. to witness and speculate about the political loss suffered by his former associates and the ramifications of the frontiersmen's victory. He and his brothers had already begun a new stage in their odyssey of exile in other foreign lands.

Internal and external circumstances assisted the Jefferson administration in finding ways to defuse problems troubling the frontier.

The Democratic Republicans abolished the Whiskey Tax, lowered the mounting federal deficit, and relaxed somewhat the terms for purchase of public lands. The new majority's friendly demeanor toward France was soon rewarded, as France reclaimed New Orleans and the Louisiana Territory and then sold those vast areas at a bargain price to the United States. By the Louisiana Purchase (finalized in 1803), the young nation gained control of both banks and the mouth of the Mississippi River. This assured unimpeded access to markets and imports, much greater military security, and growing prosperity along that important waterway and in the central part of the country. Without resort to arms, the U.S. obtained huge new western lands to accommodate additional settlers and, ultimately, the forcible transfer of several large Native American tribes to areas west of the Mississippi. The area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi was opened to extensive acquisition by American and European populations, who became permanent residents rather than mere "settlers." The American frontier continued to sweep westward past them until, in a few decades, an entirely different region of the U.S. became the "west."

In historical retrospect, it is remarkable that Louis Philippe's diary of 1797 recorded so many themes that have endured in American culture into the twenty-first century. Residents of rural and urban areas continue to disagree on crucial issues. Any perceived increase in federal taxation has remained a horror to some segments of the citizenry. Different groups of Americans continue to hold contrasting definitions of liberty and freedom, and to disagree about which functions and powers should be exercised at the state and federal levels of government. Neither the large-scale industrial/commercial vision of Alexander Hamilton nor the agrarian/small business vision of Thomas Jefferson has been fully realized. Each vision has retained passionate adherents as a blend or combination of the two has emerged.

It is doubtful that Louis Philippe clearly understood the significance of the events he witnessed in America in 1797. At 24, he was still a young man with very limited experience in the new nation. He understandably felt more comfortable in the elite and urban portions of the U.S., which closely reflected his own affluent, cosmopolitan European background. Furthermore, his keen interest in the U.S. at the time was a diversion from his natural lifelong concern about the future of France and Europe. Later in life he may have come to appreciate the frontier and its people more fully. He consistently expressed fond memories of his travels in America and retained until his death the annotated and tattered U.S. Post Office Department map that had guided the epic journey made by the three brothers and Beaudoin. After Louis Philippe had become King of the French (1830)

and a prototypical westerner, Andrew Jackson, had become President of the United States (1829), ill feelings threatened between the two nations. Americans pressed financial claims for damages inflicted by the French navy during the period of undeclared naval hostilities and the Napoleonic wars. The king, agreeing that the fierce frontiersman had a reasonable case, facilitated a satisfactory solution to the American claims. Many Americans were both impressed and intrigued by the new "bourgeois king" who had once lived in their country. Lewis Cass of Ohio, a westerner who served as Jackson's Minister to France, wrote a popular book explaining the new French government and introducing its king to a wide readership in the United States. Favorable articles in newspapers and magazines appeared. In 1845 Louis Philippe welcomed to Paris the exhibition of American artist George Catlin's canvases depicting Native Americans and scenes of the trans-Mississippi west. The monarch personally arranged for groups of Iowa and Ojibwa traveling with the artist to perform music and dance at the palace, and he commissioned Catlin to produce copies of fifteen of his works to remain in France. The king did a great deal in this way to encourage the French to understand and appreciate the American frontier experience.[33] In sum, Louis Philippe as a mature man seemed to view the frontiersman, the westerner, in a more understanding light than he had when he preserved in his travel diary a vivid snapshot of the trans-Appalachian frontier in 1797.

Endnotes

1. Sharon B. Watkins, "A Future French King Visits the Virginia Backcountry in 1797: The Travel Diary of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans," *Smithfield Review* 16 (2012), 1–26 and "A Future French King Visits the Overhill Cherokee in 1797," *Smithfield Review* 17 (2013), 1–25.
2. Spanish territory hemmed in the United States on two sides, stretching westward from the west bank of the Mississippi River and arcing along the entire Gulf Coast from Mexico to present-day Florida, which was also Spanish. Louis Philippe traveled several years before revolutionary France was able to compel the disorganized Spanish monarchy to return New Orleans, St. Louis, and the Louisiana Territory to French control; these territories had been taken from France at the conclusion of the Seven Years War (French and Indian War) and, perhaps illogically, transferred to Spanish control.
3. Many historical surveys of the early U.S. federal period provide adequate accounts. Because this article focuses on political party policies and the western response, it draws particularly from two relatively new works which concentrate on these topics. Positive insights into Federalist views are highlighted in Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: The Penguin Group, 2004); more informative about westerners and the Democratic Republicans is Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
4. Neither of these early political groupings of the 1790s is considered as a political party in modern terms. They lacked official national organizations, voting discipline, strictly defined platforms, and Congressional organization (such as majority/minority caucuses and leaders elected by members of each party in each chamber). Perhaps one might describe them as factions that coalesced around specific political leaders and issues and that made common cause with specific

newspapers supporting them openly. Over the decades the Democratic Republicans developed into the Democratic Party of the 1820s and 1830s. The Federalists faded into a regional force (mostly in New England) and later joined the Democrats (like John Quincy Adams) or helped build the Whig Party.

5. Chernow, *Hamilton*, provides an overview in Chapters 14 and 15.
6. The highly detailed text of the act, passed in March 1791, may be found at the Library of Congress website "A Century of Lawmaking for A New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875," at *http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=001/l 1s10.* Accessed July 11, 2013. Discussion in Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 97, 103.
7. Details of the Whiskey Rebellion and other opposition to the Whiskey Tax are fascinating, but too complicated and extensive to discuss in this article. Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 99 has interesting comments on the failure of the Federalists to appreciate and encourage the development of small businesses and manufacturing.
8. Surveying and selling public lands were still regulated by the original Land Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, passed by the Congress of the Confederation and incorporated as binding law under the new Constitution (1789). Texts of both Ordinances are available at the Library of Congress site, "A Century of Lawmaking." The Land Ordinance of 1785 sets forth the exacting details for sale and purchase at *http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=lljc&fileName=028/lljc.* Accessed July 13, 2013.
9. Louis Philippe's dealings with American and European financiers are discussed in the comprehensive biography by Guy Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), 285–87, 292. The revolutionary French governments had denied him access to his family property and compelled him to borrow to finance his exile. Louis Philippe declined the offer, and Morris later went bankrupt and to debtors prison.
10. The Marquis de Lafayette, veteran of the American Revolutionary War, was a leader in the early stages of the French Revolution; in formulating the Declaration, he discussed wording with Thomas Jefferson, who was at the time the U.S. Minister to France. Text in English translation available online at The Avalon Project at *http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th century/rightsof.asp ;* accessed October 10, 2013.
11. The text of the Sedition Act is available online at The Avalon Project at *http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th century/sedact.asp.* Accessed October 10, 2013. At issue was not only the question of whether political speech and press could or should ever be regulated. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution appeared to prohibit the federal government from such regulation; any necessary regulation, opponents argued, was reserved to state governments. In 1798 the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky passed Resolves, drafted by Madison and Jefferson respectively, which denied the constitutionality of the Sedition Act and of its companion Alien Act. A discussion of the two Resolves is fascinating but beyond the scope of this article.
12. Louis Philippe, *Diary of My Travels in America by Louis-Philippe King of France* [sic] *1830–1848*, tr. Stephen Becker and preface by Henry Steele Commager (New York: Delacorte Press, 1978), 105. As explained earlier, Louis Philippe technically became King of the French people, not "of France."
13. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 105–06.
14. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 105–06.
15. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 107–08. The servant Beaudoin slept with his young masters, sharing a bed with one of them. Nothing is said about Major Colbert.
16. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 108. His visit to Mount Vernon at the beginning of his trip had introduced him to large scale agricultural slavery; he did not explore in his journal the motivations leading George Washington and other elite slaveholders to utilize an enslaved workforce. For details, see Watkins, "Future French King Visits the Virginia Backcountry," 5–7, and 21–24 for border cultures of the backcountry.
17. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 109.
18. Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe*, 285–87, 292.

19. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 109–10. American officers at Fort Southwest Point believed they saw evidence of a visit to the area by Spanish explorers in the 1530s and may have correctly referenced Hernando de Soto's movements in the area, although Soto's expedition marched through in 1540 (not the 1530s). By the time he wrote, the prince could not be sure of the name of the Spanish leader; see Watkins, "Future French King Visits the Overhill Cherokee," 18–21.
20. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 111.
21. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 112.
22. Louis Philippe, *Diary,* 113.
23. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 113.
24. For Michaux's career see Henry Savage, *Discovering America, 1700–1875* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), especially 70–73. For Fort Blount and environs, *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Blount;* accessed May 26, 2012.
25. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 113–14.
26. Sketch of Crévecoeur in Thomas H. Johnson and Harvey Wish, *The Oxford Companion to American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 221. For Brissot see Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (New York: Longman Group, 1988), 326.
27. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 115–16.
28. Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe*, 296–97 notes that Louis Philippe's account "was a long way from the epic legend of valiant pioneers."
29. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 116–17.
30. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 118–19.
31. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 119.
32. The Duke of Montpensier, the middle brother, detailed their later itinerary in a letter to their mother and sister in Spain. An annotated translation of the letter is given in an appendix to Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 123 –26.
33. Lewis Cass, *France: Its King, Court, and Government by an American* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1840 and other editions). The King's delight with Catlin and the Native Americans who traveled with him is discussed in David McCullough, *The Greater Journey: Americans in Paris* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), 166 –77.

The Draper's Meadows Settlement (1746–1756) Part I: George Draper and Family

Ryan S. Mays

Draper's Meadows was among the first tracts of land occupied by Euro-Americans in the colonial Virginia backcountry west of the Blue Ridge and south of the Shenandoah Valley. Documentary evidence suggests that the founders of this settlement were George and Eleanor Draper and their children, John and Mary. Most famous of these was Mary, who married William Ingles about 1750. Mary Draper Ingles (c. 1732–1815) is today one of the best known and most admired figures of the Virginia frontier for having made a remarkable escape from Indian captivity during the French and Indian War.[1]

From records presented in this article, it appears that part of the Draper's Meadows settlement became Smithfield Plantation, the home of Colonel William Preston (1729–1783). Smithfield was a tract of land lying on the headwaters of Strouble's Creek, a tributary of the New River. It was located to the southwest of the present-day town of Blacksburg in what is now Montgomery County, Virginia. By 1774, two years after Preston is believed to have begun construction of his mansion house at Smithfield, his plantation consisted of 1,770 acres. He named the plantation in honor of his wife, whose maiden name was Susanna Smith.[2]

However, at least as early as 1756, Smithfield and vicinity were called Draper's Meadows (or Draper's Meadow), evidently for George Draper and his family, and for the luxuriant meadows, or glades, that had formed in the low grounds along Strouble's and Tom's creeks.[3] The area was referred to as Draper's Meadows (and Draper's Glades) as late as the 1780s[4] but a section of this land was already called Smithfield by March 1774, when Preston moved his family to the locale from their previous home at Greenfield in present-day Botetourt County, Virginia.[5]

Draper's Meadows formed a 7,500-acre tract lying on the waters of Strouble's and Tom's creeks in present-day Montgomery County, in what was part of Augusta County until 1770. On 20 June 1753, William Preston's uncle, Colonel James Patton (c. 1692–1755), received a patent for this tract,[6] and early the following year Patton sold a total of 17 subdivisions of his 7,500 acres to 18 settlers, including John Draper and William Ingles.

Relying heavily on primary source documents, this two-part article provides an updated chronological review of the early records of Draper's Meadows through the year 1756. Part I reports primary information relating to George Draper and his family through about 1749. It includes analyses of several previously unreported primary records of the Drapers that shed new light on the activities of this interesting frontier family. Part II will report events that occurred in the Draper's Meadows community between about 1750 and 1756 and will include detailed descriptions of the tracts of land sold by James Patton in 1754, as well as information about the settlers themselves. The article will form the most complete contemporary account of the early history of Draper's Meadows.

The George Draper Family: Immigration from Ireland to Pennsylvania, circa 1729

George and Eleanor Draper were maternal great-grandparents of the western Virginia historian John P. Hale (1824–1902).[7] In his 1886 publication, Trans-Allegheny Pioneers, Hale states: "George Draper and his young wife, whose maiden name had been Elenor Hardin, came from County Donegal, North of Ireland, in 1729, and settled at the mouth of the Schuylkill River, within the present limits of the City of Philadelphia. Here two children were born to them, John in 1730, and Mary in 1732. Between 1740 and 1744 they, with their two children, came to Virginia, and located at Colonel Patton's settlement (Pattonsburg), on James River."[8] All subsequent writings about the origins of the George Draper family appear to derive from this source. It must be noted, however, that Hale cited no documents by which this information can today be verified. Although his statement is probably based to some extent upon his own family's traditions and would seem to be fairly reliable, until documentary evidence becomes available it should not be regarded as the final word.

The Draper Family on the James River in Western Virginia, circa 1742–1745

The earliest extant documentation of the George Draper family living in Virginia comes from the early 1740s. Before the official establishment of Augusta County from Orange County in 1745,[9] Orange County encompassed most of present-day western Virginia. James Wood was appointed surveyor of Orange County in 1734, and his deputy was George Hume.[10] Among the James Wood Papers at the Handley Regional Library in Winchester, Virginia, is the "Index to [the] Orange County Survey Book c.1735–c.1740," listing the names of settlers for whom James Wood

surveyed land.[11] Listed in the index and written in the hand of James Wood is "Geo Draper [page] 70." That a survey was made for Draper around 1740 is, therefore, certain, but the original survey book to which this index belonged has been lost. Although many survey records from this period in Orange County are extant, there appears to be no further record of a survey made for George Draper at that early date.

George Draper; presumably his wife, Eleanor; and presumably their children were definitely living somewhere along the James River or perhaps the Roanoke River by 1742, when George's name appears in the muster roll of Captain George Robinson's militia company.[12] The site of their cabin was most likely somewhere within a 180-acre tract referred to in a 1765 lawsuit as "George Draper's Place."[13] This tract was described as being located "on a [southern] Branch of James River called the Long Run," which was a tributary stream of Looney's Mill Creek and adjoined the land of Robert Looney, who had already settled and established a mill at his own settlement by 1739 or early 1740. Daniel Looney, a son of Robert Looney, received a patent for the 180-acre George Draper Place on 20 August 1748, having purchased the land from Draper sometime prior to that date.[14]

George Draper's Place was located about three miles west of the present-day town of Buchanan in modern-day Botetourt County. Part of Buchanan was called Pattonsburg in the nineteenth century in honor of James Patton, who by the early 1740s owned a tract of land called Cherry Tree Bottom across the river from Robert Looney and George Draper. Patton's son-in-law, Colonel John Buchanan (d. 1769), inherited Cherry Tree Bottom after Patton's death in 1755.[15]

In the early 1740s, the Looney's Mill Creek settlement was one of the westernmost settlements in Virginia. George Hume had surveyed land on Looney's Mill Creek in 1740 for several settlers, including Robert Looney, but there is no surviving record of his having surveyed land for Draper while he was there.[16]

John Graham, assignee of Daniel Graham vs. George Draper, 1743

The next extant documentation about George Draper comes from a lawsuit. On 25 May 1744, a suit between John Graham (plaintiff), assignee of Daniel Graham, and George Draper (defendant) was dismissed by the Orange County Court.[17] The author has been unable to identify Daniel Graham, but John Graham may have been the "John Graham" who had 696 acres surveyed for him on the Calfpasture River, a tributary of the James River, in 1744.[18] The river flows through what are now western Augusta and Rockbridge counties.

In the file of this lawsuit from the Orange County Courthouse[19] are four documents: two petitions, one court summons, and a promissory note. The two petitions say the same thing but with slight variations in the spelling of several words by the clerk, so only one is transcribed here, as follows:

> To the Worshipful Court of Orange County, The petn [petition] of John Graham assee [assignee] of Danl Graham Humbly sheweth, That Geo: Draper by his bill dated ye 2d day of 9br [November][20] 1738 was indebted to one Danel Graham in three pounds pensylvania Money of ye value of three pounds Currt [Current] Money of Virga [Virginia] wch [which] bill ye sd Daniel assigned over to your petr [petitioner] the day and year afs [aforesaid] of wch ye sd Draper was not ignorant Yet ye sd Draper tho' often required refuseth Payment; Wherefore your Petitioner prays Judgment against him for the same, with Costs.

In plainer terms, George Draper was indebted to Daniel Graham for the sum of £3:0:0 Pennsylvania money, which was equal to £3:0:0 in Virginia. This could mean that Draper incurred the debt in Pennsylvania in 1738.

The court summons in the file of this case commanded George Draper to appear before the justices of Orange County Court on the fourth Tuesday of "next Month." The summons note was dated "xxixth Day of 7br 1743" (29 September 1743), so Draper was to make his appearance at court in October 1743 to answer the charge of debt. On the back of this summons under the clerk's notation "Graham assee [assignee] Graham vs Draper Sums [Summons]" was written in two different hands: "Not to be found RY" and "May Dismiss." The notation "Not to be found" was presumably made by the constable, Richard Yarborough,[21] who was appointed to find Draper or deliver to him the court summons. Evidently R. Y. was unable to locate him, which is understandable if Draper was living at what in 1743 was one of the westernmost settlements on the Virginia frontier. This may be the reason why the case was eventually dismissed in 1744.

George Draper's promissory note was written on 2 November 1738. Although Draper was living in Virginia by 1743 and probably at the Robert Looney settlement along the James River, it is not possible to ascertain where the Grahams were living at that time. The promissory note is now the earliest known extant primary record of George Draper. The fact that Draper himself wrote and signed it (as will become clear later in the present article) makes it especially noteworthy. It reads as follows:

I Doue [do] herby Promise to [pay or cause] to be paid to Danel Graham [illegible] for the Just and full sum of three pounds Corent [Current] and Lawful money of Penselvenea [Pennsylvania] all or before ye first day of march next insuieng [ensuing] for [illegible, value Received?] this day Novemb[er] [2,] 1738.

Geo: Draper

witness Present
[fargas?][22] Graha[m]

On the back of the note is written: "Danel Graham Geo Draper to John Graham £3:0:0"

Figure 1. George Draper's promissory note to Daniel Graham dated 2 November 1738. Orange County Court Case, Judgment May 1744, *John Graham, assignee of Daniel Graham vs. George Draper*, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 91, Judgments, January 1744–May 1744 (A–K).

George Draper and Family Settle on the Waters of the New River, circa 1746

The records mentioned above strongly suggest that by 1742 the Drapers were living along the James River in what is now Botetourt County. They were probably still living at George Draper's Place on Long Run, a tributary of Looney's Mill Creek, in 1744 and, likely, in 1745. However, by the fall of 1746, the family had moved nearly 50 miles farther west to the waters of the New River, which in the 1740s was also known as Wood's River.

The James and Roanoke rivers flow east into the Atlantic Ocean. In April 1745, Colonel James Patton, in company with 19 other men, received a grant from the Virginia Council of 100,000 acres on the New, Holston, and Clinch rivers, all of which flow west, being tributaries of the Mississippi River.[23] In October 1745, the agent and principal surveyor for the New/Wood's River Company, Colonel John Buchanan, made an expedition to the region to inspect the progress of its settlement. Buchanan kept a journal and land entry book of his tour and mentioned several of the settlers he met by name. He did not mention meeting George Draper, but Buchanan did note on the final day of his journey through the settlement that he met with "sundrey men about Ld. [Land]."[24] In a different memorandum book from this period, Buchanan recorded having surveyed land for George Draper on "5 January 1745" [1745/46].[25] Unfortunately the location of the tract is unknown because Buchanan's notation was left incomplete and provides no further description or clues about the acreage or boundaries of the tract he surveyed. In yet another memorandum from February 1746 [1746/47], Buchanan noted that George Draper was indebted to him for £0:12:0 in cash, which he had loaned to Draper, again providing no further details.[26]

Nevertheless, George Draper was certainly living on the waters of the New River by 19 November 1746, when the Augusta County Court ordered that he and neighboring settlers clear a road from Adam Harman's settlement near the mouth of Tom's Creek, at present-day Whitethorne in Montgomery County, to the North Fork of the Roanoke River, about three miles east of present-day Blacksburg in Montgomery County.[27] On 21 May 1747, the court appointed Draper constable of this area, which may be defined as the broad valley through which Tom's and Strouble's creeks flow west into the New River.[28]

George Draper vs. James Conly, August 1747

In the spring or summer of 1747, George Draper brought suit against a man named James Conly (Conley, Connelly, Connerly, etc.) for debt. Still preserved in the file of this lawsuit at the Augusta County Courthouse in Staunton, Virginia, is the financial account of George Draper, written and signed in his own hand on 18 August 1747.[29] Draper included on the same page as the account a letter to his attorney, Gabriel Jones.[30] The following is an exact transcription of this remarkable document, which has not heretofore been reported in the literature:

James Condly Dr. [Debit] to George Draper

	£b [sic] s d
1745 To keeping two Horses a year	1 0 0
to two of my maires [mares] and my son a week	
to carry in your skins att 3 S[shillings] pr day	0 18 0
to my son and a horse a week to Look [after] your horse at 2 S pr day	0 12 0
to washing and mending your Linnin [linen] a year	1 0 0
to making 3 course shirts at 1 S 6 pence Each Shirt	0 4 6
to making one fine shirt	0 2 6
1746 to keeping a stallon [stallion] and five maires	3 0 0
to 2 pounds of gun Powder and six pound of Lead	0 1 3 0
to a pair of shose [shoes]	0 6 0
to cash answred [answered] John Mills	3 0 0
to 4 Pounds of Tobaco	0 2 0
to a new hatt	0 4 6
to a new cutto [cuttoe] knife	0 2 3
to an Exicution out of the contrary creadit [credit] pd. [paid]	1 4 6
to constables fees 2 Bitts	0 1 3
	£b [sic] 12 10 0

Errors Excepted George Draper

Pr. Contrary	Cr. [Credit]
by 85 Pounds and a half Deer skins	4 5 6
to an acer [acre] of Grubbin [grubbing]	0 15 0
answred Robart Rowland	0 1 10 1/2
to a pair of gun wippers [wipers]	0 1 10 1/2
to 4 yards of Linnin	0 10 0
by Ballance Due	5 14 3
	£b[sic] 6 15 9
	12 10 0

Mr. Gabriel Jones Above is my account debt=or [debtor] and creadit Balance due me 6-15-9 for which I Brought suiet [suit][.] I Desire you will appear for me as my attorney and I will pay you your fee and waite on you [at] any court you will opaint [appoint] for trial[.] Insist for special Beal [bail] in Reson [Reason] Conly is a Loose Idle felow has noe [no] place of Resedence and as he has treatned [threatened] me and family I dare not well [will] be from home fearing the conciquence[,] he having theatned [threatened] the Death of my Daughter[.] write to me to the care of Corn1. [Colonel] Patton and you will oblige your very humble servant
August ye 18 1747 George Draper

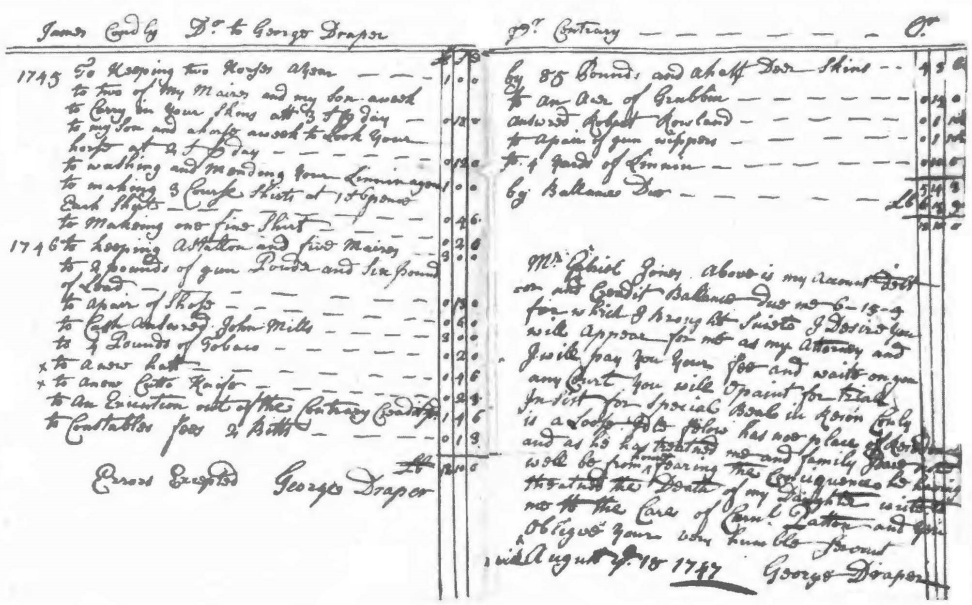


Figure 2. George Draper's account against James Conly with a letter to his attorney, Gabriel Jones, dated 18 August 1747. Augusta County Court Case, Judgment August 1749, *George Draper vs. James Conly,* Account of George Draper against James Conly, File 387, ACCH.

This single document provides a wealth of new information about the activities of George Draper and his family from 1745 through 1747. First, the manuscript clearly indicates that George was quite literate and familiar with legal terminology and functions, which may be one reason he was appointed constable. His handwriting is legible and his composition and most of his spelling are very good for the mid-eighteenth century. The handwriting and signature also match those on the 1738 promissory note described above.

Draper's financial account provides important new information about aspects of daily life on the Virginia frontier. In the year 1745, when George and his family were perhaps still living on the James River, it is now known that James Conly kept two of Draper's horses for about twelve months. Draper's son, presumably John, helped Conly carry in his skins with the use of two of his father's mares, at an agreed rate of 3 shillings per day. This indicates that Conly was a hunter and that George Draper was involved in the skin trade. Conly was also indebted to Draper for having John look after Conly's horse for a week at a rate of 2 shillings per day, for washing and mending his linen clothing for a year, for making three coarse shirts at a rate of 1 shilling 6 pence per shirt, and for making one fine shirt. Draper's

wife, Eleanor, and their daughter, Mary, no doubt helped considerably with the mending, sewing, and washing.

In 1746, when the Drapers appear to have moved to the New River, James Conly kept George Draper's stallion and five mares for some period of time. He was indebted to Draper for two pounds of gunpowder and six pounds of lead, a pair of shoes, a new hat, a new "cuttoe" knife (probably a kind of small folding or spring knife), and four pounds of tobacco. In addition, Conly owed Draper for cash he had borrowed to pay John Mills.[31] He also owed Draper for an execution Draper paid out of his contrary credit account and for 2 bits in constable's fees. The latter may refer to a debt of two bits (i.e., two pieces of a piece of eight, a Spanish coin) owed to Draper for some service he had provided as local constable.

Draper's credit account against Conly is undated, but may cover the same period of time from 1745 through 1747. The items listed had been paid to Draper by Conly. These included 85 ½ pounds of deer skins; grubbing (clearing) an acre of land; a pair of gun wipers (small metal, stub-like tools with a thick base and curled tines that could be attached to a ramrod for cleaning debris from gun barrels); four yards of linen; and cash paid to Robert Rowland, who may have been living on the waters of Looney's Mill Creek in the vicinity of the old George Draper Place.[32]

George Draper's letter to Gabriel Jones provides the most intriguing information of all. Draper told Jones that he wished for him to be his attorney, that he would pay Jones's appointed fee, that he would agree to any court date Jones set for the trial, and that he wanted Jones to write to him in care of Colonel James Patton. He asked Jones to insist that special bail be enforced since Conly was a "loose, idle, fellow and has no place of residence." He then noted that Conly had threatened him and his family and that he dared not be away from home long because Conly had "threatened the death of my daughter." Unfortunately these statements are open to interpretation, and ultimately, we can never know more than what Draper wrote here unless further evidence comes to light. Yet this is certainly the earliest reference to Mary in any known extant primary document, and in 1747, she would have been no older than about 15.

At a court held at Augusta County Courthouse on 22 August 1747, the case of *George Draper vs. James Connerley* [*Conly*] was considered. The court decided that "at ye Deft's [defendant's/Conly's] Motion a Special imparlance [leave] is granted him till the next County Court & ye suit is till then continued."[33] The case was heard again on 17 February 1748/49, when "on ye plt [plaintiff's/Draper's] prayer Liberty is given him to prove his account[.] The's [There is] to be no barr to any discount the Deft [defendant/

Conly] can make good on the trial to contest the said account & ye suit is continued till the next court,"[34] meaning that if Conly could prove he had already paid something on the account then the total would be less.

Another document in the file of this case is a warrant for the arrest of James Conly, the sheriff being commanded to take him into custody to answer Draper's plea of debt. This warrant, dated "July the 11th 1747," predates Draper's 18 August letter to Gabriel Jones and suggests that he had already brought suit against Conly at least as early as the first of July 1747. However, someone had crossed out the warrant in lighter ink. On the back of the warrant is a bond in which James Conly and Joseph Love made obligation to Henry Downs, the county sheriff, for the sum of £15:11:6. But this was to be void if Conly made his personal appearance to answer the suit of debt presented by Draper, so apparently the bond was to guarantee Conly's appearance in court. James Conly made his mark on the bond but Joseph Love signed it. The document is dated "11th June [*sic*] 1747."

Three additional documents in the file provide more details about what transpired. In the first, dated 10 July 1747, the county clerk, John Madison, wrote a warrant for the deputy sheriff, John Braham,[35] to take Conly into custody. On the back of the warrant, Braham wrote that he had executed the order. John Harvie, the attorney appointed to defend James Conly, wrote a rebuttal stating that Draper should not have brought suit against Conly because, according to Conly, Draper was "Indebted to him . . . in a large Sum of Money that is to say sixteen pounds, five shil[ings] & ten pence by accot. [account] (which accot. He the said Defendant now pleads in discount & bar to the action of the said plaintiff) and he is ready to aver [affirm]." The date August 1748 is on the back of the document, and Harvie noted that Draper had, according to Conly, been indebted to Conly since 1 July 1748.[36] Attorney Gabriel Jones, however, summarized in a separate document Draper's complaint that Conly was still indebted in the sum of £6:15:9. Jones noted on the back of Draper's rebuttal document that the case "abates" in "[17]49 Augst [August]," which means the case ended. George Draper had died by May 1749.

The relationship between George Draper and his family and James Conly is significant, but extant records of this man are very sparse. Conly appears to have lived in the vicinity of George Draper's Place along the James River and then moved west to the New River settlement, probably by 1746. In 1751, he was murdered by his servant, Day Thoroughgood, who was executed in Williamsburg (the colonial capital) on 10 January 1752.[37]

James Patton's 7500-acre Survey at Draper's, October 1747

On 21 October 1747, Colonel John Buchanan "Surveyed for James Patton Seven Thousand five Hundred acres of Land in Augusta County, part of an order of Council granted to ye said Patton &c. to take up 100,000 acres, Lying on the west side of the Ridge that parts ye waters of Roanoke from those of the new River (at a place called Drapers [*sic*])."[38] This is the first document to show definitively that George Draper and family were living within this 7,500-acre tract, although, as noted earlier, they were likely already settled on the headwaters of Strouble's Creek by the fall of 1746 (Figure 3).

Figure 3. John Buchanan's survey of 7,500 acres for James Patton "at a place called Drapers" dated 21 October 1747. This is the official copy of Buchanan's original plat (which has not survived) made by Thomas Lewis, surveyor of Augusta County. Lewis recorded it in Augusta County Surveyor's Record No. 1, a book still located in Augusta County Courthouse, and noted that the tract was surveyed by "J.B.," meaning John Buchanan. Tom's Creek is drawn and labeled at the top of the plat; Strouble's Creek is clearly drawn in the lower (southern) portion.

George Draper Selects 500 Acres, March 1747/48

In 1751, William Preston recorded in the Wood's River Land Entry Book several land entries which Captain Adam Harman had made on behalf of James Patton and Company in 1747.[39] One of these was for George Draper dated 19 March 1747/48, being "500 acres on Toms Creek above Lortons." Preston noted under the land entries that in 1747 Harman had "referred them to make their Bargain or price with Colo. Patton." He dated the memorandum 25 April 1751 and signed "Adam Harman," with "Israel Lorton" as witness. This may suggest that he either transcribed into the entry book a note he had previously received from Harman, or simply wrote the memorandum after consulting with Harman, signing for both Harman and Lorton. In any case, the record clearly indicates that by early 1748 Draper had selected a tract of 500 acres. Presumably these 500 acres extended west from the headwaters of Strouble's Creek and included land on the waters of Tom's Creek near or adjoining the land that Israel Lorton had selected, yet whether the tract was within or outside of Patton's 7,500-acres is unknown.

There is no record of the 500 acres ever being surveyed, but as noted by Frederick B. Kegley, Patton probably "anticipated a subdivision" of his 7,500-acre tract "and encouraged George Draper and others to settle upon it, promising them titles in time."[40] James Patton himself recorded a memorandum made by Adam Harman on a different page in the Wood's River Land Entry Book which stated that "Conrod Eakerd desird us to tel Colnel paton he gave up that Bargain of Land on drapers [George Draper's] survey & would not have it." The note was undated but signed "Adam herman" and "Jacob Harman," apparently by both men in Patton's presence, for their signatures are in slightly different hands beneath Patton's memorandum.[41]

George Draper and Israel Lorton, July–August 1748

Israel Lorton seems to have been associated with George Draper and probably on good terms with him as a neighbor. By October 1745, Lorton had already selected three tracts of land on lower Tom's and Strouble's creeks about six miles southwest of Draper's Meadows. These were located at (1) the mouth of Tom's Creek; (2) at the Beaver Dam Meadow on Tom's Creek just upstream, which appears to be the land said to adjoin George Draper's entry of 500 acres; and (3) around the mouth of Strouble's Creek at the Horseshoe Bottom about two miles southeast up the river. All were within present-day Montgomery County and formed a total of over 1,000 acres; none was located within Patton's 7,500-acre survey.[42]

In 1751, Michael and Augustine Price brought suit against Israel Lorton and James Patton, accusing them of fraud.[43] The Prices exhibited two memorandums they had received from Israel Lorton in the summer of 1748 proving that Lorton had assigned to them by agreement at least portions of the lands he had entered in 1745 with James Patton and Company. The Prices were under the impression that Lorton had sold these lands to them in their entirety, but they now felt that Patton was threatening to eject them and that Lorton had made a dishonest transaction. Lorton argued that he had only assigned to the Prices his improvements, such as crop fields and cabins, and that the lands were actually still the property of James Patton, which was correct. Since Lorton, as a freeholder, had not yet procured a legal right or title to his lands, he told the Prices they would have to make their own bargain with Patton.

This lawsuit, *Michael and Augustine Price vs. Israel Lorton and James Patton*, was a chancery case in Augusta County Court. Their dispute was settled in 1754 (after Lorton's death in 1751) when Patton finally sold land to the Prices from his 7,500-acre tract, for which by that time he had received a patent from the government.

Among the court papers filed in this case were Israel Lorton's two original land assignment bills, or memorandums (Figure 4). Both were written for Israel Lorton by George Draper, and Draper indicated on one of them that he had acted as a witness to the transactions. By that time Draper was serving as a constable in the area. Because these two documents are new to the literature, they are reproduced here in full exactly as Draper wrote them:

> I Assigne over my whole write and title of the Place I formorly Lived upon the Lower Survay on Toms Crick [Tom's Creek] with all the Improvements on sd. place only a nursery Excepted[,] and my part of the Crop of Corn on sd. place but for all Improvements I make over unto Michael Price and Phillip Harlaes as wittness my hand this 15th day of July 1748.
> Wittness Present Israell Lorton
> Geo: Draper
>
> I Assigne over my whole write and tittle of the Improvement I now Live upon with Half of the [Survey—marked out] Land that is Survayed on the horse Shoue Meddow [Horse Shoe Meadow] on ye watters of Stroopples Crick [Strouble's Creek] unto Ogiston [Augustine] Price where ye sd. price is to have his Land on the south side of the ye Survay as the new Road Runs[,] which Improvement I Assigne over unto Ogison Price as wittness my hand this 19th day of August 1748.
> Israel Lorton

Figure 4. Israel Lorton's assignments of land to Michael and Augustine Price and Phillip Harless written on 15 July and 19 August 1748 in the hand of George Draper. Augusta County Chancery Cause, LVA Index No. 1752-003, *Michael and Augustine Price vs. Israel Lorton and James Patton*, File 392, ACCH.

The Death of George Draper, 1749

George Draper had died intestate by May 1749. There appears to be no surviving contemporary record describing the circumstances of his death. John P. Hale noted in his book *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers* that his great-grandfather, George Draper, while living at his settlement at Pattonsburg (George Draper's Place near modern-day Buchanan), "started out on a game-hunting and land-seeking expedition, westward. He never returned, and was never heard of by his family; it was supposed that he was killed by Indians."[44] But this statement is greatly in error, since George Draper had undoubtedly already settled in what is now Montgomery County by the fall of 1746. The records clearly show that he lived there through at least the summer of 1748. That he died without having written a will might be an indication that his death was unexpected.

What is known for certain is that George's wife, Eleanor, was granted administration of his estate by the Augusta County Court on 17 May 1749 during the non-age of her son, John, indicating that John was not yet 21

years old. Eleanor's securities were James Davis and Robert Looney Jr.; all three signed the bond by making his or her own mark.[45] At the same court, it was ordered that Thomas English (Ingles), William English (Ingles)[46], Ephriam Voss (Vause) and Richard Hall, or any three of them, appraise George Draper's estate.[47] On 4 August 1749, Richard Hall, William Ingless (Ingles) and Thomas Ingles appraised the goods and chattels of George Draper, valued at £63:12:8 (see Appendix).[48] George Draper owned 10 horses and 22 cattle, a branding iron, three bells and collars, four bridles, and two saddles. His farming implements included at least one plow iron (iron plow), plow gears and chains, a cart, two scythes, five sickles, and six hoes, at least three of which were weeding hoes. The presence of these items suggests that Draper had been growing crops. His building tools included three felling axes, maul rings (iron rings placed on a maul, or large wooden hammer, to prevent it from splitting), wedges, one froe, one crosscut saw, carpenter's tools, unidentified items of iron and steel, and nails. His weapons and accessories included two guns and a shot pouch. Textile tools consisted of one flax wheel (a spinning wheel used to spin flax, or linseed plant, into linen fabric), a pair of wool cards, scissors, one box-iron (a type of smoothing iron), and a washing tub. The Drapers' cooking utensils included two iron pots, an iron pot rack, two pair of pothooks, one frying pan, an iron skillet, three stone bottles, one glass bottle, one churn made of cedar wood, a pair of steelyards (or stilliards, a kind of portable balance used for measuring weight, the "steelyards" being used as weights on the scale), and two pails. Dishes and utensils included trenchers (wooden platters) and "other wooden ware," pewter, tin, and earthen wares, a little keg, knives and at least one fork. Household furnishings were apparently meager, with only a bed and bedding listed. Wearing apparel included two hats, three worsted (wool) caps, and a leather coat. Draper also owned shoemaker's tools. Miscellaneous and more personal items included books, two looking glasses (probably small mirrors), a hair sifter (a kind of sifter, or sieve, used in cow milking to prevent hairs from falling in the milk), a candlestick, and three bags.

This inventory provides a very important glimpse into how George Draper and his family were living by the late 1740s at Draper's Meadows.[49]

Eleanor Draper, Widow

There is no evidence that Eleanor Draper remarried after the death of her husband. Between May 1749 and her own death in 1755, she appears to have remained a widow at Draper's Meadows, possibly living with her son John at the cabin George had built. Only a few records survive of

Eleanor after May 1749. One set of records from a case filed in Augusta County Courthouse should be mentioned here because of its relevance to events that had occurred before George died.

The lawsuit, *John Baird (Beard) vs. Eleanor Draper, Administrix* of George Draper, lasted from August 1749 until May 1750.[50] As described in a document in the case file written by John Harvie, acting as John Baird's attorney, George Draper, having died intestate, had been indebted to Baird in the sum of £6:3:11 since 17 September 1745, which sum by 1749 had reached £12:7:10. Baird complained that Eleanor refused to pay him the money George had owed, and thereupon, he brought suit against her. He showed the court George Draper's promissory note written in 1745, which reads as follows:

> I do promise to paye or caus to be paid to John Beard of Brumsek [Brunswick?] county the Just and full sum of Six pound three shilens [shillings] & Eleven penc [pence] Courant and laawfull money of Virgina to be paid at or befur the twenty sixth Day of Desember nixt Enshuing for velo [value] Ric'd [Received] of him to the which payment well and truly to be maid I do bind my self my Ears [Heirs] Exts [Executors] Adminestrators or asings [assignees] in the penel [penal] sum of twelve pound seven shilens and ten pence in witness wherof I her [sic] herunto set my Heand and seal this 17th Day of Subtember [September] anadomeney [Anno Domini] one thousand seven hundrd and fourty five[.]
>
> Geo. Draper

Two other names appear beside and to the left of Draper's: "John Thomson" and "Essabel [Isabel] Beard." However, the document was written by someone other than George Draper, for the handwriting, even in the signature, does not match that of other documents Draper is known to have written. This was not unusual since promissory notes were often written by someone other than the debtor.

The only other document in this case file is a writ issued by the county court on 25 May 1749 commanding the sheriff, William Lusk, to take Eleanor Draper into custody. Lusk was to bring her before the court on the fourth Tuesday in August 1749 to answer John Baird's plea of debt. Robert Breckinridge, Lusk's deputy, noted on the back of the writ that he had executed the order by 21 June (1749). Nothing more is known except that a judgment was confessed in May 1750, meaning only that she did not appear so the court took this as her confession that Baird's claim was valid.

Nothing is definitely known of John Baird. He may have been the "John Beard" who received two patents for lands on Cub Creek and the Falling River in January 1748/49 in what was by then Lunenburg County (formed from Brunswick), on the headwaters of Cub Creek and Falling Run. These lands later became part of Bedford County and finally Campbell County.[51]

A final document of interest relating to the period immediately following George Draper's death is Colonel John Buchanan's debit account against George Draper, deceased. Buchanan wrote the account in May 1754 but dated the debts incurred to 9 December 1748. He titled it "George Draper Deceast his Estate to John Buchanan[,] administrator on ye Estate of Philip Smith." Buchanan wanted to collect what George had owed Phillip Smith, since Buchanan was Smith's administrator.[52] The two items to which George Draper was indebted were one crosscut saw and old rags, the latter "Bought By Elenor draper." Buchanan also included debts owed him on interest to these items "from the Ninth of Decbr 1749 till 22 April 1752" and the "Intrest on Nine shills. & six penc 3/4 [nine shillings, six pence, and three farthings] seventeen moneths." The contrary credit of the account was cash Buchanan had received from William Ingles on 22 April 1752. The balance due "in favour of John Buchanan" was £0:10:7:½. [53]

George and Eleanor Draper's Cabin Site at Draper's Meadows

As noted previously, George Draper entered 500 acres with James Patton and Company in March 1747/48. The 500-acre tract he selected may or may not have been within Patton's 7,500-acre survey, although if it was within the 7,500 acres it seems likely that it would have included Draper's homestead at Draper's Meadows. However, there is no known record of the 500 acres ever being surveyed as a subdivision of Patton's larger survey, even after the latter was patented. On 7 March 1747/48, George's son, John, had 275 acres surveyed for him on Hazel Draft, a tributary of the New River in present-day Pulaski County, but there is no evidence that he ever lived there.[54] John presumably continued to live at Draper's Meadows for several years after his father's death, and he was probably still living there in February 1754 when James Patton sold to him 315 acres from the 7,500-acre patent.[55]

John Draper's 315 acres may have included the homestead his parents had built, so George and Eleanor's cabin site might have been located somewhere within this acreage. On 24 May 1773, William Preston purchased the 315-acre tract, and it appears to have been within this tract that he built his mansion house.[56] Preston would probably have chosen to build at a location that had already been cleared and cultivated in recent

years and included a cabin or other standing structures near a spring. An ideal location might have been the old Draper cabin site.

According to John P. Hale's writings, "The Preston family residence [Smithfield] was not built upon the site of the original Ingles-Draper settlement and massacre, but a mile or so distant, nearly south."[57] However, in February 1754, James Patton had sold to William Ingles a tract of 255 acres adjoining John Draper's 315-acre tract on its northeastern boundary.[58] Adjoining both tracts was a 440-acre tract that John Draper and William Ingles had owned jointly in the 1750s.[59] William Preston later added this property, as well, to his Smithfield estate after it had been divided into two parts of 220 acres each. Preston's 1773 deed for the southern 220-acre tract mentions that it adjoined the tract where John Draper "formerly dwelt," apparently meaning Draper's 315 acres.[60] If Hale is correct, then the Draper cabin would have been within William Ingles' property (255 acres), which seems unlikely.

Although the locations of these and surrounding tracts, as well as who lived on them, will be explored further in Part II of this article, it appears possible that George and Eleanor Draper's cabin may actually have stood near the site of William Preston's Smithfield mansion.

Summary

This article has provided a comprehensive review of the George Draper family through the year 1749. The author has studied primary source documents and documented the information he has found about the family's experiences at Draper's Meadows. Part II will report additional information concerning the Draper family and the larger Draper's Meadows settlement through the year 1756.

Acknowledgments

I first wish to thank the Honorable John Davis, clerk of Augusta County Circuit Court, for allowing me full access to the court records, and I offer my special thanks to Vickie Arnold, deputy clerk of Augusta County Circuit Court, for her outstanding assistance to me during my visits to the courthouse. I thank Nancy Weaver and other members of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Interlibrary Loan staff. I thank the Library of Virginia Interlibrary Loan staff for their help, as well. I thank Jim Holmberg, curator of manuscripts at the Filson Historical Society, for his help in locating and sending me copies of manuscripts in the FHS collections. I thank Barbara Dickinson, archivist at the Handley Regional Library, for her help in locating and copying many primary source materials. I am very

grateful to Mary B. Kegley, Jim Glanville, and eight anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions for improving the manuscript. I finally wish to thank Deena Flinchum and Hugh Campbell for their continuing support.

Appendix

The following is a transcription of the inventory and appraisement of George Draper's estate dated 4 August 1749 (Augusta County Will Book 1: 247-248, ACCH). In the original document, the clerk (James Porteous) used short, double slash marks (similar to quotation marks), as well as dashes, to separate pounds, shillings, and pence. He also did not write zeros. For example, £1:10:0 would be written 1"10"– by Porteous. For easier readability, the author has omitted Porteous' double slash separator marks and inserted zeros, but otherwise transcribed the appraisal verbatim.

To 1 Sorrell Stallion	[£-s-d] 9–0–0
To 1 bay Mare and colt	7–0–0
To 1 black two year old Stallion	3–0–0
To 1 bay mare and colt	4–0–0
To 1 bay horse	2–10–0
To 1 rone [roan] Mare and a bay yearling	4–0–0
To 1 Two Year old black Mare	2–10–0
To 2 cows and calfs	5–15–0
To 1 Steer	1–10–0
To 6 Yearling calves	3–0–0
To 4 Two Year olds	3–0–0
To 1 cow and calf	1–10–0
To 2 cows and calves	2–10–0
To 1 cow and a bell	1–10–0
To 1 cow and calf	0–15–0
To 1 cow and calf	1–0–0
To 1 cow and calf	1–2–0
To 2 old Gunns [guns]	0–15–0
To carpenters Tools	0–10–0
To Shoemakers Tools	0–2–0
To 1 brand Iron	0–1–6
To 2 pr of Iron plow Chains	0–7–0
To 2 bells and collars	0–4–0
To 3 old bridles	0–1–0
To 1 sadle	0–10–0
To a box Iron [box-iron][,] Shot pouch and other things	0–4–0
To an Iron potracks & an old frying pann	0–4–0
To one crosscut saw	0–4–0

To 2 old siths [scythes]	0–2–0
To 3 old weeding hoes	0–1–0
To 3 More old howes [hoes]	0–3–0
To 3 old falling axes	0–6–0
To Maul Rings, Wedges & frow [froe]	0–4–0
To Iron and Steel	0–2–4
To 2 Small looking glasses	0–1–6
To 3 old sickles	0–1–0
To books	0–5–0
To 1 hatt and 3 woostred [worsted] capps	0–4–0
To 2 Stone bottles & one Glass bottle	0–1–6
To an old Iron Skillet & an old Candle Stick	0–1–0
To a flax wheel	0–3–0
To nails	0–4–0
To a pr of wool cards	0–0–6
To 2 Iron potts	0–10–0
To 2 pr of pothooks	0–1–0
To one cedar churn & two pails	0–3–0
To trenchers & other wooden ware	0–3–0
To a washing Tubb	0–0–6
To pewter[,] Tin & earthen ware	0–18–0
To bed and beding	1–0–0
To 3 old baggs	0–3–0
To a little old cagg [keg]	0–4–0
To 1 hair sifter	0–0–6
To Knifes[,] Sissors [scissors] & fork	0–1–6
To old plow Irons and Geers	0–3–6
To a cart	0–10–0
To an old Sadle & bridle	0–5–0
To an old hatt & Leather Coat	0–15–1
	[£]63–12–8

At a court held for Augusta County the 22d day of May 1750 This Inventory and Appraisment of the Estate of George Draper being returned into court is admitted to record.

Endnotes

Abbreviations and symbols:

ACCH = Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia
DM = Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection (Draper Manuscripts), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Microfilmed by the Department of Photographic Reproduction, University of Chicago Library
FCCH = Frederick County Courthouse, Winchester, Virginia
FHS = Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky
LC = Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LVA = Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia
MCCC = Montgomery County Courthouse, Christiansburg, Virginia
OCCH = Orange County Courthouse, Orange, Virginia
QQ = Series QQ, Draper Manuscripts, Preston Papers. Citations include the series between volume and page number (i.e. 1QQ38).
PP-DM = Preston Papers, Draper Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin
PP-VHS = Papers of the Preston Family of Virginia (Preston Family Papers), 1727–1896, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. Microfilmed by the Library of Congress
VHS = Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia

1. The best general accounts of the George Draper family are in: Mary B. Kegley and Frederick B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters: The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days 1745–1800*, vol. 1 (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, Inc., 1980), 212–13, and Patricia G. Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Pulaski, Va.: Edmonds Printing Inc., 2nd ed., 1983, first printed 1973), 94–95. Mary Draper Ingles has been the subject of many books and articles through the years. The best accounts of her life include: Roberta I. Steel and Andrew I. Steele, eds., *Escape from Indian Captivity: The Story of Mary Draper Ingles and son Thomas Ingles as told by John Ingles Sr.* (Radford, Va.: Roberta Ingles Steel and Andrew Ingles Steele, 2nd ed. 1982, first printed 1969); Patricia G. Johnson, *James Patton*, 201–208; Ellen A. Brown, "Portrait of a Survivor: The Long and Eventful Life of Mary Draper Ingles," *Smithfield Review* 8 (2004), 55–69; Marion C. Harrison, "The Charmed Life of Mary Ingles," *Virginia Cavalcade* 10 (1960), 34–41; Letitia P. Floyd, "Recollections of 18th Century Frontier Life by Letitia Preston Floyd. Introduction by Wirt H. Wills, Transcription by June Stubbs," *Smithfield Review* 1 (1997), 3–16.
2. Patricia G. Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1976), 108–134; Kegley and Kelgey, *Early Adventurers*, 1: 245, 247, 249; Richard Osborn, "William Preston in the American Revolution," *Journal of Backcountry Studies* 3 (2008), 1–97, see especially pages 69–70.
3. Governor Robert Dinwiddie wrote two letters on 8 September 1756 in which he described having ordered that a stockade fort be built at "Draper's Meadow." These are the earliest surviving records of the locale being called Draper's Meadow(s): Robert Dinwiddie to Colonel Clement Read, 8 September 1756 and Dinwiddie to Captain [Peter] Hogg, 8 September 1756, Brock, R. A., ed., *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751–1758, Now First Printed from the Manuscript in the Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, vol. 2 (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society), 502–505.
4. Some of the early references to Draper's Meadows are as follows: Fincastle County Court ordered on 7 September 1773 that William Preston et al. view and make a report on the "conveniency and ill conveniency" of the road which in one section passed through "the Glades by Draper's Meadows." Fincastle (Montgomery) County Order Book 1: 107, MCCH, LVA microfilm reel 20. (Note that Montgomery County was formed from Fincastle County in 1775 and that all Fincastle County court records are today located in Montgomery County Courthouse.) The report on the road was submitted to the court on 2 November 1773 and again mentioned "the Glades

near Drapers Meadows." Fincastle (Montgomery) County Order Book 1: 144, MCCH, LVA microfilm reel 20. On 4 January 1774, Thomas Lewis wrote a letter to William Preston in which he said Preston would find the decisions made by the House of Burgesses in Williamsburg to be "as various as you will [find] the weather at Drapers meadows in April." Thomas Lewis to William Preston, 4 January 1774, PP-VHS, Folder 780, LC microfilm reel 4. Michael Woods wrote a letter on 5 July 1774 addressed to William Preston "Living in fincastle County on Dreapers Medows." Michael Woods to William Preston, 5 July 1774, Preston Papers, PP-DM, 3QQ56. During the Revolutionary War, Governor Patrick Henry wrote to Preston in May 1778 authorizing him to station a sergeant and twelve men "at your House at Drapers Meadow." Patrick Henry to William Preston, 12 May 1778, PP-DM, 4QQ168. In 1782, Dr. Thomas Walker wrote to Preston and addressed his letter to "Colo. William Preston at Drapers Meadows." Thomas Walker to William Preston, 21 August 1782, PP-DM, 5QQ109. Finally, on 29 November 1785, Montgomery County Court ordered that John Preston (son of William) "be appointed overseer of the Highway from Drapers Glades to hands [Hans] Meadows [now the town of Christiansburg]." Montgomery County Order Book 1: 277, MCCH, LVA microfilm reel 20.

5. Osborn, "William Preston in the American Revolution," 69–70.
6. Virginia State Land Office, Patents 32: 178–81, LVA microfilm reel 30. See also Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1: 174–78.
7. Charles H. Enicks, a biographical sketch of J. P. Hale reprinted in "Publishers Preface to the Second Edition," iii–viii, in John P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers: Historical Sketches of the First White Settlements West of the Alleghenies 1748 and After* (Charleston, W. Va..: The Kanawha Valley Publishing Co., 2nd ed., 1931). The sketch is said to have come originally from Laidley's *History of Kanawha County*.
8. John P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers: Historical Sketches of the First White Settlements West of the Alleghenies 1748 and After* (Cincinnati, O.: The Graphic Press, 1886), 13.
9. Journal of Council, 29 October 1745, CO 5/1415, LVA microfilm reel 16; Wilmer L. Hall, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. 5 (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1945), 190–91; Augusta County Order Book 1: 1, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62. Augusta County had been formed in November 1738 from Orange County. See: William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. 5 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1969; reprint of 1819–1823 edition), 78–80.
10. James Wood, Gentleman, Sworn Surveyor of Orange County, 1 January 1734, Orange County Order Book 1: 2, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 30; George Hume, Sworn deputy surveyor of Orange County, 22 November 1739, Orange County Order Book 2: 84–85, LVA microfilm reel 30.
11. Index to Orange County Survey Book, Surveys c. 1735–c. 1740, James Wood Sr., James Wood Family Papers, Stewart Bell Jr. , Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, Winchester, Virginia, 173 WFCHS, Box 2.
12. "List of all the Musterabels in August[a] County," Capt. George Robinson's List, Undated, PP-DM, 1QQ17; Joseph A. Waddell, "Militia Companies in Augusta County, in 1742," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 8 (1901), 278–283. Waddell notes that "The date is not given in the manuscript, but I ascertain it from the fact that John McDowel, one of the captains, was commissioned in the summer of 1742, and was killed by Indians in December following. The roll must, therefore, have been made in the late summer or fall of that year." Waddell is probably correct, for John McDowell was sworn a captain in the Orange County militia on 26 August 1742: Orange County Order Book 3: 197, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 31. He was killed on 19 December 1742: See, for example, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 March 1743, No. 746, and Johnson, *James Patton*, 37–47. The men in George Robinson's company lived on tributaries of the James and Roanoke rivers, in what are now parts of Botetourt and Roanoke counties, and were thus the "vanguard of the western migration at that period" as described by Frederick B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier: The Beginning of the Southwest; The Roanoke of Colonial Days, 1740–1783* (Roanoke, Va.: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938) 90–91.

13. Augusta County Chancery Cause, LVA Index No. 1765–003, *Margaret Looney vs. Robert Looney and John Bowyer*, File 409, ACCH.
14. Patent of 180 acres to "Daniel Luney" 20 August 1748, Virginia State Land Office, Patents 26: 535–36, LVA microfilm reel 24; Augusta County Chancery Cause, LVA Index No. 1765–003, *Margaret Looney vs. Robert Looney and John Bowyer*, File 409, ACCH; Madge L. Crane and Phillip L. Crane, *Most Distinguished Characters on the American Frontier: Robert Looney (b. 1692–1702 d. 1770) of Augusta (now Botetourt) County, Virginia and Some of His Descendants With Histories of the Great Road, Looney's Ferry, Crow's Ferry, Anderson's Ferry, Boyd's Ferry and Beale's Bridge*, vol. 1 (Apollo, Pa.: Closson Press, 1998), 103–117, 218–226, 320–323, 346. See especially pages 113–14, which include detailed maps of George Draper's Place prepared by the Cranes from the original survey records, thereby definitively identifying the tract's location on Long Run, which was a tributary of Looney's Mill Creek on the south side of the James River.
15. Patricia G. Johnson, "Cherry Tree Bottom, Crossroads of the Centuries," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 9 (1973), 63–72; Johnson, *James Patton*, 60-61; Will of James Patton, 1 September 1750, PP-DM, 1QQ63–66, Microfilm reel 110; Will of James Patton, Proved 26 November 1755, Augusta County Will Book 2: 131–34. Harry Fulwiler, *Buchanan, Virginia: Gateway to the Southwest* (Radford, Va.: Commonwealth Press, 1980).
16. George Hume Survey Book, 1740–1741, PP-VHS, Folder 9, LC microfilm reel 2. Hume's survey book is unsigned, but the present author has made a careful study of Hume's handwriting in numerous Orange County Court documents which Hume did sign. The handwriting in the survey book matches that found on the court documents. Many of Hume's surveys were also recorded by James Wood in the Frederick County Survey Book 1736–1758, FCCH, LVA microfilm reel 116, and in a list of "Surveys made in Orange County between June 1740 and June 1741"; Orange County Miscellaneous Papers, 1724–1874, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 565. While it is possible that Hume surveyed George Draper's land in 1740, since he certainly surveyed in the vicinity of it, there still appears to be no record of the survey in any of these three sources, so Draper's survey remains a mystery.
17. Orange County Order Book 4: 115, LVA microfilm reel 31.
18. PP-DM, 1QQ9, LC microfilm reel 2.
19. Orange County Court Case, Judgment May 1744, *John Graham, assignee of Daniel Graham vs. George Draper*, including one directive dated September 1743, two undated petitions, and one promissory note dated 2 November 1738, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 91, Judgments, January 1744–May 1744 (A–K). The author has determined that the petitions and summons were written by deputy clerk James Porteous for the principal clerk Jonathan Gibson, based on his handwriting. George Draper wrote the promissory note. Unfortunately, the ink on Draper's note is badly faded, making several words difficult or impossible to decipher.
20. According to the Julian Calendar used by the English until 1752, the new year began on 25 March, not 1 January. Therefore, the ninth month of the year was November. See also endnote 25 below.
21. Richard Yarborough was appointed a constable of Orange County on 25 March 1742. Orange County Order Book 3: 113, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 31.
22. The name's spelling may be "fargus," which could be Fergus or some variation thereof.
23. Journal of Council, 26 April 1745, CO 5/1415, LVA microfilm reel 16, VCRP; Hall, *Executive Journals of the Council*, 172–173. For a history of Patton's grant and the New River Company see: Johnson, *James Patton*, 67–80, and Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1:8–9. The present author has undertaken an extensive study of the New River Company, alias Wood's River Company or James Patton & Company, surveys (c.1746–1753) and will include a thorough, updated analysis of the company's activities and its surveyors in his forthcoming biography of Colonel John Buchanan.
24. Colonel John Buchanan's "Memorandam Book 1745: Memorandams Relating Sundrey passages With Respect to my Journey To wood's River comencing ye 4 octobr 1745," 4–29 October 1745, PP-DM, 1QQ38–48, Microfilm reel 110; Wood's River Land Entry Book 1745–1781, Preston Family Papers, 1658–1896, Davie Collection, Folder 52, Mss A P937d, FHS.

25. Colonel John Buchanan, Memorandum Book 1745–1747, PP-VHS, Folder 34, LC microfilm reel 2. Note that the English dating system before 1752 was based on the Julian rather than the Gregorian Calendar. The beginning of the year was 25 March, known as Lady Day, so January, February, and March (to the 25th) were the last three months of the year. The colonists usually wrote dates during these months to distinguish between their English dating system (Julian, Old Style) versus that already being used in Continental Europe (Gregorian, New Style). The date February 1745/46, for example, would have been written 1746 in Europe at the time, because 1 January was the start of the new year according to the Gregorian Calendar. Here Buchanan did not double date the year, but it is presumed to be 1745/46. See also footnote 20 above.
26. Colonel John Buchanan, Memorandum of February 1746, PP-DM 1QQ52, Microfilm reel 110.
27. Augusta County Order Book 1: 130, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62; Patricia G. Johnson *Kentland at Whitethorne: Virginia Tech's Agricultural Farm and Families That Owned It: Harmans, Buchanans, Triggs, Cloyds, Kents, Cowans, Bells, Adams* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1995); John Kern, "Kentland Farm, A New River Plantation," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 13 (1996), 45–52.
28. Augusta County Order Book 1: 198, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62; Turk McCleskey, "The Price of Conformity: Class, Ethnicity, and Local Authority on the Colonial Virginia Frontier," in Michael J. Puglisi, ed., *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 213–226.
29. Augusta County Court Case, Judgment August 1749, *George Draper vs. James Conly*, Account of George Draper against James Conly dated 18 August 1747, File 387, ACCH.
30. A good biography of Jones is: Stuart E. Brown Jr., Eileen M. Chappel and Lorraine F. Myers, *Gabriel Jones (1724–1806) and Some of His Descendants* (Berryville, Va.: Virginia Book Company, 1990).
31. Colonel Buchanan stayed at John Mills' cabin in October 1745 after he had left the New River settlement and was traveling back eastward. He noted that he reached Mills' place the day after he had camped on the head of the North Fork of the Roanoke River, which indicates Mills was probably living either on a tributary of the Roanoke River or more likely a southern tributary of the James River in present-day southern Botetourt County (not far from the Looney settlement and the old George Draper Place). Colonel John Buchanan's "Memorandam Book 1745: Memorandams Relating Sundrey passages With Respect to my Journey To wood's River comencing ye 4 octobr 1745," 4–29 October 1745, PP-DM, 1QQ38–48, Microfilm reel 110.
32. Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, 165; Crane and Crane, *Most Distinguished Characters*, 1: 107, 123.
33. Augusta County Order Book 1: 282, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62.
34. Augusta County Order Book 2: 100, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62.
35. John Braham was sworn under-sheriff on 19 March 1746/47 on the motion of Henry Downs, Sheriff: August County Order Book 1: 173, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62.
36. Harvie wrote 1 July in the "xxi' reign of King George II. The king began his reign in June 1727: Andrew C. Thompson, *George II: King and Elector* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press), 68.
37. Augusta County Order Book 2: 370–371, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62; *Virginia Gazette*, 10 January 1752, No. 54.
38. Augusta County Surveyors' Record 1: 37a, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 107.
39. Wood's River Land Entry Book 1745–1781, Preston Family Papers, 1658–1896, Davie Collection, Folder 52, Mss A P937d, FHS. The present author has identified the handwriting as that of William Preston.
40. Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, 117.
41. Wood's River Land Entry Book 1745–1781, Preston Family Papers, 1658–1896, Davie Collection, Folder 52, Mss A P937d, FHS. It is unclear whether "drapers survey" refers to (1) the 500-acre tract Draper entered in March 1747/48; (2) another survey whose record has been lost; or (3) the larger 7,500-acre survey, "at a place called Drapers," run out in October 1747. Draper's entry for 500 acres "on Toms Creek," which may or may not have been within Patton's 7,500-acre survey/

patent, leaves open the possibility that he and his family actually lived somewhere on the waters of Tom's Creek—not Strouble's Creek. This possibility cannot entirely be ruled out because no record has yet come to light of a survey for George Draper on the waters of Strouble's Creek. And it seems odd that apparently no early entry was made for George Draper on Strouble's Creek, as might be expected. However, the balance of available documentary evidence, all of which is presented in this article, suggests that the Drapers did, in fact, live on the headwaters of Strouble's Creek, on land called Draper's Meadows that is known to have later formed the central part of Smithfield Plantation. Therefore, until further evidence becomes available, the author considers George Draper's entry for 500 acres on Tom's Creek to mean that Draper had either chosen a parcel of land (including his homestead) that he wished to have surveyed out of Patton's 7,500-acre patent, or that he had chosen additional acreage on Tom's Creek immediately west of his settlement on Strouble's Creek: It was common practice at the time for settlers to make entries for tracts of land near or sometimes some distance from their home tract. It is also possible that this entry, although describing the 500-acre tract's location as lying on Tom's Creek, might have included land on the waters of both Tom's and Strouble's creeks, considering the proximity of the creeks and the vagueness of many eighteenth-century land parcel descriptions. However, if it included land only on Tom's Creek, there is simply no way to determine at the present time whether this land was or was not within Patton's 7,500 acres. If the 500 acres were near Lorton's land on Tom's Creek, which was close to the mouth of Tom's Creek and outside of Patton's 7,500 acres, then this tract might well have been outside the 7,500 acres, as well, and thus would probably not have included the site of George Draper's settlement.

42. Wood's River Land Entry Book 1745–1781, Preston Family Papers, 1658–1896, Davie Collection, Folder 52, Mss A P937d, FHS; Augusta County Chancery Cause, LVA Index No. 1752–003, *Michael and Augustine Price vs. Israel Lorton and James Patto*n, File 392, ACCH. The author is preparing a detailed study of Israel Lorton's lands based on these records. For a biographical sketch of Lorton, see Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1:236–238.
43. Augusta County Chancery Cause, LVA Index No. 1752—003, *Michael and Augustine Price vs. Israel Lorton and James Patto*n, File 392, ACCH.
44. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, 14.
45. Augusta County Will Book 1: 127–128, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 41.
46. William Ingles married George and Eleanor Draper's daughter, Mary–it is said during 1750: Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, 27. In 1749, William Ingles is believed to have been living on his 25-acre tract of land on "Inglish Mill Creek" a tributary of the North Fork of the Roanoke River, about three miles southeast of Draper's Meadows. The tract had been surveyed for him on 9 April 1748: Augusta County Surveyors' Record 1: 29b, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 107. See also Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1: 352–359.
47. Augusta County Order Book 1: 104, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62.
48. Augusta County Will Book 1: 247–248, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 41.
49. For an excellent analysis of George Draper's goods and chattels in the context of other settlers' appraisals from the New River settlement during this period, see Mary B. Kegley, "Pioneer Possessions, A Study of Wills and Appraisals of Southwest Virginia 1745-1786" (M.A. thesis, Radford University, 1975).
50. Augusta County Court Case, Judgment May 1750, *John Baird vs. Eleanor Draper, Administrix*, File 388, ACCH.
51. Virginia State Land Office, Patents 28: 474–475, 477–478, 478–479, LVA microfilm reel 26.
52. Augusta County Court ordered Colonel Buchanan to administer Phillip Smith's estate on 21 August 1747: Augusta County Order Book 1: 261, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 62.
53. PP-VHS, Folder 132, LC microfilm reel 2.
54. Augusta County Surveyors' Record 1: 33b, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 107. John Draper sold this tract of land to John Die in 1754: Augusta County Deed Book 6: 116–117, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 4.

55. For a biographical sketch of John Draper, see Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters: The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days 1745–1800*, vol. 2 (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 2003), 379–382. Kegley notes that John's 315 acres at Draper's Meadows were "probably where his parents had been earlier established" (379).
56. Fincastle (Montgomery) County Deed Book (A): 43-45, MCCH, LVA microfilm reel 1; Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1: 247; Sara Beth Keough and Blaine Adams, "Smithfield Plantation: The Original Land Parcels," *Smithfield Review* 6 (2002), 71–73; Johnson, *William Preston*, 108.
57. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, 100.
58. Augusta County Deed Book 6: 31–33, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 4.
59. Augusta County Deed Book 6: 37–39, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 4.
60. Fincastle (Montgomery) County Deed Book (A): 43–45 (see especially p. 44), MCCH, LVA microfilm 1.

The William Preston / George Washington Letters

Jim Glanville and Ryan S. Mays

Introduction

William Preston was arguably the most successful Ulster immigrant to Virginia during the entire Colonial period. His life's work as an eighteenth century surveyor and political leader in the newly forming counties along the Virginia frontier embodied the optimistic world view and expansionist ideology embraced by other Virginians such as George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason. Collectively, these men took bold steps to promote a rich and prosperous, independent, and sovereign America with its economic base in the resources beyond the mountains. Preston saw clearly the potential of western land to shape a growing America, and accumulated great personal wealth through his land dealings.[1] He fathered twelve children and left America a mighty legacy through the public service of these children and his many descendants.[2]

However, as Richard Osborn wrote in the preface to his dissertation about William Preston, "aside from a few specialists who have studied developments on Virginia's frontiers, he remains virtually unknown to most scholars of the period."[3] Additionally, and surprisingly, Preston is hardly known within the community of scholars who study the role of Scotch-Irish immigrants to colonial Virginia.[4]

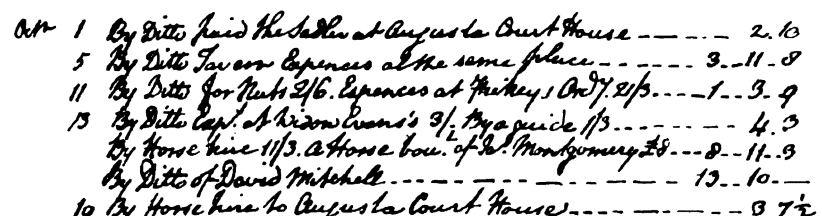
As a measure of Preston's importance in the history of eighteenth century Virginia, this article describes his long relationship with George Washington. George Washington (1732–1799) and William Preston (1729–1783) probably first met in October 1756 while Washington was on his "forts tour" along the Virginia frontier. Between 1765 and 1771 they served together in seven sessions of the House of Burgesses. The article focuses on eight letters exchanged between Preston and Washington between February 1774 and April 1775, and it brings them together here for the first time in a single place. Of the eight letters presented, six are from Preston and two from Washington. (Preston refers to a third letter from Washington, which has been lost.)

The principal topic of all of these surviving letters is the surveying of western land by Preston's deputies and its acquisition by Washington.

These letters are important, not just because they explicate the relationship in those years between the western Virginia land surveyor and the future president, but for the insights they provide into the conditions on the frontier and the obsession with land acquisition that characterized those years. In 1774 the Virginians challenged the American Indians of the Ohio Country and sought land in a campaign known to history as Dunmore's War. Preston did not personally campaign, but he was active in recruiting soldiers and serving as a commissary for the expedition. Both men were obsessed with land acquisition, though despite growing problems with Britain they continued to abide by British policies and regulations until the break with Britain became certain.

George Washington and William Preston, 1756–1775

In the fall of 1756, George Washington was on a tour of the Virginia frontier for the purpose of inspecting and siting forts. He spent the first four days of October in Augusta County.[5] Washington's expense account for those four days is shown in Figure 1. From October 6 to October 9, Washington journeyed from the Augusta court house (in present-day Staunton) to present-day Buchanan, then to Fort Vause at present-day Shawsville and finally to Halifax. From Staunton to Buchanan he traveled with William Preston, from Buchanan to Shawsville he traveled with Col. John Buchanan,[6] and from Shawsville to Halifax he traveled with a guide. Based on the documents (Figure 1), it seems probable that Washington and Preston left Staunton on the sixth, slept on the road near Lexington that night, and reached the James River on the seventh.


Oct. 1 By Ditto paid the Sadler at Augusta Court House ---- 2. 10
5 By Ditto Taxes Expences at the same place ---- 3. 11. 8
11 By Ditto for Nats 2/6. Expences at Thickey's Ord. 2/3 ---- 1. 3. 9
13 By Ditto Capt. at Dixons Evans's 3/. By a guide 1/3 ---- 4. 3
By Horse hire 11/3. a Horse bou. of Mr. Montgomery £8 ---- 8. 11. 3
By Ditto of David Mitchell ---- 13. 10. —
19 By Horse hire to Augusta Court House ---- 0 7½

Items from George Washington's Expense Account—on his tour of the Frontier

Figure 1. George Washington's expense account, October 1–19, 1756. From: *Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days* (Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), 242. Used with permission of George Kegley.

Washington had hoped to assemble a ranging party at Staunton, but too few men applied. After hearing that men might be available at Col. Buchanan's home at Looney's (Luney's) Ferry across the James River, he decided to go there. On his journey, Washington traveled with William Preston as he described in his October 10 letter to Governor Robert Dinwiddie: "I set out immediately for his house [Col. Buchanan's at Luney's Ferry on the James River], attended by Captain Preston, who was kind enough to conduct me along, and acquainted the Colonel [Buchanan] with the motives that brought me thither."[7]

Osborn wrote that "On the journey, Preston and Washington engaged in intensive conversations about the manpower problems on the frontier and undoubtedly on many other topics of mutual concern."[8] Washington wrote of his meeting with Preston in his October 10 letter:

> He [Preston] told me with very great concern, it was not in his power to raise men; for that, three days before, some of the militia in a fort, about fifteen miles above his house, at the head of Catawba Creek, commanded by one Colonel Nash, was attacked by the Indians, which occasioned all that settlement to break up totally, even to the ferry at Luney's; that he had ordered three companies to repair thither, to march against the enemy, and not one man came, except a captain, lieutenant, &c., and seven or eight men from Bedford.

At the time they made their trip from Staunton to Buchanan, Washington was 24 years old and Preston 27. One imagines that their two-day journey together might have been idyllic—passing through magnificent, old-growth forest, amid tall, well-spaced trees beginning to take on their fall colors, and with bison to be seen and flocks of passenger pigeons overhead.

Washington had been made commander-in-chief of the frontier in August 1755, a position he held until late 1757. During this period, Washington engaged in regular correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie, thus much is known about his activities at that time from his letters (such as the one mentioned above). The year 1756 was (in Richard Morton's phrase) a time of "terror on the frontier," with American Indian raids all along it as the westward intrusions of the settlers provoked strong Indian response. Washington faced an almost impossible task of frontier defense. No system of static forts, and there were eventually over eighty of them, could prevent Indian penetration into the settlements. Washington knew that only ranging and offensive action could provide relief. However, neither Washington's Virginia regiment, nor even less the colonial frontier militia, were up to the task.[9]

In contrast to Washington, there is relatively little documentary evidence about William Preston's activities in 1756. His uncle and mentor James Patton had been killed by American Indians at Draper's Meadows the previous year, and Preston had taken over his uncle's land interests and begun his own spirited and successful career. At the time of his journey with Washington, Preston was in his fifth year of service as a deputy to the Augusta County surveyor Thomas Lewis. In 1755 Preston had been involved in building Fort William on the Catawba River. At various times in 1756–1758, he commanded troops on the Bullpasture River, and he built Fort George, located in Highland County about 50 miles northwest of Staunton, in spring 1757. Osborn notes that Preston was involved in sixteen land transactions of various kinds between 1754 and 1757, although none specifically in 1756.[10]

These two young men in the prime of their lives shared adventuresome spirits, several years of experience as land surveyors, ambition, and a hunger to acquire land. What they did not share was a common background. Washington was a fourth-generation, middling gentry, native Virginian with English roots. Preston was a recent Scotch-Irish immigrant who had come to Augusta County around the age of nine, after spending his childhood in the turbulent region in the north of Ireland near Londonderry, with its long history of religious strife.

Later, George Washington and William Preston overlapped in several terms of office in the Virginia House of Burgesses. From 1758 to1764 George Washington represented Frederick County in the Houses of Burgesses. In 1765 Washington was elected to represent Fairfax County; that year Preston first took a seat in the Houses of Burgesses, representing Augusta County. Preston went on to serve seven terms. The first six of those were as a representative of Augusta County, while in his seventh term he represented Botetourt County. During all of Preston's seven terms Washington represented Fairfax County.[11]

No documentary evidence specifically links Preston and Washington during the years they served together in the House of Burgesses. Richard Osborn notes that Preston did not "seem to enjoy" his terms of service in the House of Burgesses because being in Williamsburg took him away from local politics, which for Preston was where "the action was."[12]

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 and Western Land

The Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763 was issued with the central objective of establishing administrative regions through which the British government could control and organize the vast area of land in North America ceded to Britain by France and Spain under the terms of the Treaty

of Paris at the conclusion of the French and Indian or Seven Years War (variously cited as 1754–1763 or 1756–1763).[13] The Proclamation provides a vital background to understanding the Washington–Preston letters, written more than a decade later.

The Proclamation was a declaration of imperial policy towards the North American possessions that Britain acquired under the provisions of the Treaty. It was signed by representatives of Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal in February 1763. Under the treaty, all territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the Great Lakes became British. Britain acquired *half a billion* acres of new territory in North America as a consequence of the treaty, and faced the problem of administering, organizing, and controlling this vast territory. The Proclamation, broadly speaking, was a management plan for the newly acquired British North American empire. The opening paragraph of the Proclamation reads:

> WHEREAS we have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris the 10th Day of February last; and being desirous that all Our loving Subjects, as well of our Kingdoms as of our Colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation; We have thought fit, with the Advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving Subjects, that we have, with the Advice of our Said Privy Council, granted our Letters Patent, under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect, within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, Four distinct and separate Governments, stiled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.

From the point of view of the British Virginians, the newly-drawn boundaries limited settlement west of the crest of the Appalachian Mountains (across the so-called Proclamation line). Neither Washington nor Preston was pleased with this potential limitation on their prospects for further land acquisition.

For our purpose in the present article, an important part of the 1763 Proclamation was its Land Provision clause. This clause provided land rights to British Americans in compensation for their services in the French and Indian War. That clause reads:

> We do hereby command and impower our ... Governors of our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant without Fee or Reward, to such reduced Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Private Soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following Quantities of Lands, subject, at the Expiration of Ten Years, to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement; viz. To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer—5,000 Acres. To every Captain—3,000 Acres. To every Subaltern or Staff Officer—2,000 Acres. To every Non-Commission Officer—200 Acres. To every Private Man—50 Acres. We do likewise authorize and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our said Colonies upon the Continent of North America to grant the like Quantities of Land, and upon the same conditions, to such reduced Officers of our Navy of like Rank as served on board our Ships of War in North America at the times of the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late War, and who shall personally apply to our respective Governors for such Grants.

For the British, the promulgation of the 1763 Proclamation produced many unintended consequences. Among Virginians the principal unintended consequence was resentment for the loss of access to western land with the concomitant development of revolutionary sentiments.[14]

Particularly eloquent on the unintended consequence of the 1763 Proclamation was scholar Archibald Henderson,[15] who wrote:

> By the southern colonies, and especially by Virginia with her arrogant but hazy charter claims, to vast western territory, the proclamation was regarded as a tyrannical curtailment of their liberties for the benefit of the fur trade. In Virginia, the speculators and land-plungers were balked in their grandiose schemes; the great land companies foresaw the collapse of their colossal projects; and even the officers and soldiers felt themselves deprived of the opportunity to exploit the West, through lands to be granted them
> for military services.[16]

As described above, the Proclamation specifically granted, on a sliding scale based on rank, land rights to officers and soldiers who had participated in the French and Indian War. In the years immediately after issuance of the Proclamation, the provision for granting western land to persons with military

service was largely ignored and unused. However, a decade later, and following the appointment of John Murray, the fourth Earl of Dunmore, as Virginia Governor, the situation changed. In April 1773 the Board of Trade tightened the general rules for land acquisition in Virginia (and other colonies) but specifically upheld the officers' and soldiers' rights under the proclamation.[17] This action resulted in a situation in which military land rights were being sought out and purchased by land speculators, such as Washington and Preston, who were seeking to accumulate vast land holdings in the West. Not surprisingly, Governor Dunmore himself took a strong interest in acquiring western lands.

William Preston was at the center of this furor for land acquisition. He was the surveyor of Fincastle County, which had been formed in 1772, and stretched from present-day Blacksburg to the farthest western point of present-day Kentucky, and included all the land of that future state. In 1774, Preston was running newspaper advertisements (Figure 2) seeking persons

NOTICE is hereby given to the gentlemen officers and ſoldiers, who claim land under his Majeſty's proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, having obtained warrants from his Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Dunmore, directed to the ſurveyor of Fincaſtle county, and intends to locate their lands on or near the Ohio, below the Great Kanhawa; that ſeveral aſſiſtant ſurveyors will attend at the mouth of the New River, or Great Kanhawa, on Thurſday the 14th day of April next, to ſurvey for ſuch only as have or may obtain his lordſhip's warrant for that purpoſe. I would therefore requeſt that the claimants, or their agents, will be very punctual in meeting at the time and place above mentioned, properly provided with chain carriers, and other neceſſaries, to proceed on the buſineſs, without delay. As ſeveral gentlemen, who are acquainted with that part of the country, are of opinion, that to prevent inſults from ſtrolling parties of Indians, there ought to be at leaſt fifty men on the river, below the mouth of the Kanhawa, to attend the buſineſs in ſuch a manner as the gentlemen preſent judge moſt proper, until it is finiſhed, or the ſeaſon prevent them from ſurveying any more. Should the gentlemen concerned be of the ſame opinion, they will doubtleſs furniſh that, or any leſs number of men, they may believe neceſſary. It is hoped the officers, or their agents, who may have land ſurveyed, particularly ſuch as do not reſide in the colony, will be careful to ſend the ſurveyors fees when the certificates are demanded.

WILLIAM PRESTON,
Surveyor of Fincaſtle.

Figure 2. A reproduction of Preston's "Notice," published in Rind's *Virginia Gazette* in March 1774, to gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, with a right to claim land near the Ohio River, under the terms of the 1763 Royal Proclamation. This notice is of considerable interest in its own right, and is particularly noteworthy for the light that it sheds on the Washington–Preston exchange of letters discussed in this article.

with military land claims to meet his deputy surveyors in the Ohio Country. Preston's purpose was to have the claimants obtain warrants on land that he would then buy from them.[18]

In 1774, William Preston had, in effect, three masters to serve: the Board of Trade in faraway London,[19] Lord Dunmore in Williamsburg, whose land policies were not necessarily those of London, and the newly-formed Virginia Convention (wherever it was meeting).[20] The Convention in 1774 began making its own rules and regulations on the subject of land acquisition. Also affecting Preston's land surveying and purchasing were the activities of Judge Richard Henderson of North Carolina. In the summer of 1774, Henderson organized the Transylvania Company, which proposed to purchase from the Cherokee Indians vast tracts of land in modern-day Tennessee and Kentucky that had long been claimed by the Virginians and on which Preston had an eye. Henderson actually made the Transylvania Purchase on March 17, 1775, six days before Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech at the second Virginia Convention, and only a month before the first shots of the Revolution in Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. The Preston-Washington letters offer a useful view of Henderson's activities.

Delegate John Jay at the first Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia in the fall of 1774, intensified the question of western land ownership by directly challenging the right of King George III to hold title to such lands:

> Are not the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their consent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever? You know they will not.
>
> Why then are the proprietors of the soil of America less lords of their property than you are of yours? or why should they submit it to the disposal of your parliament, or any other parliament or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us cause disparity in rights? or can any reason be given why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?
>
> Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner

they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess; and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the pope can divest kings of sceptres, which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.[21]

The Coal River Surveys

The principal topic of the Washington-Preston letters is land lying at the confluence of the Coal (also written Cole) and Kanawha Rivers in present-day St. Albans, West Virginia, about ten miles west (and down river) from the state capital of Charleston. The Coal River runs north into the Kanawha River at St. Albans. The site today is identified by an historic marker (Figure 3) titled "WASHINGTON'S LAND." This tract of 2,000 acres was surveyed by John Floyd on April 18, 1774. Washington's patent (land grant) was finally

Figure 3. Historical marker at St. Albans, West Virginia, located near U.S. Route 60 West (MacCorkle Avenue) in St. Albans Roadside Park, 0.4 miles east of St. Albans Bridge, St. Albans. This location is a few miles west of Charleston, West Virgina, at coordinates 38° 23.331 N, 81° 49.58 W, *http://www.stalbanshistory.com/Historical_Roadside_Markers.htm*. The date given for the patent is wrong (see text). Image used with permission of Neil Richardson and the St. Albans Historical Society.

issued ten years later on August 12, 1784. The original patent on this tract, issued by Governor Benjamin Harrison, is viewable online at the Library of Virginia.[22] The patent shows that the land went by warrant to Charles Mynn Thruston[23] for his military service as a lieutenant in the French and Indian War. Thruston (probably for a price) assigned his land to Washington, who in turn received the patent for it from the Governor. This transaction exceedingly well-exemplifies the land dealings discussed in this article.

Remarkably, we know quite a lot about the survey that Preston had made on behalf of Washington at the "Cole River tract" site because there is a documentary record of the work of the survey party. The record is in the journal of Thomas Hanson, who was one of William Preston's deputy surveyors.[24]

Hanson writes that he and his party left "Col. Wm Preston's in Fincastle County at one o'clock in high spirits" and records the departure date as "April 7th. 8th." of 1774. They left, of course, from Smithfield Plantation. Preston's assistant surveyor, John Floyd, was the leader of the eight-man party, and in addition to Hanson himself, its other six members were: Mr. Douglas (another assistant surveyor to Preston), Mr. Hite, Mr. Dandridge, James Nocks (Knox), Roderick McCra, and Mordecai Batson.

They were at the Coal River ten days later. Hanson recorded on the 18th of April: "We surveyed 2000 acres of Land for Col. Washington, bordered by Coal River & the Canawagh. Mr. Dandridge crossed Coal River, & lost himself, which put Mr. Floyd to a great deal of trouble to find him in the night. Mr. Taylor and his company joined us. The Bottoms or Low Grounds here are but narrow & not very good. We catched a Cat fish that weighed 40 pounds."

This party of Preston's deputies is well-known in Kentucky history, where they are referred to as the "Fincastle Surveyors." Under the authority of 1763 Proclamation warrants, William Preston's Fincastle deputy surveyors in 1774 laid out over 150,000 acres of land in the future state of Kentucky, including all of the present-day city of Louisville. Their work was disrupted by American Indian attacks in July 1774, and the party broke up into three groups that returned to Smithfield by widely different routes.[25]

These 1774 Fincastle surveys include the taking of land for many of Virginia's leaders. In addition to the tract for Washington, tracts were surveyed for Patrick Henry, William Byrd III, Andrew Lewis, Zachary Taylor, William Christian, Adam Stephen, and others.[26]

The Eight Washington/Preston Letters

There are eight extant letters, from February 1774 to the end of April 1775. All are about land located at the confluence of the Coal and Kanawha Rivers.

The six letters from Preston to Washington come as transcriptions from *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers* [1752–1775], edited by Stanislaus Murray Hamilton and published in five volumes (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1898–1902). The preface to Volume 1 of this series states for the years 1752–1775 the five volumes constitute "a complete edition of the writings to Washington, given *verbatim et literatim* from the original letters as received and indorsed by him" and that "the manuscript collection was acquired from George Corbin Washington by purchase under the Acts of Congress approved June 30, 1834, and March 3, 1849, and deposited in the Department of State, Washington, D.C." The first Preston to Washington letter is found in Volume 4 and the other five are found in Volume 5. All six letters have been published online at the Internet Archive (www.archive.org), and for each letter we have provided a short-form web link that will take the reader directly to the as-printed transcript.

The two letters from Washington to Preston come from Volume 3 (of a total of 39 volumes) of *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick and David M. Matteson (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931). The 39 volumes were prepared under the direction of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission and authorized by Congress. All 39 volumes have been published online at the Internet Archive (www.archive.org) and also as on line transcriptions by the University of Virginia.[27] The first Washington to Preston letter is stated in 1930 to have been in the possession of Nelly C. Preston of Seven Mile Ford, Virginia; we do not know its present location. The second Washington to Preston letter is in the Library of Congress. For both letters we have provided a short-form web link that will take the reader directly to the as-printed transcript.

In the opening letter (February 28, 1774), Washington asked Preston for a "certificate" for a survey done by Captain William Crawford, who worked as Washington's western land agent. Preston replied promptly (March 7, 1774) that he had recently issued two such certificates, and that when he did so, they made a "great deal of noise" and that they were considered illegal. He went on to say that he had advertised for officers with land warrants on the Ohio River (Figure 2) and that his deputy surveyors would shortly be near Washington's claim, and would order that Washington's land be resurveyed. Two months later, in May 1774, Preston wrote telling Washington that he had sent John Floyd out to make the survey. In August 1774 Preston again wrote telling Washington that the survey had been made and remarked that he was fortifying his home, Smithfield. There is now the missing letter from Washington to Preston. On January 27, 1775, Preston

sent the certificate to Washington. Preston commented that Dunmore's War ("the late Expedition") was a great expense. He does not mention the Fincastle Resolutions that had been made one week earlier. He wrote again in a second letter four days later (January 31, 1775) telling Washington that Floyd had arrived back at Smithfield. This second letter discussed the prospective Transylvania purchase and enclosed Floyd's and his own charges for their expenses. Washington, on March 27, 1775, sent money for Preston's and Floyd's charges and said he had a new warrant for 3,000 acres in Fincastle. In the final letter Preston told Washington that Richard Henderson had made his purchase and that John Floyd had a nice 3,000-acre tract that Washington might like to have surveyed.

Letter 1[28]

In this letter Washington opened the exchange of correspondence by sending Preston a survey of the Coal River tract made by Captain Crawford, and asked Preston to secure him a patent on the land. In the letter, Washington also gave Preston a detailed description of his extensive and active land maneuvers. The letter reveals the complexity of western land acquisition in 1774, when warrants for officers under the terms of the 1763 Proclamation were being upheld and increased to 1,000 acres in size by the Virginia Council. Washington was clearly seeking every avenue to secure western land wherever he could get it, and he wanted to do it quickly. This letter is in Washington's handwriting. It is particularly noteworthy because Preston added a notation to the letter in his own hand. The "Captain Bullett" mentioned by Washington in this letter was an old comrade from the French and Indian War, who had become a surveyor. Empty pairs of brackets in the following transcription indicate unreadable text in the original document.[29]

To: WILLIAM PRESTON
Mount Vernon, February 28, 1774

> Sir: I took the liberty before I left Williamsburg (at least the neighbourhood of it, about the 1st. of December last) to address a pretty long Letter to Colo. Andw. Lewis respecting my Claims under the Proclamation of 1763. I also Inclos'd him a Survey made by Captn. Crawford upon the Great Kanhawa at the Mouth of Cole River, as a Location for the [ ] returnd the Warrant and Survey (Inclosed) [ ] me; which for want of oppy., I have never [ ] in my power of sending till now, that it goes by Express in hopes of obtaining such a Certificate for the Secretarys Office, as will enable me to procure my Patent from thence immediately.

The Reason's for my Inclining to take this Land (which I am told is far from being of the first quality) are candidly these. It lyes in the [ ] (that is Colo. Lewis) as I had only heard, but was upon no certainty of your being at the Oyer Court, (if he thought there was no impropriety in it, and I saw none) to get the favour of you to give me a Certificate of this Survey, that I might, for the Reasons I then gave him, and shall mention to you, obtain a Patent for it immediately; The Colo. wrote me that you were obliging enough to promise that but, as the Council came to a Resolution to permit the Officers to Survey their Lands in thousand Acre [ ] might alter my Plan; and therefore [ ] in the desird dispatch [ ] by being contiguously [?]undirected, in order [ ] latitude this [ ] comes in like [ ] to you; which you [will] please to direct [ ] executed, and not be [ ] In order to explain the Reason of this [ ] (now Inclos'd to you) appearing as [ ] 200,000 Acres, I must observe, that some [part] of the Work being done by Captn. Crawford [him]self, and some by his Deputy, they did not [ ] that they had, between them, over run their quantity till after this Survey, and one other opposite to it, on the Kanhawa (which I am now applying for in Botetourt) were made. In short the mistake would not, I believe, have been discover'd at all; if it had not been for me, when I came to compare the different Tracts, in order to the allotment of them. this other Tract, in Botetourt, contains 18 Acres less than 3000; and it is very unlucky for me (as I obtain'd my Warrants before the Indulgence of Surveying in 1000 Acre Lots) that I am obliged to send my own Warrant for 5000 to that County, in order to secure that Tract, as I do not know where any more Land in that district is to be had; and want to shift the remaining 2000 into Fincastle; which I must yet do, as Captn. Bullett has offer'd me a Tract Surveyed by him about twenty odd Miles from the Falls of Ohio, and of[f] from it upon Salt River Including a Salt Pond. this Tract, thus Circumstanced; I beg the favour of you to [enter] in my name; as I will contrive to have [ ] Warrant for Bot[etourt] [ ] [Captn.] Bullett has either neglected to furnish me with a minute description of the spot, with a Plot agreeable to his promise; or, his Letter has [mis]carried; as he agreed before his Brother [to let me] have the Land upon certain conditions [ ] were then concluded upon; to the best [ ] collection, the above, is the substance of [ ] than the Falls, as well as [a] little wide of it, upon the River above mention'd. I shall add no more than my hopes of having my business done agreeably to the requests herein contain'd, and to wish you an agreeable Season for the accomplishment of your business, being with very great esteem, etc.

Dr. Sir, Yr. most Obt. & Hble. Sert G[e]o. Washington [ ][30]

The annotation in Preston's handwriting reads:

> I wrote to Col. Washington refusing to comply with his request, but let him know that I would send his field marks down by one of the assistants and have the land resurveyed, and the new survey sent to me as soon as Possible, and that after recording it I will endeavor to send it to him before the May Assembly Rises or afterward enclose it to Col. Russell to transact the Business for him in Town. W.P. March 1774.[31]

The notation shows that as surveyor of Fincastle County, Preston guarded his prerogatives. Osborn notes that "In effect, Preston was refusing to recognize the legality of any surveys not completed by his own assistant surveyors and deputies."[32] There was also a real question in Williamsburg about the legality of such surveys, so Preston also had solid grounds for not wanting to risk yet another "great noise" in Williamsburg.

Letter 2[33]

In his reply, Preston wrote that he was unable to comply with Washington's request for certification of 2,050 acres at the fork of the Great Kanawha and Coal Rivers because so doing had become a highly controversial subject in Williamsburg as being possibly illegal. Preston explained to Washington that he was uncertain of his authority as Surveyor of Fincastle County to certify land, and, that when he had made two such grants earlier, his action raised a "great deal of noise." Preston referred to the advertisement reproduced above. Dr. John Connolly and Charles and Robert Warrenstaff were active investors in land in the vicinity of the Falls of the Ohio (modern-day Louisville, Kentucky).[34] Here is letter 2:

FROM COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON. FINCASTLE—March 7th 1774

> I rec^{d}. your Letter Inclosing a Warrant for 2000 Acres, & a Certificate of M^{r}. Crawford's for 2050 Acres in the Fork of the great Kanhawa and Cole River, by favour of Mr Young.
>
> Be assured Sir that nothing could have given me greater Pleasure than to have complied with your Request had it been in my Power; and the rather as I see nothing in it that is unreasonable or unprecedented. When I was last at W^{ms}.burg his Lordship presented me with two Platts of 2000 Acres each one for Doc^{tr}. Connilly & the other for one Warrenstaff and requested, nay even urged me to sign them; as they had been Accurately Surveyed by M^{r}. Douglas, an Assistant to Cap^{t}. Bullet who had been regularly appointed by the

College, I with some Reluctance Signed the Certificates by which those Gentlemen immediately obtained Patents. This Transaction has made a great deal of Noise; & indeed it is the Opinion of many good Judges that the Patents are altogether illegal. This alone is my Reason for not complying with your Request, and the promise I then made to Col°. Lewis on your Behalf; for at that Time I could not foresee any ill Consequence that could attend such a Step.

I have Advertized the Officers who obtained Warrants from Lord Dunmore to meet my Assistants at the Mouth of New River the 14th. of April. Two of the Assistants will go from hence down the River, and not far from the mouth of Cole River they intend to provide Canoes to proceed down the Ohio. I can think of no better Method than what Col°. Lewis has proposed; which is, that one of them on his way down shall Survey the Land and by the first Opportunity send me the Plan to be recorded. Col°. Lewis says he will endeavour to persuade his Son to go, or send a Surveyor, to lay off the Tract you have in Botetourt, & that he will return from thence imediately: Should the Col° Succeed in this, then my Assistant could send up the Plan, & by that Means & M^r. Lewis & myself might have it in our Power to send you the Certificates before the rising of the next Session of Assembly.—If M^r. Lewis can neither go, or send down the River at that Time, I shall leave no method in my Power unattempted to have your Survey made and returned to you before the Assembly rises, or to Col°. Bassett afterwards, who I suppose will transact the Business for you.—In the mean time I shall Enter the Land on my Book & send you a Copy this I suppose will secure it to you untill it can be legally Surveyed.

The 2000 Acres on Salt River which Cap^t. Bullet mentioned to you & which he laid off last year, has been Entered some Time ago by Cap^t. Christian. M^r. Young has a Copy of the Entry. I believe all the Salt Springs discovered in that Country have been Entered.

I am Sorry it was not in my Power to comply with your Request, but for the Reasons I have given I hope you will excuse me, and the more so as I shall do all I can to have your Land Surveyed early in the Season, for which purpose I have kept M^r. Crawfords Certificate that it may be laid off accordingly.

I am with great Regard Sir

Your most Obed^t. ~~hble~~ Serv^t.

W^M. PRESTON

Letter 3[35]

Preston now told Washington that John Floyd had surveyed Washington's land at the confluence of the Great Kanawha and Coal Rivers. This is the land today identified by an historic marker (Figure 3) and the land described in Hanson's journal entry quoted above. He noted the dangers American Indians posed to surveying parties. The letter is significant for its discussion of Cherokee land claims. It refers to the 1752 Treaty of Logs Town (Logstown) which Preston himself attended as an assistant to his uncle James Patton, who was one of the Virginia commissioners who negotiated that treaty. Having been unable to get an answer from Governor Dunmore about the status of Virginia's land claims in the face of Cherokee opposition, he asked Washington to speak with the Governor about the matter.

FROM COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON.
FINCASTLE May 27th. 1774

DEAR SIR

Agreeable to my Promise I directed Mr. Floyd an Assistant to Survey your Land on Cole River on his Way to the Ohio, which he did and in a few Days afterwards sent me the Plot by Mr. Thomas Hog. who Mr. Spotswood Dandridge who left the Surveyors on the Ohio after Hog Parted with them, wrote me that Mr. Hog and two other Men with him had never since been heard of. I have had no Opportunity of writing to Mr. Floyd Since. Tho' I suppose he will send me the Courses by the first Person that comes up, if so I shall make out the Certificate and send it down. This I directed him to do when we parted to prevent Accidents. But I am realy affraid the Indians will hinder them from doing any Business of Vallue this Season as the Company being only 33 and dayly decreasing were under the greatest Apprehension of Danger when Mr. Dandridge parted with them.

It has been long disputed by our Hunters whether Louisa or Cumberland Rivers was the Boundary between us and the Cherokees. I have taken the Liberty to inclose to you a Report made by some scouts who were out by my Order; and which Sets that matter beyond a Doubt. It is say'd that the Cherrokees claim the land to the Westward of the Louisa & between Cumberland M [mutilated] and the Ohio. If so, and our Government gives it up we loose all the most Valluable part of that Country. The Northern Indians Sold that Land to the English at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744. by the Treaty of Logs Town in 1752 and by that at Fort Stanwix in 1768. At that

Time the Cherrokees laid no Claim to that Land & how the[y] come to do it now I cannot imagine.

I have wrote twice to his Lordship on this Subject. If it is not disagreeable to you I would take it as a great Favour if you would Converse with his Excellency on this Matter; and endeavour to have it considered in Council. Most of the Officers have Entered their Lands below the Louisa; but I am almost certain the Surveyors will not Survey any there, untill they have further Instructions. My Reasons for taking Enter [mutilated] below that River was, that his Lordship gave Connolly and Warrenstaff Warrants for their Claims at the Falls; but I am doubtful that would not be sufficient Warrant for me to Survey the Land & Sign Certificates.

Your taking some Trouble on this Head will be doing a great Service to the Officers, and a very particular Favour to

D[r] Sir your most Obed[t]. and very hble Serv[t].
W[M]. PRESTON

Letter 4[36]

Preston told Washington in this letter that he had recorded the "platt" of Washington's land on the Coal River, and that some of his surveyors had gone missing and were probably dead. He added that American Indians in his region had killed five persons within 15 miles of Smithfield 10 days earlier and that he was turning his house, Smithfield, into a fort.

FROM COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON.
SMITHFIELD August 15[th]. 1774

DEAR SIR.

M[r]. Thomas Hog who brought the Platt of Your Land on Cole River from Capt Floyd in April last with two other Men has never since been heard of, so that there is no Doubt of their being killed or taken, but I fear the former is the Case. Cap[t]. Floyd with three others came in last Saturday. The other Surveyors with a Party of Men are still out but there is some Reason to hope they are safe.

M[r]. Floyd at my Request immediately made out your Plan which I have Recorded & takes this Opportunity to Send it to Col[o]. Fielding Lewis either to be forwarded to you or sent to Town as you choose. I had no Opport[y] to send it directly down, otherwise I should have done it & sent the Patent Fee & had it put in at Once.
The Bearer M[r]. Nash lives in Faquier but he has given me his

Positive Promise that he will send the Letter immediately to Fredericksburg[.] We are greatly harrased in this Country by the Enemy. A Small Party got in about ten Days ago & killed 5 Persons mostly Children & took three Prisoners, about 15 Miles from this Place; which is greatly Exposed. I began yesterday to build a Fort about my House for the Defence of my Family,

I am with great Esteem Dr Sir your most Obed^{t} & very hble Servt
W^{M}. PRESTON

Letter 5[37]

The letter from George Washington to William Preston, written on December 26, 1774, is referred to by Preston in his letter of January 17, 1775 as having been received by him. However, as noted previously, this letter from Washington to Preston is now missing.

Letter 6[38]

In this letter Preston enclosed the certificate of the Coal River survey (which had been made eight months earlier) and commented that the expenses for the recently-concluded Dunmore's War would be great. The letter is noteworthy because it does not mention the Fincastle Resolutions (Preston had been present at the adoption of these Resolutions, and is reported to have signed them) which had been made by the Fincastle Committee exactly one week earlier. So perhaps at the time, the significance of those Resolutions was less regarded than it has been by later generations.[39]

FROM COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON.
Jan 27th. 1775

DEAR SIR
Your Letter of the 26th. Dec^{r}. came to Hand yesterday. I have inclosed a Certificate of the Survey made by M^{r}. Floyd at the Mouth of Cole River, But as the Members for this County set off two Days ago I shall not have an Opportunity of Sending this till Col^{o}. Fleming goes down which I hear will be some time in February. I understand that worthy Gentleman intends to make Application to Your House for some Yearly Allowance from the Country for his being disabled in its Service; I would fain hope the same Notice will be taken of his Merit that has been to many other Officers who were Wounded in the Service of the Country on former Occasions.

There is no doubt but the Expence of the late Expedition, & the forces employed for the Protection of the Frontiers will be very great. But as the Frontiers were in a great Measure defended & the Enemy Subdued there is reason to hope not only the Peace will be lasting, but that the Expence will be paid with the greater Cheerfulness; and the rather as the Men engaged in the Service with uncommon Ardour, depending wholly on the Publick Faith, as there was no Money in hand for defraying any part of the Charge or given as encouragement to men to inlist. The former well known Justice and Generosity of the Assembly, together with the Safety of the Country from our old inveterate Enemies appeared to me to be the only Motives which induc'd Men to engage so readily in the Service.

I am D^{r} sir with great Esteem your most Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
WM. PRESTON

Preston added the following footnote, citing the text of the survey:

Survey'd for Col. George Washington Assignee of Charles Myn Thurston a Lieutenant In the Virginia Regiment under the Command of Col. Byrd, By Virtue of the Governors Warrant, and agreeable to the Royal Proclamation of 1763. 2,000 acres of Land in Fincastle County, and bounded as follows. Viz. Beginning at a Sycamore at the mouth of a Draught on the bank of Cole River, marked GW. and running down the several Courses thereof and binding thereon 588 poles to its junction with the Great Kanhawa, and up the several courses thereof and binding thereon 1400 poles to a Sycamore at the mouth of a small draught marked GW. then leaving the River S45°. W. 170 po. to the Hill side and along the same 660 poles to the beginning.

WM. PRESTON S. F. C.
18th. Ap^{l} 1774

Letter 7[40]

In this letter Preston told Washington that John Floyd had arrived back at Smithfield. He also told Washington that he could give the payment for Preston's and Floyd's services to Stephen Trigg, who was at the time serving in the House of Burgesses as the member for Fincastle County. Of considerable historic importance are Preston's comments about Judge Richard Henderson's Transylvania purchase, in which he told Washington that Henderson would sign for his great land purchase from the Cherokees at Watauga the following month, and called it a "Serious Affair."

FROM COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON.
FINCASTLE Janʸ 31ˢᵗ. 1775

DR. SIR
I wrote to you some days ago inclosing a Certificate of your Survey at the Mouth of Cole River & intended to have sent the Letter by Colº. Fleming, but meeting with Capt Meredith who intends to Town in a few Days I got the favour of him to be the Bearer.

Capt. Floyd came here last night & has drawn up his charge which with my Account, I have (at your Request) inclosed. The money may be paid to Mr. Trigg a Member for this County whose recᵗ. shall be good against Mr. Floyd & Myself.

I make no doubt but Col Lewis has informed you of a large Purchase made by one Colº. Henderson of North Carolina from the Cherokees. Since I wrote to Colº. Lewis on this Subject I hear that Henderson talks with great Freedom & Indecency of the Governor of Virginia, Sets the Government at Defiance & says if he ħ once had five hundred good Fellows Settled in that Country he would not Value Virginia, that the Officers & Soldiers Who have Lands Surveyed there must ħ hold under him otherwise they shall not enjoy an Inch there. This & such like Stuff has a great Effect upon ignorant People & will be a Means to induce great Numbers to settle in that Country next Spring.

There is now at Wautag [mutilated] eighty Indians & upwards of 700 more are expected to the Treaty whi [mutilated] to be held there some time next Month in order to receive the Goods which now amount to eight waggon loads & to Confirm the Sale by Conveying the Land.

This in my Opinion will soon become a Serious Affair, & highly deserves the Attention of the Government. For it is certain that a vast Number of People are preparing to go out and Settle on this Purchase; and if once they get fixed there, it will be next to impossible to remove them or reduce them to Obedience; as they are so far from the Seat of Government. Indeed it may be the Cherokees will support them.

I am most respectfully Sir your very hble Servt
WM. PRESTON

Letter 8[41]

With this letter Washington sent payment for the services of Preston and Floyd. Washington told of his dislike of the Henderson purchase, that the Governor had issued a proclamation against it, and that the Virginia

Convention had taken action, about which William Christian would inform Preston on his return to Fincastle County. The Virginia Convention had at this time been acting for eight months as a *de facto* Virginia government independent of Governor Dunmore. Washington concluded by saying that he had obtained yet another warrant for 3,000 acres of land. This letter is in Washington's handwriting.

To: WILLIAM PRESTON[42]
Richmond, March 27, 1775

> Dear Sir: Your favours of the 27th. and 31st. of Jany. were both deliverd to me at this place; the first Inclosing a Copy of the Survey at the Mouth of Coal River, and the Second, an Acct. of the Expence of doing it. By Colo. Christian [ ][43] I send, £3.6.8 for your Fee, and £2.10.0 for Capt. Floyd. [ ][44] It was impossible for me, with any sort of propriety to judge the value of Captn. Floyds extra: Services; and being told that this Survey was made in his way to Kentucke, and that no uncommon expence could possible have arisen, I have thought this an ample allowance, if I am mistaken, I shall be willing, at any time hereafter, to make a further allowance, as it is my wish to reward every person who performs any Service for me, adequate to their deserts.
>
> It would give me pleasure, to contribute any little assistance in my power towards the promotion of Colo. Flemings application to the Assembly for relief as it will do to aid any Person who deserves well of the Country.
>
> It is but very lately that I have come to the knowledge of Henderson's purchase of the Cherokee Indians; [ ][45] there is something in that Affair which I neither understand, nor like, and wish I may not have cause to dislike it worse as the Mistery unfolds. Colo. Christian will inform you of the only Notice taken of the Proclamation (Issued by Lord Dunmore) in this Convention, as well as the other proceedings of the Meeting, and renders a recital of them therefore, from me, unnecessary. I have only to add then that, with very great esteem I remain, etc.
>
> P.S. I have got a Warrant for 3000 Acres, which, by Mistake is directed to Fincastle instead of Augusta; pray my good Sir could you advise me to a good piece of Land (not claimd by any) in your Country to Locate it on?

Letter 9[46]

In this letter Preston told Washington that Henderson had made his purchase from the Cherokees and had gone out with 300 "adventurers" to settle below the Kentucky River. He also said he could have a prompt survey made of land that had been offered to Washington by John Floyd in response to Washington's request in his letter of March 27, 1775. Ten days after Preston wrote this letter the fighting at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts signaled the beginning of the Revolutionary War. The demotion of Preston from Colonel to Captain is perhaps the editor's error.

FROM CAPTAIN WILLIAM PRESTON
April 9th. 1775.

DEAR SIR
Yours of the 27th. Ult. came to hand yesterday with my Fee & that to Mr. Floyd with which we are sattisfied.

Henderson I hear has made the Purchase & got a Conveyance of the great and Valluable Country below the Kentucky from the Cherokees. He and about 300 adventurers are gone out to take Possession, who it is said intends to set up an independant Government & form a Code of Laws for themselves. How this may be I cant say, but I am affraid the steps taken by the Government have been too late. Before the Purchase was made had the Governor interfered it is beleived the Indians would not have sold. abt 12 or 1300 of them met at the Treaty & I hear near one half went off much displeased, as they shared no part of the Goods given by the Company.

Mr. Floyd has sent you a Description of 3000 Acres of Land he surveyed last Summer and which has not been appropriated. Should this suit, let me know by a Line & I will make out a Certificate & send it to any Place you direct As I imagine you will receive this before you set off for the Congress, you can send an Answer to the Care of Alexr Craig in Wms.burg at the meeting of the Merchants from whence I can readily get it

But if this Land will not answer your Purpose I can readily have a Tract Surveyed as Floyd sets off to morrow for the Ohio & I can when I receive your Letter have an Oppy. of writing to him. The Warrant should be lodged with me, if it is sent to Mr. Craig I can get it safe.

I am with profound Respect Dr Sir your
most hble Servt.
WM. PRESTON

Conclusions

This article demonstrates that William Preston and George Washington were acquainted for at least 27 years—from the time they met in 1756 until Preston's death in 1783. All the surviving correspondence between them comes from the years 1774–1775. This was a time when Virginia was in a state of political flux and turmoil and on the very brink of the Revolution. The letters illuminate the dangers of frontier life, Washington and Preston's desire for western land, and the competition for western land that occurred in those years between the Virginians and the North Carolinians.

The letters are of great interest for what they fail to discuss. They are all about the very current business of land surveys and land speculation. Unmentioned are the widespread troubles of "Lord Dunmore's War" of 1774. American Indian hostility is only mentioned in passing: for example, when Preston refers to raids and settler casualties in the vicinity of Smithfield, which he was fortifying. The letters are totally silent about the Revolution, which we know in retrospect was about to happen and would shove land surveys and speculation to the back burner if not completely off the stove for some years.

The letters demonstrate that Washington and Preston were conducting their business following British regulations, the Proclamation of 1763, and the longstanding procedures established by the Virginians for land speculation and acquisition. This situation would dramatically change following the convening of the First Continental Congress in October 1774. Eight months later, the Second Continental Congress gave Washington command of the Continental Army.

The significant historical role of William Preston is generally underappreciated by Virginia historians, who tend to focus unduly on the Tidewater region of the state.[47] The neglect in the Scotch-Irish literature of the historical role of William Preston is particularly regrettable.

Acknowledgments

We thank the Interlibrary Loan staff and the Special Collections staff at Newman Library at Virginia Tech. We thank several anonymous referees whose excellent comments have helped us strengthen this article. As always, one of us (JG) thanks Deena Flinchum for ongoing support and encouragement.

Endnotes

1. Jim Glanville, "William Preston the Surveyor and the Great Virginia Land Grab," *The Smithfield Review* 17 (2013), 43–74.
2. John Frederick Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield in Virginia* (Louisville, Ky.: The Filson Club, 1982).
3. Richard Charles Osborn, "William Preston of Virginia, 1727–1783: The Making of a Frontier Elite" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1990), ii-vi; substantially reprinted in the *Journal of Backcountry Studies* in three parts: *http://libjournal.uncg.edu/ojs/index.php/jbc/article/view/40/82* (hereafter cited as Osborn dissertation part 1); *http://libjournal.uncg.edu/ojs/index.php/jbc/article/view/33/22* (hereafter cited as Osborn dissertation part 2); and, *http://libjournal.uncg.edu/ojs/index.php/jbc/article/viewFile/27/16* (hereafter cited as Osborn dissertation part 3); also in part reprinted in *The Smithfield Review* 12 (2008), 5–24 and 13 (2009), 43–62. Other works about William Preston are: Bruce D. Tuttle, "Colonel William Preston, 1729–1783" (Master's thesis, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, 1971), and Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, Va.: Walpa Publishing, 1976). See also: Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Surveyors Foundation, Ltd., and The Virginia Association of Surveyors, 1979) *passim*; Mary B. Kegley and Frederick B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters: The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745–1800*, vol. 1. (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1980), 245–255; Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier 1740–1789* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991) *passim*; Meredith M. Brown, "The Central Role of William Preston and Other Smithfield Region Leaders in the Opening Up of Kentucky," *The Smithfield Review* 13 (2009), 29–42; and Meredith M. Brown, *Touching America's History: From the Pequot War Through World War II* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 21–43. For a survey of the large body of archival documentary evidence about William Preston and his descendants see: Laura Katz Smith, "A Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections of the Preston Family," *The Smithfield Review* 2 (1998), 53–64.
4. William Preston is missing from both James G. Leyburn's *The Scotch Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962) and David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press USA, 1989). David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly in *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000) include a single index reference to William Preston (pointing to page 216), but he is not on that page and in fact is absent from their text. Author JG pointed out these and other omissions in a recent symposium talk "William Preston the Surveyor and the Great Virginia Land Grab" (paper delivered at the Seventh Scotch-Irish Identity Symposium, York, S.C., Friday June 7, 2013).
5. Frederick B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days* (Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938). On page 238 Kegley shows a map of George Washington's route of travel on his frontier journey. A facsimile of a small portion of Washington's expense account appears on page 242, recording for October 1, 1756, an expense of 2s-10d to the saddler at Augusta Court House and on October 5 tavern expenses of £3-11-9 at the same place. Washington wrote from Halifax on October 10, 1756, and reported an "expence" of £1-3-9 at Hickey's Ordinary on October 11.
6. Col. John Buchanan (d. 1769) was married to Margaret Patton, daughter of Col. James Patton, whose sister Elizabeth was Preston's mother. Thus Margaret Patton and William Preston were cousins, so Buchanan and Preston were tied by marriage. Further, Jane Buchanan, daughter of John and Margaret, married John Floyd, who was one of Preston's surveyors in Kentucky and elsewhere. Also, in 1804, Floyd's son John married Letitia Preston, William's daughter. The early Scotch-Irish settlers on the frontier were close-knit kinfolk.
7. George Washington, "Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, from Halifax 10 October, 1756," in Worthington Chauncey Ford, compiler, *The Writings of George Washington,* vol. 1, 1748–1757 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), 354–359.

8. Osborn, dissertation, part 2, 20.
9. Louis Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754–1763* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925). Richard L. Morton, "Westward Expansion and the Prelude to Revolution, 1710–1763," *Colonial Virginia* (2 vols., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), vol. 2. Matthew Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: Seven Years War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 2003). Louis M. Waddell, "Defending the Long Perimeter: Forts on the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia Frontier, 1755–1765," *Pennsylvania History,* 62, (no. 2, (1995), 171–195.
10. Osborn, dissertation part 3, 89–91.
11. William Glover Stanard and Mary Newton Standard, compilers, *The Colonial Virginia Register: A List of Governors, Councillors and Other Higher Officials, and also of Members of the House of Burgesses, and the Revolutionary Conventions of the Colony of Virginia* (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell's Sons, 1902).
12. Osborn, dissertation part 3, 83.
13. George R. (King George III) "BY THE KING: A PROCLAMATION," October 7, 1763. The Avalon Project — Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale University, *http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/proc1763.asp.*
14. E. James Ferguson, *The American Revolution: a General History, 1763–1790*, rev. ed., (Homewood, Ill.L: The Dorsey Press, 1979), 119–154. Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press USA, 2006), 165–171. Marc Egnal, "The Origins of the Revolution in Virginia: A Reinterpretation," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, 37 (1980), 401–428, in which the author argues that in every colony, including Virginia, the Revolutionary leaders were motivated by their vision of America's bountiful future.
15. Archibald Henderson, "A Pre-Revolutionary Revolt in the Old Southwest," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 17 (1930), 191–212.
16. Archibald Henderson's 1930 article is a delightful, charmingly written, no-nonsense piece that talks much about Washington and Preston, and describes exceedingly well the context in which the letters exchanged between them were written. Henderson (1877–1963) was a mathematician and a remarkable polymath who published books on topics as diverse as geometry, the theory of relativity, and history (five of them). He also wrote three separate biographies of the Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw, and a biography of Mark Twain. He was a descendant of Richard Henderson, who made the Transylvania Purchase in 1774 and who figures prominently in the Washington–Preston correspondence.
17. St. George L. Sioussat, "The Breakdown of the Royal Management of Lands in the Southern Provinces, 1773–1775," *Agricultural History* 3 (1929), 67–98.
18. William Preston, "Notice to those who claim land on Lands near the Ohio River," *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, March 3, 1774, p. 4; "Notice to those who claim land on Lands near the Ohio River," *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, February 24, 1774, p. 3; "Advertised notice to those who claim land on or near the Ohio River," *Maryland Gazette*, March 10, 1774, text cited in a footnote on pp. 47–48 in Consul Willshire Butterfield, ed., *The Washington–Crawford letters: Being the Correspondence between George Washington and William Crawford, from 1767 to 1781, Concerning Western Lands* (Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co., 1877).
19. In British America, the ultimate bureaucratic authority in London for regulating land fell to the Plantations Office, commonly referred to as the Board of Trade.
20. Glanville, "Preston the Surveyor," 66.
21. John Jay, "Address to the People of Great Britain. [*From the Delegates appointed by the several English Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, to consider their grievances in General Congress, at Philadelphia, September 5th,* 1774.] *The Correspondence and Public*

Papers of John Jay, Henry P. Johnston A. M., ed., *(1763–1781)*. (4 vols, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1890–1893), vol. 2, *http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/2326/219929.*

22. Governor Benjamin Harrison. Land Grant to George Washington, August 12, 1784. Library of Virginia Land Office Grants I, 1783-1784, p. 540 (Reel 50), *http://goo.gl/twrjUn.*
23. Charles Mynn Thruston (1738–1812) of Frederick County, Virginia, recruited Thruston's Additional Continental Regiment in March 1777 at the request of George Washington. He was an Episcopal minister who has been called a "fighting clergyman." See John Walter Wayland, *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia* (Strasburg: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1927).
24. Thomas Hanson, "Extract from a Journal kept on the River Ohio in the year 1774, (April 7 – August 9)," in Reuben Gold Thwaites, and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), 110–33. Hanson's journal was copied in 1855 for Lyman C. Draper from the original in the possession of Mrs. Louisa Johnston.
25. Neal Hammon, "Fincastle Surveys," in John E. Kleber, ed., *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 316–17. After the American Indian attacks, one group of surveyors was escorted home by Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner. John Floyd's group returned via Pound Gap (on the present-day Virginia-Kentucky border). James Douglas' party paddled downriver to New Orleans and returned to Virginia (and eventually to Smithfield) via boat. See also Neal O. Hammon, *Early Kentucky Land Records, 1773–1780* (Louisville, Ky.: Filson Club, 1992).
26. Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870* (Richmond: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903), 146. Summers' table on p. 146 is titled "Notable tracts of Land, Surveyed by John Floyd, Hancock Taylor, and James Douglas in 1774–1776, lying mostly in Kentucky."
27. Theodore J. Crackel, ed., *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008). Canonic URL: *http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN.html.*
28. *The Writings of George Washington*, 191–92, *http://bit.ly/ZzEp35.*
29. Note from Fitzpatrick and Matteson: "Where blanks occur between brackets manuscript is mutilated and indecipherable."
30. Note from Fitzpatrick and Matteson: "From a greatly mutilated original in the possession of Miss Nelly Campbell Preston, of Seven Mile Ford, Va., in 1930." The authors do not know the present location of this letter.
31. George Washington to William Preston, annotated by Preston, March 1774, folder 791, Preston Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The proximate source is only a typewritten transcript. The original was evidently in private hands and is perhaps now lost.
32. Osborn, dissertation, part 2, 62.
33. *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. 4, 345–47, *http://bit.ly/XcQnLK.*
34. Hammon, *Early Kentucky Land Records, 1773–1780.*
35. *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. 5, 1–3, *http://bit.ly/Uuj98e.*
36. *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. 5, 46, *http://bit.ly/WmX1MK.*
37. *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, *http://bit.ly/ZC3J8w.*
38. *Letters to Washington and Accompanying* Papers, vol. 5, 88–89, *http://bit.ly/VIZK4h.*
39. Jim Glanville, "The Fincastle Resolutions," *The Smithfield Review* 14 (2010), 69–119.
40. *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. 5, 89–91, *http:// bit.ly/XBaKWQ.*
41. *The Writings of George Washing*ton, 278, *http://bit.ly/Vzzl9o.*
42. Note from Fitzpatrick and Matteson: "Of Augusta County, Va. He had been sheriff of Augusta and a delegate to the Virginia House of Burgesses; commissioner to the Shawnees and Delawares in 1757; surveyor of Montgomery County in 1771; colonel of Virginia Militia. He was wounded at Guilford Court House, N. C., in 1781 and died in 1783."

43. Note from Fitzpatrick and Matteson: "Col. William Christian, of Augusta County, Va. He studied law under Patrick Henry; was a delegate to the House of Burgesses and member of the committee of safety; lieutenant colonel of the First Virginia Regiment and was active on the frontier against the Indians; removed to Kentucky in 1785 and was killed in a raid by the Wabash Indians in 1786."
44. Note from Fitzpatrick and Matteson: "Capt. Charles(?) Floyd." Floyd is, of course, John Floyd, not Charles.
45. Note from Fitzpatrick and Matteson: "Richard Henderson, of North Carolina. He was associate judge of the superior court. This land enterprise was the Transylvania Land Company, which acquired title from the Cherokees at the Watauga treaty to all the land lying between the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers and the Cumberland Mountains south of the Ohio."
46. *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. 5, 152–53, *http://bit.ly/UZPo2L.*
47. Peter Wallenstein, "The Grinch That Stole Southern History: Anthem for an Appalachian Perspective," *The Smithfield Review* 4 (2000), 67–82. Wallenstein says: "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. ... A[a] view from the mountains ... may give us a very different version of many portions of the history of 'the South.' "

Family of James Patton Preston, his children, and their children

Parents: William Preston (1729–1783) m. Susanna Smith (1740–1823) in 1760

James Patton Preston (1774–1843) m. Ann Nancy Barraud Taylor (1778–1861) in 1801

Children:

1. Sarah Barraud Preston (1804–1804)
2. **William Ballard Preston** (1805–1862) m. Lucy Staples Redd (1819–1891) in 1839
    1. Waller Redd Preston (1841–1872) m. Harriett Jane Milling Means (1846-1869) in 1866
    2. Ann Taylor Preston (1843-1868) m. Walter Coles (1839-1892) in 1864
    3. James Patton Preston (1845–1920)
    4. Lucy Redd Preston (1848–1928) m. William Radford Beale (1839–1917) in 1866
    5. Jane Grace Preston (1849–1930) m. Aubin Lee Boulware (1843–1897) in 1878
    6. Keziah [Mary Rezin] Preston (1853-1861)
3. **Robert Taylor Preston** (1809–1880) m. Mary Hart (1810–1881) in 1833
    1. Virginia Ann Emily Preston (1834–1898) m. Robert Stark Means (1833–1874) in 1856
    2. Benjamin Hart Preston (1836–1851)
    3. James Patton Preston (1838–1901)
4. **James Francis Preston** (1813–1862) m. Sarah Ann Caperton (1826–1908) in 1855
    1. Hugh Caperton Preston (1856–1935) m. Caroline [Cary] Marx Baldwin (1858–1935) in 1878
    2. William Ballard Preston (1858–1901) m. Elizabeth Blackford Scott (1864–1920) in 1888
    3. James Francis Preston (1860–1862)
5. Virginia Ann Preston (1816–1833)
6. Susan Edmonia Preston (1818–1823)
7. Catharine Jane Preston (1821-1852) m. George Gilmer (1810–1875) in 1845
    1. James Preston Gilmer (1851–1852)
8. Susan Preston (1824–1835)

A Summary of 19th-Century Smithfield
Part I
The Years Before the Civil War

Laura Jones Wedin

Introduction

Much has been written about Colonel William Preston and the earliest years of Smithfield. Certain segments of the history of this significant plantation have been chronicled, but no one piece has provided a summary of its history through the death of the last Preston to live at Smithfield in 1891. This is the first in a series of three articles that will create a chronology of events and people who carried Smithfield from the new United States until past the Civil War years, through Reconstruction, and into the 20th century.

A Summary of the Early Years

During the first six decades of the 19th century, Smithfield Plantation in Southwest Virginia and its family, the Prestons, were an entity of power, prestige, and service. The settlement of the land was coaxed by a persistent Colonel William Preston (1729–1783), an immigrant Scots-Irishman who understood that he was at the frontier's edge. Preston was nearby on the day of the Drapers Meadows Massacre on July 30, 1755, when he, by chance, escaped the attack of the Shawnee but lost his uncle and mentor, Colonel James Patton, in the raid.[1] A year later, Colonel Preston would guide the future President George Washington on a tour of the western forts guarding the very western rim of the colonies.[2]

The ambitious Preston was a land surveyor who accumulated his wealth through land acquisition, with the distinct advantage of knowing the location of the most valuable parcels. Just before marrying Susanna Smith (1740–1823) in 1760, he purchased land in Botetourt County for their first home and named it Greenfield. Knowledge of the soon-to-be-formed Fincastle County in 1772 enabled him to purchase additional property within the new county's boundaries, which provided him with a prime opportunity for political office.[3] He also purchased the tract of land in the vicinity of where the massacre occurred as well as other parcels in 1773. Colonel Preston eventually named his new plantation Smithfield in honor of his wife.

Years of hard work, education, intermarriage with Virginia's best families, and political savvy brought the Preston family to the forefront of social standing in the southeastern states. Colonel William Preston had astutely recognized that education would be a critical aspect of the future success of his children and his community. His will stipulated that his wife, Susanna, "superintend" the education of their children.

The First Generation

William Preston's eighth child and fourth son was named James Patton Preston, in honor of the uncle who had been killed by the Shawnee 19 years before. He was the first of their children to be born at Smithfield, in 1774, very likely in a simple log cabin inhabited by the family before the manor house was completed.[4] James was an unlikely survivor. Susanna was so ill with typhus that James was nursed and cared for by a local woman until his mother recovered.[5] Colonel Preston died in 1783, when James was 9 years old. He was probably part of the funeral procession that carried his father to rest in the family cemetery located on a knoll southeast of the manor house.

When the property and considerable land holdings of William Preston were divided among the 11 living children, James inherited the Smithfield property, about 1,800 acres.[6] The other children inherited land elsewhere, some as far as Kentucky. James was mentored by his older brothers, John, Francis, and William, and surely was encouraged by his mother, Susanna, who ran the plantation until James came of age. He was first educated at a school set up at Smithfield. Later as a young man, James attended the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg and then spent a year in Philadelphia with his older brother Francis, who was serving his final year with the U.S. Congress. When the town of Blacksburg was established in 1798, James was one of the trustees. Though wounded in the War of 1812 with an injury that crippled his leg for life, he served in the Virginia House of Delegates representing Montgomery County and then served three terms as the 20th governor of Virginia from 1816 to 1819. The establishment, approval of funding, and location of a Central College in Charlottesville (University of Virginia) occurred during his term as governor.[7] By virtue of a special appointment from President James Monroe, he also focused on Indian affairs and then served as postmaster of Richmond from 1824 to 1837, so he was in Richmond much of the time between 1816 and the late 1830s.[8]

Governor Preston's wife, Ann Barraud Taylor (1778–1861), was originally from the town of Smithfield in Isle of Wight County, Virginia.[9] Her father, Robert Taylor, was a judge, and her mother's family was one of the oldest white families in Virginia and Maryland.[10] Ann and James married in

1801 in Norfolk. He brought his bride to Smithfield in Montgomery County, and from age 24 to 47, Ann bore eight children (three sons and five daughters).

Their first child, a daughter born in 1804, lived just a few months. The three sons, William Ballard (1805–1862), Robert Taylor (1809–1880), and James Francis (1813–1862) thrived, but they experienced the deaths of three sisters: Susan Edmonia in 1823 at age 5, Virginia Ann in 1833 at age 16, and Susan (born after the death of Susan Edmonia) in the spring of 1835 in Lexington. James Patton wrote to his nephew, James McDowell, that Susan's remains were returned to Smithfield in a mournful procession and that a "deeply afflicted circle of friends gave our Susan to the consecrated spot which she while living asked her mother to select for her remains."[11]

In her book, *A Girl's Life in Virginia before the War,* a glorified, nostalgic view of antebellum life at Virginia plantations, Letitia M. Burwell (1810–1905), who grew up at Avenel House Plantation in Bedford, Virginia, wrote of the time before the Civil War. Of her visit to Smithfield, she wrote of Ann Taylor Preston:

> When I first visited this place, the old grandmother, then eighty years of age, was living. She...had been a belle in eastern Virginia in her youth. When she married the owner of Smithfield sixty years before, she made the bridal jaunt from Norfolk to this place on horseback, two hundred miles. Still exceedingly intelligent and interesting, she entertained us with various incidents of her early life, and wished to hear all the old songs which she had then heard and sung herself.
>
> "When I was married," said she, "and first came to Smithfield, my husband's sisters met me in the porch, and were shocked at my pale and delicate appearance. One of them, whispering to her brother, asked: 'Why did you bring that ghost up here?' And now," continued the old lady, "I have outlived all who were in the house that day, and all my own and my husband's family."
>
> This was certainly an evidence of the health-restoring properties of the water and climate in this region.[12]

With James's public service and time spent in Richmond, his sons were introduced to a worldliness beyond the mountains surrounding Smithfield and also to a mindset of service to their new country through the military and through governmental leadership. James's three sons undoubtedly also knew their grandmother, Susanna, who continued to live at Smithfield until her death in 1823 at age 83.

The 1840 U.S. Census, which recorded far less specific information than later census records, listed James, 65, as head of household. We know only that there were four other white residents in his household: a woman between 50 and 60, presumably his wife, Ann; a woman less than 20, probably his daughter, Catharine; a man between 20 and 30, who could have been his youngest son, James Francis; and a man between 50 and 60 years old. One resident had a "learned profession," probably James Patton; one was involved with manufacture and trade, possibly his son, James Francis; and one was listed as "insane and idiot at private charge," who could have been the man between 50 and 60 years old. The census reported that James Patton Preston had 89 slaves, 34 of them under the age of 10. His oldest son, William Ballard, was listed as head of his own household and had 20 slaves. Robert headed his own household with no slaves.[13]

When James Patton Preston died at age 68 in 1843, he left substantial property, including about 3,000 acres of land, homes valued at $34,845, and 91 slaves valued at $26,650. His property included the Smithfield mill, the ruins still visible, built north of the manor house sometime after 1816.[14] The miller's log home, which is still in use today, was built just to the east of the mill around 1840.[15] His sons were adults in their 30s when the former governor died at Smithfield. Ballard was 38; Robert, 34; and James, 31. Their one surviving sister, Catharine Jane Grace, was 22 and not yet married.

James Patton Preston's property was divided among the four living children, with his wife retaining the dower tract of 270 acres, which included the Smithfield manor house and other structures. Governor James Patton Preston's children kept their property share in their father's estate throughout the antebellum period and did not officially divide it.[16] In the period after their father's death, the sons William Ballard, Robert Taylor, and James Francis farmed their sections of the larger plantation and became leaders in the community as well as in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Setting the Stage: Antebellum Smithfield Plantation

Smithfield is located on the western outskirts of Blacksburg, Virginia, a town positioned on a plateau between the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge Mountains. The area was described by Letitia Burwell in the late-19th century:

> I must add a few words to my previous mention of Smithfield, in Montgomery County, the county which flows with healing waters. Smithfield, like Greenfield, is owned by the descendants of the first white family who settled there after the Indians, and its verdant pastures, noble forests, and mountain streams and springs, form a prospect wondrously beautiful.

This splendid estate descended to three brothers of the Preston family, who equally divided it, the eldest keeping the homestead, and the others building attractive homes on their separate plantations.[17]

Blacksburg remained a small village of unpaved roads, endowed with plentiful springs. Nearby Christiansburg was the larger community, near the Great Road.[18] Blacksburg was sometimes a stopping place for wagons and coaches bound to and from the various springs in the area: White Sulphur Springs, Yellow Sulphur Springs, Eggleston Springs, and those further north in today's West Virginia.

Wealth came from land and slave holdings, as well as the crop yield, primarily from the labor of slaves. In the decade prior to the Civil War, Smithfield Plantation experienced a time of prosperity and modest growth. Modes of transportation improved. By 1848, the Southwest Turnpike (the Great Road) was finally finished through Montgomery County. It was known as the "macadamized road," a road with a finish of crushed rock over well-drained subsoil.[19] Moreover, the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad extended its reach through Montgomery County between Blacksburg and Christiansburg by 1854, thus furnishing agricultural production a less expensive outlet to distant markets.[20] Tobacco was a principal crop for Virginia but more suited for the river bottomlands and valleys than the plateau areas such as Smithfield. Crops included wheat, Indian corn, and oats; in addition, farmers raised livestock such as cattle, sheep, and pigs.[21]

The Sons of James Patton Preston

William Ballard Preston

James Preston's oldest son, William Ballard, known as Ballard, assumed all of the desired attributes of an eldest son, shouldering the responsibility to continue his family's honor and good name. Of the three sons, he probably had access to the most time and influence of his father. After his father's death, Ballard lived in the original Smithfield manor home, sharing it with his widowed mother, Ann.

That home, as it appeared in the 1850s, was described by Letitia Burwell:

> The old homestead was quite antique in appearance. Inside, the high mantelpieces reaching nearly to the ceiling, which was also high, and the high wainscoting, together with the old furniture, made a picture of the olden time.[22]

Figure 1. William Ballard Preston (1805-1862). Daguerreotype by Mathew Brady, c. 1849, while Preston was secretary of the Navy. Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-USZ62-110164]

Figure 2. Smithfield manor home and office of William Ballard Preston (structure to right), Photograph, ca. 1910, files of Historic Smithfield plantation.

Another writer—and member of the Preston family—Janie Preston Boulware Lamb (1891–1964), later described the approach to the old house:

> Driving from Blacksburg in my Grandmother's [Lucy Staples Redd Preston] day, one passed beside a whitewashed, plank fence, to the white front gate. Entering the yard, the carriage swung round a circular drive, between double rows of cedar trees, to the square front porch. The horses feet and the carriage wheels made no noise,—the roadway in the circle was inches deep in tan bark. [23]

Ballard attended Hampden-Sydney College in Prince Edward County from 1821 to his graduation in 1824 and then, in 1825, studied law for a time at the University of Virginia. He continued his study of law with his cousin William Campbell Preston (son of Francis Preston) in Columbia, South Carolina, and was admitted to the bar in 1828. Following in his father's footsteps, Ballard ventured into politics soon after completing his studies, representing Montgomery County in the Virginia General Assembly in the 1830–1832 term. In 1832, he wrestled with "the great question of the age," slavery, as he spoke on the floor of the Virginia House of Delegates in support of a measure designed to bring an eventual end to slavery in Virginia. In November 1839 he married Lucinda "Lucy" Staples Redd (1819–1891) at the Patrick County courthouse.[24]

After serving terms in each house of the Virginia Assembly, Ballard was elected to the U.S. Congress as a Whig in 1846 and served from 1847 to 1849. Zachary Taylor, elected as the Whig Party presidential nominee in 1848, appointed William Ballard secretary of the U.S. Navy in March 1849. Ballard served until Taylor's untimely death in 1850, then returned to Smithfield and the practice of law.[25]

At some point in the 1850s, Ballard built a separate office structure just east of the Smithfield manor house, possibly to support his law practice. It had an English bond base and chimney of local brick, and a wood frame structure.[26] His law practice included the talents of young Waller Redd Staples (1826–1897), who would later become a well-known judge.[27]

Robert Taylor Preston

James Patton Preston's second son, Robert Taylor, was four years younger than Ballard and also attended Hampden-Sydney. He served as captain of the 75th Regiment for Montgomery County in the 1830s.[28] While he received a college education like his brothers, he seemed to prefer farming life in pastoral Blacksburg. He was the first of the three brothers to marry; in 1833 at the age of 24, he wed Mary Hart (1810–1881) of South Carolina. He and Mary lived in Solitude, a home situated east of the Smithfield manor house, that had modest beginnings as a log cabin built in 1801.[29] Its humble core was later sheathed and then several major additions were constructed: in 1834, soon after Robert was married; again in 1851; and probably later in the decade, when his younger brother, James, built a new home. Much of Robert's land and Solitude house itself are now part of the Virginia Tech campus. Of the three brothers, Robert's primary occupation was farming throughout most of his life.[30]

Figured 3: Robert Taylor Preston (1809-1880). Photo taken during his time as colonel and regimental commander of the 28th Virginia Infantry, 1861–1862. Courtesy of Historic Smithfield Plantation.

Figure 4: Solitude home, showing original 1830s main entrance. *McEver Collection,* Ms93-024, [Photograph 03SOL0092, undated] VT ImageBase, Digital Library and Archives, University Libraries, Virginia Tech.

Letitia Burwell wrote of Robert's wife, Mary Hart Preston:

> One of these brothers, Colonel Robert Preston, had married a lovely lady from South Carolina, whose perfection of character and disposition endeared her to everyone who knew her. Everybody loved her at sight, and the better she was known the more she was beloved. Her warm heart was ever full of other people's troubles or joys, never thinking of herself. In her house many an invalid was cheered by her tender care, and many a drooping heart revived by her bright Christian spirit. She never omitted an opportunity of pointing the way to heaven; and although surrounded by all the allurements which gay society and wealth could bring, she did not swerve an instant from the quiet path along which she directed others. In the midst of bright and happy surroundings her thoughts and hopes were constantly centered upon the life above; and her conversation—which was the reflex of her heart—reverted ever to this theme, which she made attractive to old and young.[31]

James Francis Preston

James Francis was the youngest of James Patton Preston's three sons, eight years younger than Ballard. He had a restless, "wayward" early adult life, perhaps, receiving less time and influence from his busy governor father.[32] James attended school at Washington College in 1831–1832 and then in 1833 became a cadet at West Point but did not graduate. He later studied law and became the Commonwealth's Attorney for Montgomery County. Serving in the U.S. military, he raised a company of grenadiers, and served as captain of the 1st Regiment of Virginia Volunteers in Mexico in 1847 and 1848. In 1850, James was living in Christiansburg with Waller R. Staples (1826–1897), also a lawyer who was practicing law with James's brother, Ballard.[33] James Francis represented Montgomery County in the Virginia House of Delegates in the 1852–1853 term. He was the last of the three brothers to marry; in 1855 at age 42, James married Sarah Ann Caperton (1826–1908), age 29, of "Elmwood," Union, (West) Virginia.[34] In 1856, he began construction of a fine home in the Greek Revival style, which still stands on the property west of Smithfield. His granddaughter, Cary Preston Gary, recalled the stories of its construction and how White Thorn received its name:

> [I]t took a little over a year to build the house.... [O]nly the best material and best workmanship was allowed to go into that house. The old family servants used to tell us tales of the building of White Thorn: "Marse James would ride down from Smithfield <u>every</u> day to see that

Figure 5: James Francis Preston (1813-1862). Copy of hand-colored photograph, family files of Edwin Paige Preston, courtesy of Peggy Preston Fanney.

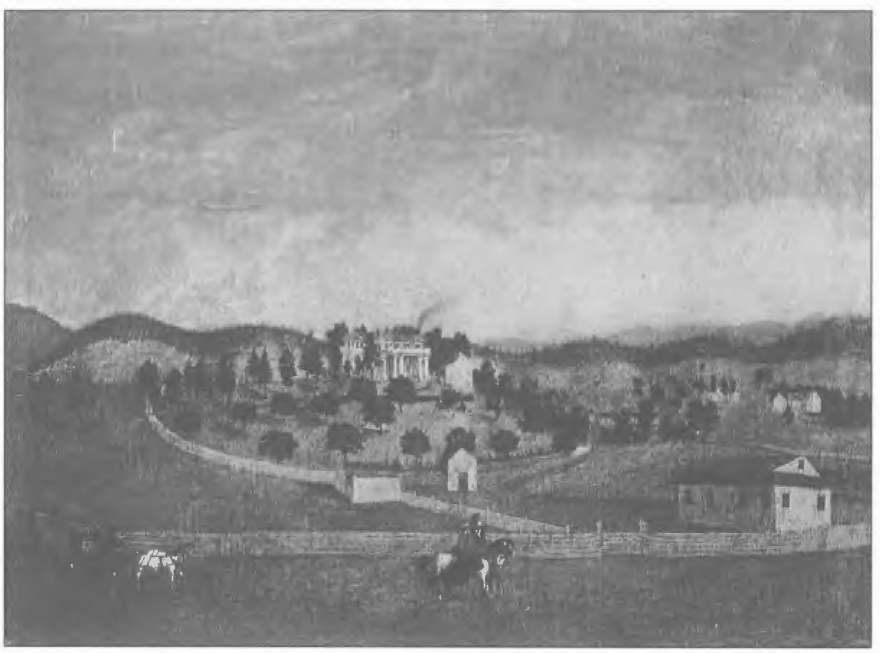


Figure 6: White Thorn Plantation, 1866, from an oil painting made by M. O'Conner.

every brick went in the right place, and Miss Sarah chose the spot for every tree and flower to be planted 'cept dat old wild cherry tree, and one ole wild apple tree 'cause de flowers was so sweet she wouldn't let 'em cut it down, and all dem white thorn bushes." __When everything was finished and in order, there was a "house-warming" and among the many guests was one of my grand-father's West Point friends, the

man who was few years later General Beauregard. He proposed a toast to Grandma and suggested "Caperton" as a name for the new home, in her honor but she wouldn't have it so, and chose the name "White Thorn" because so much of that shrub grew wild around the place, much of what she cultivated. She [Sarah Ann] was famous for her gardens, in fact all the grounds.[35]

Defining a New United States

As second-generation Americans, with an immigrant grandfather, the Preston sons came of age during a heady time for the United States, which was reshaping itself from rough-and-ready into a more defined and unified country. In the time between 1790 and 1840, the American people, with the establishment of a new national government, created a distinctive party system and culture of democratic politics.[36] No doubt, the sons felt that they were a part of that redefinition and growth of America. The land wealth of the family, the ownership and labor of slaves, and the ability to produce ample crops had allowed them a college education and further studies and opportunities not available to many others. The heritage of their grandfather, Colonel William Preston, along with their father who had dedicated most of his life to civil service, instilled in them a responsibility of service to Virginia and their young country, with civil service or the military, or sometimes both.

All three brothers farmed their sections of Smithfield and kept their father's estate intact. In the 1850 agricultural census, Ballard listed 1,300 acres, Robert 800 acres, and James 850. Of the three brothers, Robert was the dedicated farmer, listed in the 1850 census as such, with $21,500 of personal property. He consistently had higher values for livestock, machinery, and grain crops such as wheat, Indian corn, and oats.[37] In contrast, Ballard and James were both attorneys and divided their time, managing their farms and their respective law practices.[38] They depended more heavily on their overseers and perhaps slave foremen than Robert did. Ballard employed a 25-year-old farm manager, William Linkous, who had a wife and two children. The miller, John Davis, his wife, and two grown daughters lived in a home near the Smithfield Mill, north of the manor house, probably the two-story log house that stands today.[39] Overseer Anderson Ledgerwood was linked with White Thorn in 1861 and probably had been working for the family since the home was built in the late 1850's, and possibly earlier.[40]

In the 1850 census, Ballard was listed with $60,000 of personal property. A great share of the brothers' wealth and success was due in part to their ownership of and the labor of their large enslaved community. In the same census, Ballard listed 49 slaves. Robert Taylor, who had reported

no slaves in the 1840 census, had 24, and James Francis had 19. Most of the slaves came from the original property of their father, James, who had 91 inventoried slaves upon his death in 1843. The three brothers were among the largest slave owners in Montgomery County.[41]

The three Preston brothers enjoyed a mutual society and competitive building programs on their interconnecting properties. In the 1850s, visitors found the three plantation homes gracious and welcoming. Letitia Burwell described them:

> The houses of these three brothers were filled with company winter and summer, making within themselves a delightful society. The visitors at one house were equally visitors at the others, and the succession of dinner and evening parties from one to the other made it difficult for a visitor to decide at whose particular house he was staying.[42]

Plantation life revolved around families: those of the white masters and those of the enslaved African-Americans. The brothers' families grew. Robert and Mary had their first child, Virginia, in early 1834, named for the brothers' sister, Virginia Ann, who had passed away just the year before at age 17. Their son Benjamin Hart was born in early 1836 and died in June 1851 at age 15. Their last child, named James Patton after his grandfather, was born before his uncle Ballard was married. After Ballard and Lucy wed in 1839, they had six children, with a child born about every two years. Their youngest daughter and last child, Keziah, named for Lucy's mother, was born in April 1853.[43]

The brothers' only surviving sister, Catharine Jane, born in 1821, married George Henry Gilmer (1810–1875) of Henry County, Virginia, in 1845. They had a son, James Preston, born December 31, 1851, who died the next day. Catharine soon died as well, on January 31, 1852, and was laid to rest in the Preston cemetery. George Gilmer, who would later remarry and become a judge in Pittsylvania County, deeded her property share to her brothers.[44] He remained close to the Preston family and owned slaves who worked in Montgomery County.[45]

The first child of James Francis and Sarah Ann was born at Sarah's family home in Union, (West) Virginia, in 1856, and named for Sarah's father, Hugh. In 1858, another son was born, William Ballard, named after his uncle.[46]

The Division Begins

Like his grandfather William Preston, Ballard understood the importance of education and its link to prosperity in the area. He served as a trustee of the New Montgomery Female Institute in Christiansburg.[47] Likewise, Ballard became associated with the Olin and Preston Institute, a

Methodist school for boys, established in Blacksburg in 1851 and named for Stephen Olin, a Methodist minister, and for Ballard Preston. Both Ballard and his brother Robert were named as trustees for the new school that eventually became the land-grant college that is now known as Virginia Tech. After a successful start to the school, its organizing body constructed a three-story brick structure, named the Olin and Preston Building, which was completed in 1855.[48]

Preston joined an effort to bring direct shipping via commercial steamers between western Europe [Le Havre] and Virginia's port city of Norfolk. Francis Deane, a member of the General Assembly from Campbell County, wrote to Ballard in June 1857 about the possibility of the state raising capital for a line of steamships, and expressed hope that Ballard would "secure the cooperation of Mr. Hunter's friends in the Legislature," referring to U.S. Senator Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter. To further the efforts, Ballard left Smithfield for London, England, in August 1857, as a commissioner of the project and then continued to Paris, France. The mission to France seemed to make progress, and the project appeared to be promising.[49]

The direct shipping project fell to the side as the specter of war loomed. In 1858, Ballard Preston returned to Smithfield, his private law practice, and a southern United States at the peak of its antebellum glory and in its last years of peace. Events at the close of the decade began to set the stage for the years of war ahead. In October 1859, a white northern abolitionist named John Brown and his followers raided the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in an attempt to provoke a slave rebellion. [50]

Barely a year later, in November 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected president of the United States. Scarcely any Virginia voters, even in the far western part of the state, cast ballots for Lincoln's Republican policy of excluding slavery from the territories. South Carolina left the Union on December 20, and in the winter of 1860–1861, six other Deep South states followed.[51] In February 1861, these states formed the Confederate States of America and established the capital at Montgomery, Alabama. When Virginia's voters, too, elected a convention to consider secession, Ballard was elected as a delegate. Only weeks after he and Lucy had lost their youngest child, 6-year-old Keziah, he traveled to Richmond opposed to Virginia's secession if it could be avoided. Weeks of speeches, debate, recommendations, and proposed resolutions ensued amidst an emotionally charged, volatile atmosphere. In a vote on April 4, a proposal to secede was soundly defeated 45–88.[52]

Ballard Preston had emerged as leader of the moderates and now proposed a conference with Lincoln. He and Lincoln had been freshmen

congressmen together in the late 1840s and worked together to have Zachary Taylor elected in 1848.[53] The convention appointed a delegation composed of William Ballard Preston together with Alexander H. H. Stuart and George Wythe Randolph. On April 13, they met with President Lincoln in Washington, D.C., to discuss his policy regarding the Confederacy. Finding the President committed to holding onto the remaining federal forts in the Confederacy, Preston and his fellow delegates returned to Richmond empty-handed. Meanwhile, the telegraph lines brought news that Confederate troops had fired on Fort Sumter in South Carolina, and many Richmond citizens responded to the news with large public demonstrations in support of the Confederacy. More than that, Lincoln responded on April 15 to firing on Fort Sumter by calling for volunteers to put down the rebellion, and Virginia was expected to supply a share of those soldiers.[54]

On a rainy April 16, committed at last to secession, Ballard Preston took the convention floor, and speaking in a measured manner, he submitted a formal ordinance of secession, basing it on the report of the visit to Washington and the call for volunteers by Lincoln. On April 17, the convention reversed its earlier decision and voted in favor of the secession ordinance, 88–55. Preston's secession resolution passed, and with that action, ratified by the voters the next month, the "Mother State" Virginia officially left the United States of America and joined the Confederate States of America. By nightfall, Virginia militia units were moving to seize the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard at Norfolk. By early May, in recognition of Virginia's strategic importance, the Confederate capital was moved to Richmond.[55]

Ballard Preston began his service in the Confederacy's Provisional Congress soon after, fully aware that a full-scale war would soon come to Virginia. His younger brothers, Robert and James Francis, prepared for leadership as officers in the Confederate military. Ballard's 19-year-old son, Waller, and Robert's 22-year-old son, Patton, prepared to enlist. For their families and community, it was a time of pride and support but also deep concern and anxiety.

As spring bloomed, Virginia took center stage in the war. The following years tested the wealth, power, and resources of the plantation system in Virginia and the new Confederacy. For the Preston family, the War Between the States, and its aftermath, forever changed their way of life.

(To be continued in Part 2: The War Years, and Part 3: Reconstruction Era)

Endnotes

1. Ellen Apperson Brown, "What Really Happened at Drapers Meadows? The Evolution of a Frontier Legend, " Smithfield Review, 7 (2003), 9.
2. George Washington to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, October 10, 1756, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931–1944), 1: 478; Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington (New York: Scribner, 1948–1957), 2: 214; John Frederick Dorman, The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield in Virginia: Descendants of John and Elizabeth (Patton) Preston through Five Generations (Louisville, Ky.: Filson Club, 1982), 15.
3. Jim Glanville, "The Siting of Smithfield in Relation to the Fincastle/Botetourt County Line," Smithfield Review, 15 (2011), 98.
4. Dendrochronology studies revealed that the manor house was likely constructed after the 1775 growing season: Herman John Heikkenen, "Tree-Ring Patterns: A Key-Year Technique for Crossdating," Journal of Forestry, 82.5 (1984), 302–5; Gibson Worsham, Smithfield Historic Structure Report (Christiansburg, Va.: G. Worsham, 2000), 16.
5. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Alleghany Patriots* (Blacksburg: Walpa Publishing, 1976), 130.
6. Montgomery County Circuit Court Records, Montgomery County Will Book B, 55–61.
7. J. W. Randolph, ed., *Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell* (Richmond, Va.: G.H. Wynne, 1856).
8. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 64.
9. No relation between this town of Smithfield and the plantation home in Montgomery County.
10. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 63.
11. Smithfield–Preston Foundation Papers, Ms97–002, Flatbox, Folder 2, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
12. Letitia M. Burwell, *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1895), 114–15. Previously written similar memoir under pseudonym Page Thatcher titled *Plantation Reminiscences*, 1878.
13. Federal Census of 1850, Schedule of Slaves.
14. James Patton Preston had petitioned the county court in 1815 and was awarded permission to construct a water grist mill, dam, and ditch on his property. Montgomery County Will Book 2, 360.
15. Mill was probaby powered seasonally by the waters of Stroubles creek and perhaps a spring. Worsham, *Smithfield Historic Structure Report*, 28, 32.
16. Worsham, *Smithfield Historic Structure Report*, 31; Montgomery County Will Book 7, 130–37.
17. Burwell, *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War*, 113–14. The Prestons were not the very first white settlers in the Montgomery County area.
18. Jim Glanville, "Southwest Virginia: A Thoroughfare of Nation-Building," *Smithfield Review*, 16 (2012), 78.
19. Charles W. Crush, ed., *The Montgomery County Story, 1776–1957* (Christiansburg, Va.: Montgomery County (Jamestown) Festival Committee, 1957, reprinted by Montgomery Museum and Lewis Miller Regional Art Center, 2000), 102.
20. Peter Wallenstein, "William Ballard Preston and the Politics of Slavery, 1832–1862," *Smithfield Review*, 1 (1997), 91.
21. Carol C. Yagow, "Solitude: Identification of Its Furnishings from 1830 to 1880" (M.S. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1985), 22.
22. Burwell, *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War*, 114.
23. Janie P. B. Lamb, "'Smithfield,' Home of the Prestons, in Montgomery County," *Virginia Historical Society*, 1939, 125.
24. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 260–61; Wallenstein, "Preston and the Politics of Slavery," 63.
25. Wallenstein, "Preston and the Politics of Slavery," 89.

26. Worsham, *Smithfield Historic Structure Report*, 36. Office structure was struck by lightning and burned July 3, 1920: James Otey Hoge Jr., ed., *The Diaries of James Armistead Otey* (Blacksburg: Pocahontas Press, 2003), 683. Archaeology work done at the site of the office: J. D. Lahendro and K. R. Bennett, "Smithfield Plantation House," *Archeological Society of Virginia*, 30.3 (March 1976), 139.
27. Staples was a first cousin of Lucy Staples Redd, Ballard's wife. Their grandfather was Samuel Staples. Ballard and Lucy named their oldest son, Waller Redd Preston, after Lucy's father. *http: familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/s/h/o/English-Showalter/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0065.html.* He later served on the board of visitors for Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College: Duncan Lyle Kinnear, *The First 100 Years: A History of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University* (Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute Education Foundation, 1972), 119.
28. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 265.
29. Herman J. Heikkenen, *Final Report: The Last Year of Tree Growth for Selected Timbers Within Solitude Dependency as Derived by Key-Year Dendrochronology* (Blacksburg: Dendrochronology, Inc., 1999), 7.
30. Yagow, "Solitude," 19–20.
31. Burwell, *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War*, 115–16.
32. Laura Katz Smith, "James Patton Preston's Wayward Son: Letters from the Smithfield–Preston Foundation Collection at Virginia Tech," *Smithfield Review*, 3 (1999), 28–36.
33. Federal Census of 1850, Montgomery County, Virginia.
34. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 266–67.
35. Cary Baldwin Preston Gary (1883–1960) to Jeannette Heth, June 21, 1947, copy of letter from Heth family private papers.
36. Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1988), xiv.
37. Yagow, "Solitude," 22.
38. Federal Census of 1850, Montgomery County, Virginia.
39. Federal Census of 1850, Montgomery County, Virginia.
40. Mary Eliza Caperton to George Henry Caperton, May 20 and 27, 1861, Caperton Family Papers, Ms 91–034, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
41. Federal Census of 1850, Schedule of Slaves, Mongomery County, Virginia; inventory of estate of James Patton Preston, Montgomery County Will Book 7, 130–37. Only James Kent and John Radford owned more slaves.
42. Worsham, *Smithfield Historic Structure Report*, 31; Burwell, *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War*, 115.
43. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 265–66; Wavie Harman Lucas and Devota Parrish Pack, comps., *Births in Court Records of Montgomery County, Virginia, 1853–1871* (DAR William Christian Chapter, 1972), 2, #34.
44. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 269; John Gilmer Speed, *The Gilmers in America* (New York: n.p., 1897), 153; Mary B. Kegley and Frederick B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters* (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1980), 1: 255.
45. Census Returns of Black Population of Montgomery, Grayson, Smyth, Giles, Roanoke, Craig, and Floyd Counties, 1865 (497), and Census Returns of Blacks in Montgomery County, undated (137), *Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872*, M1913 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2006).
46. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 266–67.
47. Wallenstein, "Preston and the Politics of Slavery," 92.
48. Kinnear, *The First 100 Years*, 11. Olin and Preston Institute, later renamed Preston and Olin Institute, was a precursor to Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, founded in 1872 as a Virginia land-grant institution now known as Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, or Virginia Tech. Jenkins Mikell Robertson, comp. and ed., *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and*

State University Historical Data Book, Centennial Edition (Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1972), 8.

49. Francis B. Deane Jr. to William Ballard Preston, June 28, 1857, Ms92–006, Special Collections, Virginia Tech; Naval History and Heritage Command, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, W8, "William B. Preston," *http://www.history.navy.mil/danfs/w8/william_b_preston.htm.*
50. Wallenstein, "Preston and the Politics of Slavery," 92; James I. Robertson Jr., *Civil War! America Becomes One Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 170
51. James I. Robertson Jr., "The Virginia State Convention of 1861," in William C. Davis and James I. Robertson Jr., eds., *Virginia at War, 1861* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 2–3.
52. Robertson, *Civil War! America Becomes One Nation*, 170; Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield*, 264; Wallenstein, "Preston and the Politics of Slavery," 92; George Hanson, *Old Kent: The Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore: J. P. Des Forges, 1876), 170. Daughter Mary Rezin died January 12, 1861. This appears to be their daughter Keziah.
53. "You and I were almost sweating blood to have General [Zachary] Taylor nominated"; Lincoln had appealed to Ballard and the Whigs "to secure the [presidential] election of Gen. Taylor." Lincoln Letter to William B. Preston, May 16, 1849, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 2: 48.
54. Wallenstein, "Preston and the Politics of Slavery," 95; Robertson, "The Virginia State Convention of 1861," 14–15.
55. Robertson, "The Virginia State Convention of 1861," 18–19; Robertson, *Civil War! America Becomes One Nation*, 171.

Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567 Revisited

Jim Glanville

Introduction

This article continues and extends its author's study of the interaction between the archeological and documentary evidence for the Spanish period of sixteenth century Virginia history.

In 2004, the author published in the *Smithfield Review* an article titled "Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence," [1] which was footnoted in a review of sixteenth century Florida historiography published in 2012 in connection with the 500-year anniversary of Juan Ponce de León's exploration of the Florida coast in 1513.[2] Today, the story of the Spanish attack in Southwest Virginia is a part of mainstream Virginia history.[3]

The author subsequently published three follow up articles about the conquistadors. The first of these described a metal blade found in Smyth County, Virginia, that its finder speculated might have a Spanish connection (it did not).[4] The second article was a brief progress report.[5] The third article discussed the modern background to the story of the conquistadors and how that story developed.[6]

The present article reviews the routes of the Hernando de Soto[7] (1539–1542) and Juan Pardo (1566–1568) *entradas* into the American Southeast as revealed by the combination of archeological and documentary evidence. It also describes ongoing archeological studies at the conquistadors' base camp at present-day Morganton, North Carolina; it cites two recently-found 145-year old newspaper reports (reproduced in the Appendix) of a buried Spanish soldier—who lies just a few miles outside the southern boundary of modern-day Virginia; and, via an examination of documentary evidence for the *entradas*, it compares with a modern map the region of Virginia shown in the third (1584) edition of the first-ever printed world atlas.

The 2004 article introduced two themes for the study of early Virginia history that had previously been largely neglected. First, it closely examined the relationship between the archeological and documentary evidence for sixteenth century Spanish activity in southwestern Virginia, in nearby north

central North Carolina, and in Eastern Tennessee. Second, it highlighted the significance of Spanish activities for Virginia history at a time when the future commonwealth of Virginia was a far flung, frontier corner of a large Spanish territorial claim to the greater American Southeast called *La Florida*. Virginia historians tend to overlook the fact that Virginia was Florida before it was Virginia.[8]

Spaniards were at Saltville in 1567, only 75 years after Columbus's first crossing of the Atlantic. As summarized in Figure 1, their route led them north from Cuba, which they reached in 1514, to St. Augustine in 1565, to Santa Elena in 1566, and to Saltville (called Maniatique by the Spanish) the following year. The extent of the Spanish claim in the Southeast circa 1567 is shown on the map in Figure 2. The finger-shaped region of Spanish-claimed land pointing to the northwest of Santa Elena, labeled Joada, is the focus of this article.

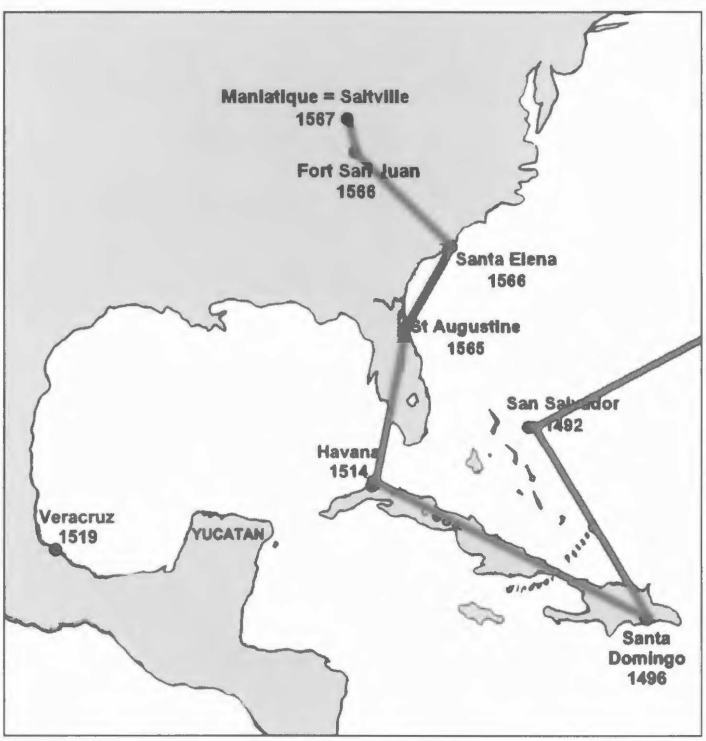


Figure 1. The chronology of Spanish advance into North America. Principal Spanish stopping places and their dates along the path from the Old World to Saltville are shown. Note that the arrival of Spaniards at Saltville came only 75 years after Columbus first reached the New World. Modified from the map on page 254 of Eugene Lyon's book on the history of early Florida.[9]

Figure 2. *La Florida* circa 1567. The shaded regions show the land claims of Governor Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Modified from the map on page 52 of Albert C. Manucy's biography of Menéndez.[10] The map shows Joada as the province where the American Indian town of Joara was located.

Luisa Menéndez, the American Indian woman from Maniatique discussed in the author's 2004 article, has remained obscure. She married a Spanish soldier around the time of the Saltville attack and eventually moved to St. Augustine.[11] It does, however, now seem certain that she is the second person from Virginia we can name and the first woman. Only Paquiquineo, the slayer of the Jesuits near the Chesapeake Bay in 1571, predates her as a named Virginian.[12]

During the past ten years, many reports have appeared that confirm the value of archeological evidence in explicating the Spanish documents that describe the Soto and Pardo *entradas*. Some of those reports are discussed here.

Also discussed are two recently found newspaper reports which resurfaced only in March 2013. The author interprets these two reports as describing the interment of one of Juan Pardo's soldiers close to the present Virginia–Tennessee state line about seventeen miles east of the line-straddling town of Bristol. While these reports are at best slender positive evidence for the Spanish attack at Saltville, they are fully consistent with the previously known evidence for that attack.

More important, when the report of the buried soldier appeared, it suggested a new, additional geographic datum point for sixteenth century Spaniards being in southwest Virginia. Prompted by that realization, the author reviewed the earliest sixteenth century maps of the American Southeast. Perhaps the value of the 1869 newspaper reports derives less from what they say themselves than from the new line of inquiry they prompted.

The new line of inquiry has been a detailed analysis of the map of the American Southeast published in 1584 in the third edition of the first-ever printed world atlas. This article describes the interpretation of a modified segment of that atlas map and its use to test the value of archeological evidence in interpreting Spanish documentary records of the *entradas*. Analysis of the map segment reported here shows that the archeologically identified locations of the American Indian towns on the segment are mostly well-fitted.

The Routes of the Soto and Pardo *Entradas*

As an introduction to the map analysis that comes later in this article, this section describes the routes of the Soto and Pardo *entradas* and provides some background to the long-standing academic debate about the precise paths taken by Soto and Pardo. Soto's first European penetration into the American Southeast during the years 1539–1543 took him through ten modern states along a winding path of several thousand miles. Soto died in May 1542. The survivors of the expedition reached a Spanish settlement at the mouth of the Pánuco River on the Gulf of Mexico more than a year later.

The 1560 expedition of Tristan de Luna y Arellana was a third sixteenth century Spanish entrada into the Southeast.[13] However, other than perhaps contributing some Spanish artifacts to the archeological record, it had little to do with Virginia.

The Soto route has been a matter of intense study and speculation during the more than four and a half centuries since it happened. It was, of course, the time when began the documented history of the inland American South. Perhaps most famously, the United States Congress attempted once-and-for-all to decide the Soto route. Prompted by local chauvinism and the search for advantage in the tourist trade, the Congress created a so-called study commission in the 1930s.[14] The Commission's report published a map showing what is popularly called the "Swanton route."

In the decades since the Swanton report, hundreds of articles and dozens of books have been published about the Soto expedition. The author has labeled this phenomenon "the De Soto Industry" and recommends Hudson's afterword in *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun*[15] as a starting point for anyone interested in learning more about it. In 1985 the state of

Alabama established a commission to study the Soto route through that state, and a popular article describing that commission provides an excellent survey of Soto studies.[16]

Our knowledge of the Soto *entrada* comes from the written accounts of the Gentleman of Elvas, Rodrigo Ranjel, Luys Hernández de Biedma, and by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega. Translations of these accounts along with much collateral information are described, translated, and annotated in the collective work of modern scholarship titled *The De Soto Chronicles*.[17]

Figure 3 shows the so-called "Hudson route,"[18] which is today well accepted by historians. Many of Hudson's students and many other historians have contributed to refining the Hudson route—an effort that continues to the present. For the eight American Indian towns in the northeast corner of the map in Figure 3, this article offers a precise comparison of their Spanish mapped location with their modern, archeologically identified locations.

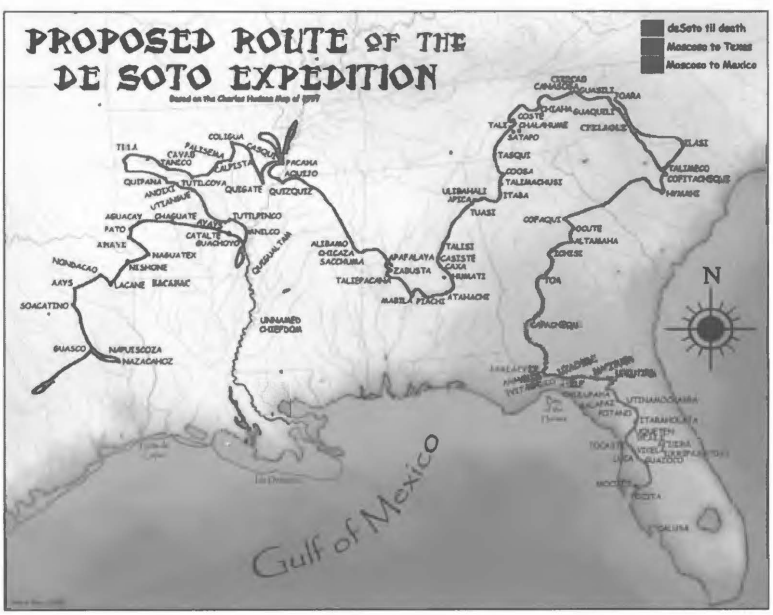


Figure 3. The "Hudson route" proposed for the Soto *entrada*. This Wiki map by Herb Roe[19] is here reproduced with modification under a Creative Commons license.

Roe's map is an artist's interpretation of the map titled "De Soto's Route from Apalachee to Apafalaya," shown on page 148 of Charles Hudson's book *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun*.[20]

The present article draws heavily on Hudson's book in its interpretation of the archeological sites along the Soto route in the upper right hand region of the map shown here.

In the 1980s, Hudson and his students at the University of Georgia made a breakthrough in Soto route studies in the region of southwest Virginia, north central North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee when they realized that the relatively obscure (at that time) Pardo entrada had traversed some of the same ground as Soto's army had transited a quarter century earlier. Consequently, at the request of Hudson, the Spanish primary documents relating to the Pardo explorations were freshly translated by Paul Hoffman.[21] Thus by the early 1990s, for those interested in Spanish Virginia, Soto and Pardo studies had become effectively consolidated.

In the years 1566–1568, Juan Pardo led two expeditions from Santa Elena (today's Parris Island, South Carolina) into what is now northeast Tennessee and southwestern Virginia. Figure 4 shows a modern depiction of the Pardo route. This depiction was prepared by the author by highlighting the spaces between the American Indian towns that Pardo visited. The base map in Figure 4 comes from the recent and detailed National Science Foundation (NSF) report of excavations at Morganton.[22] Figure 5 is the author's simplified sketch that shows the overlap of the Soto and Pardo routes in the region south of Saltville.

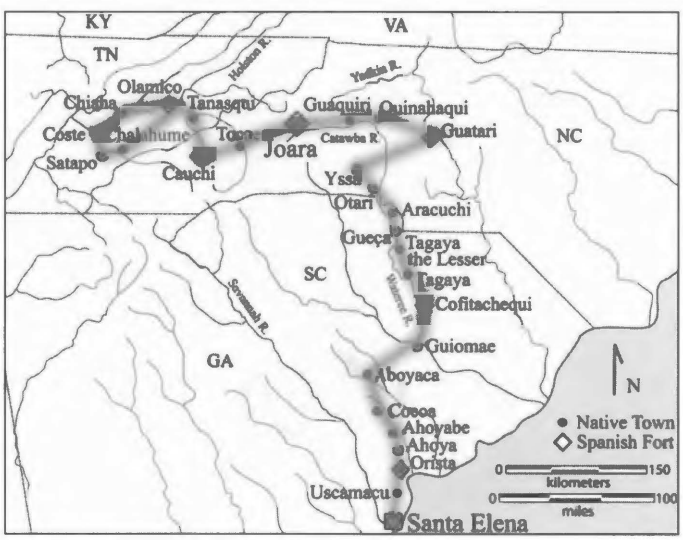


Figure 4. Juan Pardo's route. Map taken from Figure 2 of the 2010 National Science Foundation Berry Site report and highlighted by the author.

Figure 5. Sketch by the author showing the general relationship between the Soto and Pardo routes. This figure combines and simplifies Figures 3 and 4.

A Decade of Ongoing Investigations at the Berry Site (Town of Joara and Fort San Juan)

The American Indian town of Joara is in the upper right of the map in Figure 3 and at the upper center of the map in Figure 4. Joara is the Berry archeological site, located about six miles north-northwest of Morganton, in Burke County, North Carolina, and archeologically designated as site 31BK22. Berry (shown in Figure 6) is a four-and-a-half acre site located on a terrace above Upper Creek, a small tributary of the Catawba River. Juan Pardo located Fort San Juan at Joara.

Since their beginning in 1986, ongoing and continuing excavations at Berry have made it one of the best investigated archeological sites in the eastern United States. Its identification as Joara (also called Xuala or Xualla) and Fort San Juan is in this author's opinion unquestionably correct. The Berry site has yielded many sixteenth century Spanish artifacts but none from the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[23] During the past decade, it has been the scene of intense and well-funded archeological activity.

The most extensive single source of information about the Berry site is to be found in the 2010-published 112-page National Science Foundation report, cited above and from which Figure 4 has been taken.[24] The past decade has seen much growth in studies at Berry, and the drawing into the research program of a large number of specialists expert in archeological sub fields such as wood and cane analysis, paleoethnobotany (studies of pollen and other plant matter) analysis, radiocarbon dating, faunal analysis (identification of animal bones), and lithic analysis (studies of stone and ceramic objects).

At the center of the Berry site are five burned buildings arranged in an oval pattern around a central area that the excavators have concluded was probably a courtyard. These buildings are each about eight meters

Figure 6. Excavation of Structure 1 at the Berry site, 2007–2008. This is Figure 22 (page 31) from the 2010 National Science Foundation Final Report on the Berry Site.

square and, while unusually large, were apparently built in a typical local American Indian style.[25]

The interpretation of the Berry site as a base for the attack on the Indian town of Maniatique (located at present-day Saltville, Virginia) was first proffered by Robin Beck in 1997.[26] That interpretation is further developed in the afterword added to the second edition of the Smithsonian-published book about the Pardo expeditions.[27] A major, formal archeological report on the Berry site was published by its investigators in 2006.[28] Reports of the Berry site are now frequently included in collections of essays about sixteenth century Spanish–Indian interactions.[29]

Very recently, an account of Fort San Juan at the Berry site appeared in the science column of the *New York Times*, saying in part: "In the Appalachian foothills of western North Carolina, archaeologists have discovered remains of a 16th-century fort, the earliest one built by Europeans deep in the interior of what is now the United States. The fort is a reminder of a neglected period in colonial history, when Spain's expansive ambitions ran high and wide, as yet unmatched by England."[30]

A book of essays about Joara and the Berry site is scheduled for publication in 2014.[31] Also, searching for "the Berry site" at YouTube generates links to many videos about the studies and excavation there.

In summary, the study of Joara has become a minor archeological industry and has been very well conducted. The scientific quality and intellectual integrity of the ongoing work at Berry is admirable.[32]

Combining Archeological Evidence with Documentary Evidence

The study of the Spanish period of southwest Virginia history by relating its archeological and documentary evidence is only a small part of the same study along the Soto and Pardo routes across the entire American Southeast (Figure 1). This section sketches that relationship broadly, describes its history, and praises its evolution over the past two decades into a symbiotic one.

David Barreis has written[33] that the earliest use of the method of combining early historical narratives with the results of archaeological excavations goes back more than a century and can be attributed to Alonson Skinner in his studies of the aboriginal people of Staten Island and their early contact with Dutchmen and Britons.[34] Barreis concluded: "For archaeology, an ethnohistoric approach serves as a means whereby a fundamental link in the broad narrative of man's culture history is achieved."

The earliest archeological evidence known to the author that hints of a sixteenth century Spanish presence not far from Virginia comes from the confluence of the Holston and French Broad Rivers, about 4-5 miles east-southeast of Knoxville, Tennessee. Here, 1869 excavations, which were organized by the Peabody Museum of Yale University at a mound site attributed by their archeologists to the American Indian Dallas Culture, yielded a "rusty sword-blade of steel found by the side of a human skeleton." It is a ready speculation that the sword was brought to the region by a Soto or Pardo soldier.[35] However, it is also possible that the sword was brought by American Indians to this spot from some far away place. The long distance transport of objects in pre-Columbian North America is demonstrated by *Olivella* marine shell objects found at the Spiro Mound site in Arkansas. At Spiro, *Olivella* shell originating on the west and east coasts in both the Gulf of California and in the Gulf of Mexico has been identified.[36]

More recently, Jeffrey Brain and his colleagues in 1974 proposed the name "ethnohistoric archaeology" for the combined use of archeological and documentary evidence, and defined the term via the statement, "In ethnohistoric archaeology, a multi-discipline approach is applied to historic contact situations operating in a native context. The special problem chosen as a case study to illustrate the approach is the Soto *entrada* into the Lower Mississippi Valley in 1541."[37] Their choice of exemplar was fortunate for the present study. Florida historian Michael Gannon wrote in 1992 of a

new alliance between history and archeology for studying the early Spanish period of North American history.[38]

Over the past two decades, the archeological studies at Joara described above have categorically demonstrated the value of those studies as an indispensable adjunct to explicating the sixteenth century Spanish documentary records of the Soto and Pardo expeditions into the present-day states of North Carolina and Tennessee. The conclusions and interpretations of the Joara studies are widely accepted by archeologists and historians.

However, the larger study of the relationship between archeological and documentary evidence for the Soto route along its entire length (and at sites other than Joara) has had a stormy history. Until fairly recently the value of archeological studies as an aid to interpreting the documents and judging the Soto route was controversial, and the use of such archeological studies was hotly contested by some scholars.

To cite just a couple of early examples of the controversy, John Swanton, the principal author of the 1939 Report of the Soto Expedition commission, found himself more than a decade later ruefully defending the report against challenges by archeologists to the place where the Commission located Soto's crossing of the Mississippi.[39] Three decades after the Report's publication, Floridians were still arguing about exactly where Soto landed on their peninsula, and some who thought the report got it in the wrong place were writing book-length rebuttals.[40] Twenty-first century Floridians today are apparently less inclined to argue about the landing place, though for reasons beyond our scope here, the De Soto National Memorial in Bradenton, Florida, is located some twenty miles southwest of the modern, consensus Soto landing place on the Little Manatee River.[41]

Around 1990, the efforts of Charles Hudson and his collaborators to settle the Soto route attracted vigorous, polemical detractors. In a strongly critical article, W. S. Eubanks labeled the Hudson route through Georgia a "House of Cards."[42] Hudson *et al.* replied a year later, denying the existence north of the Alabama state line of a "sinister cabal plotting to deceive the American public."[43] Another vituperative Hudson route critic was David Henige,[44] who wrote a review criticizing Hudson's 1990 book about the Pardo expedition and in a lengthy article asked (and answered no to) the question "can there be a correlation" between "modern archeological sites and the [Soto] expedition." Henige wrote with a particular focus on the town of Chiaha which is discussed in the present article. Hudson *et al.* replied to Henige with a lengthy defense of their siting of Chiaha[45] and wondered why Henige was "expending a great deal of time and energy contesting every word written by [them] about de Soto [and] Pardo."[46]

The present author, who is about to embark on an analysis of the Soto route later in this paper, is thus acutely aware of the ancient minefield he is entering. Like Jon Muller, he does not wish to "join the long list of combatants concerning de Soto's route."[47] He also recognizes and agrees with Patricia Galloway, who, in her study of the origins of the Choctaw Nation of Indians, noted that such origin studies cannot be undertaken without the use of archeological evidence, despite, as she says, the fact that the archeological research suffers from inherent biases.[48]

By the end of the 1990s, the tide of academic opinion had turned to embrace properly-evaluated archeological studies as suitable evidence for the Soto and Pardo routes. For the purposes of the present study, one of the pieces of evidence that turned the tide was the discovery of the 1584 pension application of the soldier and translator Domingo de León, who had fought at the battle of Saltville in 1567, or at Maniatique as he recorded in his pension application.

In 2003, John Worth personally provided the author with a copy of the still-unpublished pension application, which was a key piece of documentary evidence in establishing that conquistadors fought at Saltville, and which the author used in his 2004 paper. The author has been told that a published translation of the Domingo de León pension application will at long last appear in the forthcoming book about Joara as the Berry site.[49]

Describing the Domingo de León document at a 1994 conference, Worth wrote in support of the Hudson route (as confirmed by the archeology at the Berry site): "the similarity between Hudson's map, constructed without the benefit of the León account, and Domingo de León's 'mental map,' is uncanny." Worth concluded, "I believe the newly discovered Domingo de León account to represent substantial proof for Charles Hudson's reconstruction of Juan Pardo's route and thus for his Hernando de Soto route."[50]

The Present Status of Archeological Studies along the Soto and Pardo Routes

This section sketches the present situation regarding archeological evidence for the Soto route along its entire path at sites other than the Berry. A later section will describe the author's mapping of the portion of the Soto route that passed to the south of Saltville in the late spring and early summer of 1540 and compare that map with the archeological evidence for the route.

Typical sixteenth century Spanish objects found in archeological contexts in the Southeast include items made of iron such as nails, links from chain mail, wedges, and blades, and even the occasional silver coin.

Ceramic objects include pottery fragments, such as those characteristically from broken olive jars, and colored glass beads.[51]

Credible archeological evidence for the passage of the Soto army has been reported from the following places (listed chronologically as Soto would have successively reached them): Orange Lake, Florida (the Potano site)[52]; Tallahassee, Florida (the Governor Martin Site)[53]; Jacksonville (Telfair County), Georgia (the Glass site)[54]; Floyd County, Georgia (the King site)[55]; and Chattanooga, Tennessee, (the Hampton Place site).[56] The Mabila site, in Wilcox County (or a nearby county) in Georgia, seems likely to be archeologically identified in the not too distant future. The presently unknown site of the meeting between the Mico (Chief) of Chicaza and Soto near Columbus, Mississippi, also seems capable of being archeologically identified.[57]

A significant site from which sixteenth century Spanish artifacts have been recovered from American Indian burials is at Safety Harbor (Tampa area), Florida, (the Tatham Mound site). This site is interpreted as a place where native people accumulated prized European objects as funerary accompaniments for their dead. In consequence of their mortuary association, these objects are not considered to be evidence for the presence of the Soto army at precisely that location.[58]

The most perplexing "missing" archeological site along the entire Soto route is the location where the Battle of Mabila was fought. This battle, between Soto's force and American Indians, has been called by a book publicist, "One of the most profound events in sixteenth-century North America." In a major collaborative effort, nineteen scholars met in a 2006 conference in a search for the site, which resulted in the publication of a book of essays to which the publicist referred. [59.] Despite a considerable effort to identify it, the site of the Battle of Mabila remains an unsolved archeological mystery.[60]

In 1993, the *De Soto Chronicles* concluded, "The Martin site [in Tallahassee] is the only one in the southeastern United States where there is compelling, direct evidence of the presence of De Soto's army."[61] With hindsight, one could add that compelling direct evidence had already also been reported just a year or two earlier from the King site.

For the passage of Pardo and his soldiers through the American Southeast, in addition to the Berry site described at length above, there is considerable archeological Spanish evidence from South Carolina (the Parris Island site).[62] There is no doubt that Soto, too, was at Joara (the Berry Site), though all the Spanish artifacts so far recovered from Berry are attributed to Pardo and none to Soto. The significance of the Berry site as an indicator for

the Soto route was revealed in 1994 as a result of a symposium on Spanish and Native Contact in Western North Carolina, held in conjunction with the Southeastern Archaeological Conference meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, that year.

In summation, the first archeological study that confirmed a location along the Soto route was initiated in 1987. Since then, such studies have continued with increasing intensity and at more and more sites. Future studies, most likely, will continue to bring further insight into where exactly Soto went on his long journey. In North Carolina and Tennessee, the Soto route studies are complemented by the Pardo route studies. Sites such as Berry (North Carolina) and Glass (Georgia) are today among the best archeologically studied places in the Southeast.

The Buried Conquistador

In April 1567, Hernando Moyano de Morales led a detachment of Juan Pardo's Spanish soldiers northwards from Fort San Juan at present-day Morganton, North Carolina, and attacked an Indian village in Southwest Virginia.[63] As previously noted, here in 1997 the archeologist Robin Beck identified the place of Moyano's attack as the town of Maniatique, which Beck situated at modern-day Saltville.[64] Because of the attack's implications for Virginia history in general and for Saltville in particular, the author, in his 2004 article, wrote a good deal about Moyano's attack and cited many primary documentary sources describing it.

While the documentary evidence for the Saltville attack is persuasive, archeological evidence for a Spanish presence at or near Saltville has been problematic. Of the various anecdotal reports that have come to the author's attention over the years, a description of the finding of brightly-colored glass beads from a funerary context in Chilhowie, Virginia, offered one of the few hints.[65]

Finally, plausible evidence for a sixteenth-century Spanish presence near Saltville came in March 2013, when the author's attention was unexpectedly called to an 1869 issue of the Bristol (Virginia-Tennessee) newspaper that mentioned "De Soto."[66] That report (the second of the two articles in the appendix to this article) quickly led to the finding of another article published in the previous week's issue of the newspaper (the first of the two articles in the appendix to this article) that described the excavation by a hunting party of a mound containing the body of a "Caucasian," whose corpse wore a medal or coin inscribed with the word "Espa" on one side, while "on the reverse the figure of a cross could be plainly seen."[67] With the corpse, "[d]ecayed implements evidently those of war were found intermingled."[68]

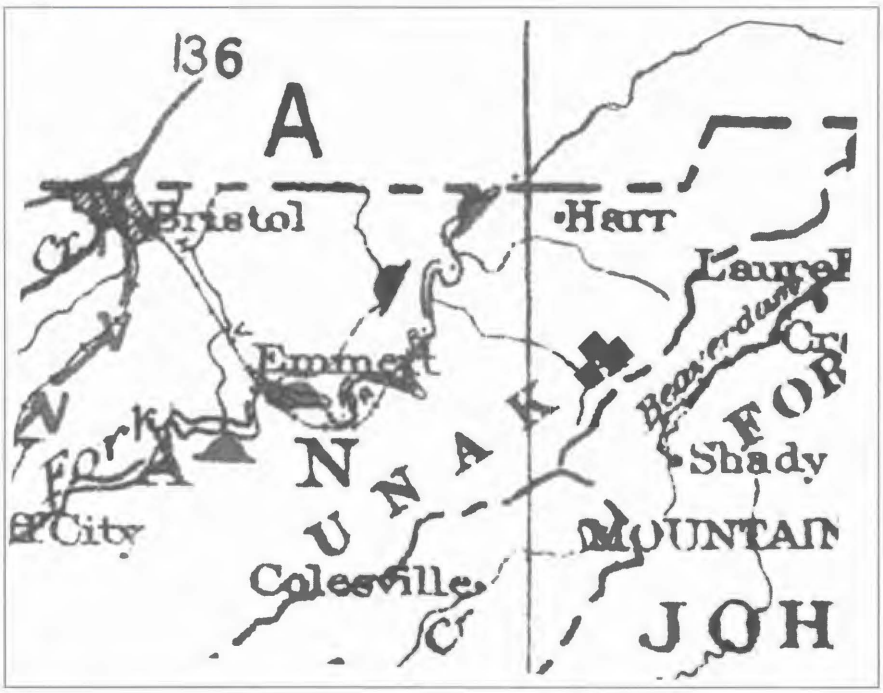


Figure 7. The Site of the Cairn. Detail from William Myer's 1923 "Archaeological Map of the State [of Tennessee]."

The dashed line running across the figure is the Virginia–Tennessee state boundary line. The "jump" in the boundary shows the western edge of the so-called Denton Valley offset.

Myer shows the cairn by the symbol composed of three squares superimposed on the second letter "A" in the word UNAKA located directly below the word "Harr."

From the "B" in the word Bristol to the cairn is 17 miles. From the settlement of Harr to the cairn is 4 miles.

The bowler hat-like symbols along the course of the Holston River were used by Myer to depict and locate American Indian mounds.

The exact site of the mound, colorfully described by T. C. King as "a deep and gloomy gorge, flanked on either side by beetling walls of granite," remains undetermined. Judging from King's report, the site is less than 5 miles from Holston Knob on the Appalachian Trail, or about 17 miles east of Bristol.

The author recognized that this newspaper report could be interpreted as locating a buried Spanish soldier who had participated in the Moyano-led raid on Maniatique in 1567. Collateral support for the evidence of the newspapers articles comes from a well-known map published nearly 100 years ago by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Thus, the mound reported in

the 1869 newspaper is also shown on William Myer's 1923 map of Tennessee archeology, where it is described as a cairn.[69] The location of the cairn as specified by Myer is shown in Figure 7. The two independent reports of the burial site, the newspaper and Myer's map, appear to be in full agreement. Myer's map shows that his trail No. 36 passes about 15 miles west of the cairn, while his trail No. 37 passes about 15 miles east of the cairn.

Armed with a new and identifiable sixteenth century location, the author reexamined sixteenth century Spanish maps of America, and the 1584 Chaves–Ortelius map "La Florida" in particular. The following, concluding sections of this article present an interpretation of the northeast portion of the Chaves–Ortelius map that links that segment to modern geography and thereby explicates the Soto route.

Patricia Galloway is one of the few scholars who has specifically emphasized the potential of maps as a source of cartographic documentary evidence.[70] In what follows, the author introduces a novel method for comparing documentary and archeological evidence by studying and adjusting an old map and testing his result using modern archeological knowledge.[71]

The "De Soto" and Chaves–Ortelius Maps

For the first five decades after Columbus' arrival in the New World, Spanish interest was focused first on the Caribbean, then on Mexico, and next on Peru. Spanish exploration of inland North America finally commenced only in 1539 with the Soto *entrada* described above. Thus, while Spanish geographic knowledge of the Gulf Coast was fairly well-developed in those early decades,[72] inland knowledge of the American Southeast was slower in coming and of much poorer quality.

The generally acknowledged earliest extant map of the inland Southeast is the so-called "De Soto" map shown in Figure 8.[73] Its maker is believed by a majority of scholars to have been Alonso de Santa Cruz, the cosmographer to the Spanish crown who was based in Seville at the Casa de Contratación and who was one of the officials responsible for maintaining the *Padrón General*—the official and secret Spanish master map for the copies carried on sixteenth-century Spanish vessels. The map was found among the cosmographer's papers after his death in 1572. Robert Weddle says: "[The "De Soto" map] is often given the date of 1544, about the time some of Soto's men returned to Spain. In truth, both its authorship and the date are uncertain, its popular label misleading. Obviously, the date it was drawn can be no more than a guess."[74]

Because of its obvious importance for American history, the "De Soto" map has received extensive scholarly attention. It was first printed in a book

Figure 8. The so-called "De Soto" Map.

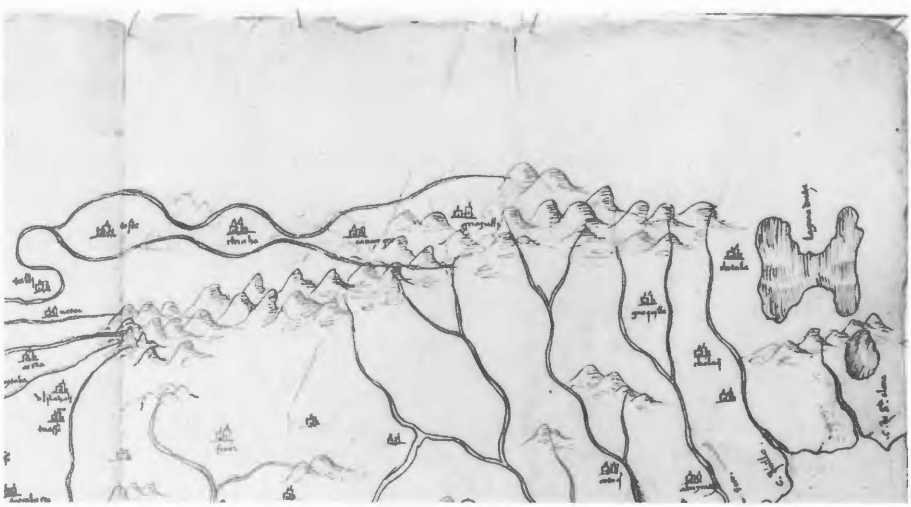


Figure 9. Detail in the author's region of interest from the so-called "De Soto" Map. The icons for the towns discussed in this study can be seen on this map.

in the United States in 1892.[75] In a 1941 study, Barbara Boston concluded that Santa Cruz was the "probable author" and dated it between 1544 and 1561.[76] Boston's latter date derived from the absence of information on the map from the 1560 expedition of Tristan de Luna y Arellana. Modern authoritative opinion holds that the map was "almost certainly" made by Santa Cruz and also that it almost certainly "incorporated Indian information."[77]

A feature of the "De Soto" map that is of considerable importance for the present study is the map's use of icons to represent American Indian towns. The towns of interest here, in the northeast quadrant of the "De Soto" map, can be seen in Figure 9. The use of such icons on maps was in its infancy in the early sixteenth century.[78] Galloway has variously referred to these conventionalized cartographic symbols as "fortified city" icons or "town" icons or "Indian town symbols." She asserts that it was the "De Soto" map and its presumed author Alonso de Santa Cruz who introduced this iconographic convention for the Spanish pictorial representation of a "standard Indian polity."[79]

The "De Soto" map leads us directly to the closely related 1584 Chaves–Ortelius map, which is the map to be analyzed here. The 1584 Chaves–Ortelius map (Figure 10) first appeared with the title "La Florida" in a triptych (three maps on one page) in the *Additamentum* (supplement) in the third edition of Abraham Ortelius's atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.[80] The map "La Florida" is variously described as "[one] of the half-dozen most important mother maps of southeastern North America"[81]; "a mother map of the first importance, for its general geographical outline is found in many maps, in which the details were revised and corrected upon occasion as additions to geographical knowledge were acquired, until the beginning of the eighteenth century"[82]; and "an historical document of major significance."[83] The 1584 Chaves–Ortelius map provided Europeans with their first detailed, albeit distorted, image of the present southeastern interior of the United States. The manner in which publisher Ortelius obtained information about the Chesapeake Bay from correspondence with Englishmen has been described by William Wooldridge.[84]

The notation "Cum Priuilegio," in the cartouche (the prominent decorative element in the map's upper right hand corner) means "with privilege." That is to say, Ortelius printed Chaves's map under license from the Spanish authorities then ruling in Antwerp, where he worked.[85] The Chaves–Ortelius map is published online at the website of the Library of Congress.[86]

The precise relationship between the "De Soto" map and the 1584 Chaves–Ortelius map has never been definitely ascertained nor satisfactorily explained. Both maps cover the same broad geographic region, both name rivers and Indian towns, both use standardized icons to show town locations, and both show inland features. To some earlier students it has seemed clear that the Chaves–Ortelius map derives from the "De Soto" map. A comprehensive comparison of the two maps lies beyond the scope of this paper.[87] However, the present author prefers to leave open the question of their exact relationship in the absence of a firm dating of either map. The

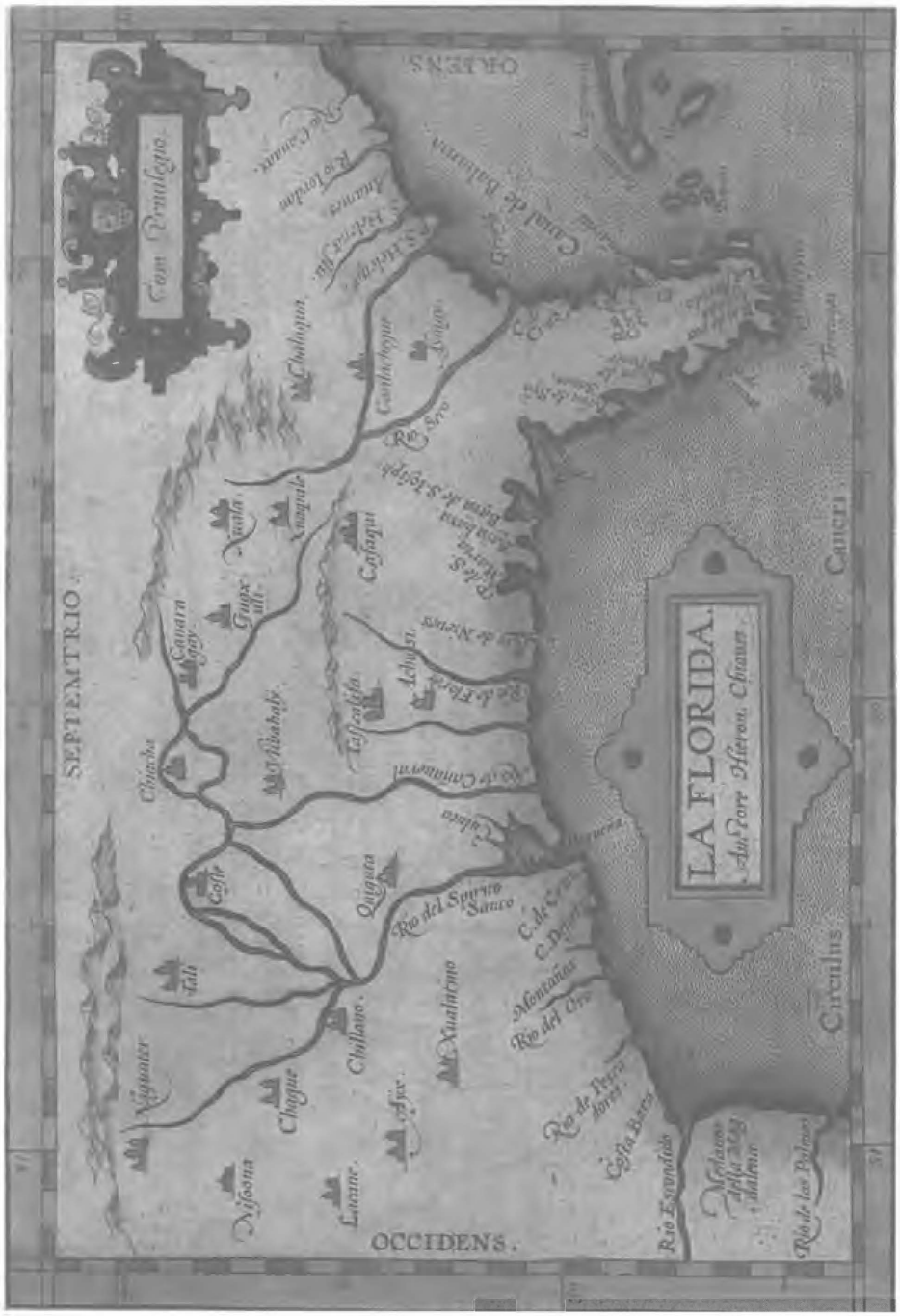


Figure 10. The Chaves–Ortelius Map, 1584.

analysis here shows that, like the "De Soto" map, the Chaves–Ortelius map contains only information from the Soto *entrada* and not from any other *entrada*, including those of Pardo and Moyano. Perhaps the two maps were independently taken from a third, original map. Whatever their precise relationship, they are the first two maps known to show inland features in the future United States.

Written reports of the Soto expedition, the well-known Ranjel, Biedma, and Elvas accounts, were becoming available in Spain as early as 1544. The 250 survivors from the Soto expedition, some of whom had returned to Spain, would have been able to provide personal oral histories of the *entrada*.[88] These reports and accounts would doubtless have been closely monitored by the officials responsible for maintaining the *Padrón General*.

The map maker Geronimo Chaves was born in Seville in 1524. His father, Alonso de Chaves, was examiner of pilots and tester of instruments at the Casa de Contratación. Geronimo Chaves succeeded Sebastian Cabot in the Chair of Cartography and Nautical Science in the Casa in 1552 and was Cosmographer-Royal to King Philip II. Chaves died in 1572. The original map from which the printed version shown in Figure 10 was made was found in Chaves's papers after his death and is now lost.[89]

Map authority William Cumming regards Chaves's publisher Abraham Ortelius as being second only to Gerardus Mercator as the greatest geographer of the sixteenth century. Ortelius's collection of printed maps, issued beginning in 1570, was the first-ever world atlas.[90] The atlas has been the subject of a book-length history.[91] It presented the whole known world and all its regions and offered its readers an opportunity for the first time ever to see planet earth as an integrated whole. Frans Koks says about the atlas: "More than an original concept, the *Theatrum* was also the most authoritative and successful such work during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries." Because it was frequently revised to reflect new geographical and historical insights, contemporary scholars in western Europe praised the *Theatrum* highly for its accuracy, even as they embraced the atlas' concept. The *Theatrum* continued to be published until 1612."[92] Cumming and De Vorsey suggest that Ortelius obtained the copy of Chaves's map that he published only shortly before publishing it. Had Ortelius obtained it earlier, they argue, he would have published it in the first or second edition of his atlas.[93]

What was the date Chaves drew his map? While it is not possible to precisely date the Chaves–Ortelius map, the original copy of which is not known to have survived, it is possible to give it bracketing dates with some confidence. Obviously, it must date earlier than 1572, the year of

Chaves's death and later than 1554 based on the internal evidence of the map. It shows in its lower left corner the "Médanos della Madalena," which are the Padre Island dunes named by salvagers of Spanish shipwrecks that occurred in 1554.[94] Peter Cowdrey observes that on the Chaves–Ortelius map, "There is no mention of St. Augustine, San Mateo, Santa Elena or any of the Spanish missions or coastal forts, perhaps for reasons of security."[95] Certainly security was a factor for the Spanish officials,[96] but it may simply be that the map was prepared before news reached Seville of the September 1565 settlement of St. Augustine by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Settlement at San Mateo and Santa Elena, came even later.

The author estimates that Geronimo Chaves drew his now lost map within a year or two of 1560. Speculatively, if the map were already two decades old when the Spanish authorities gave Ortelius permission to publish it, they would have known by that time that it was well out-of-date and not a security risk.

Historian Alison Sandman has pointed out that Spanish geographical knowledge had two aspects: general knowledge of latitudes and longitudes, which they wished to publicize to support their territorial claims, and specific navigational knowledge which they wished to suppress. She has concluded that the Spanish cosmographers' "interest in latitude and longitude and their lack of interest in the sorts of local knowledge learned best through experience came to define navigation. ... [while the information] that was still somewhat secret, the details of ports and currents and sandbanks and reefs, was written out of the discussions of navigation, [and] the secrets of the pilots, learned only at sea, remained secret (insofar as they did) primarily by being unspoken and unwritten."[97]

Adjusting a Segment of the Chaves–Ortelius Map

Maps from the late sixteenth century are so-called sign systems that show the approximate or relative relationships of various "important" (to the cartographer or his audience) features and thus do not usually match up with modern cartographic maps or projections and their latitudes and longitudes.[98] Thus, the author decided that the Chaves–Ortelius map needed to be manipulated to make it relevant for a study of Virginia history.

The first step in that manipulation was to adjust the corners of the map. For unknown reasons, perhaps as a consequence of copying errors,[99] perhaps because the engraver of the map was unsophisticated, the latitudes and longitudes marked along the edges of the Chaves–Ortelius map are unreasonable. Spanish knowledge of longitude was good in the sixteenth century, and knowledge of latitude improving. It is certain that the deficiencies of the latitude/longitude

grid on the Chaves–Ortelius map derive from a copying or engraving error and not from simply a measurement error. In Figure 11, the perimeter defined by the as-marked Chaves–Ortelius corner coordinates is shown in outline on a modern map using Greenwich as the reference point. It will be seen that the map perimeter nominally defines an approximately 150-mile wide strip of land running north-south from roughly Cuba to Cleveland. The corners of the Chaves–Ortelius map obviously require adjustment.

Adjustment of the corner coordinates was accomplished by judging where they should be placed in order to make the general aspect of the Chaves–Ortelius map (Figure 10) look like a modern map. Making these corner adjustments generated the perimeter shown in Figure 12. These corner adjustments were the first step in adapting the Chaves–Ortelius map for interpretation.

Figure 11. Plotted corners of the Chaves–Ortelius Map, 1584. Prepared May 13, 2013 using GPS Visualizer (www.gpsvisualizer.com). Latitudes: top edge 41.42°, bottom edge 23.58°; longitudes: left edge -81.25°, right edge -78.53°.

Figure 12. Adjusted corners of the Chaves–Ortelius Map, 1584. Prepared May 13, 2013 using GPS Visualizer (www.gpsvisualizer.com). Latitudes: top edge 37.54°, bottom edge 23.58°; longitudes: left edge -98.53°, right edge -79.14°.

Examination of the corner-adjusted Chaves–Ortelius map led to the conclusion that its northern and southern portions are incompatible. The southern portion traverses almost twenty degrees of longitude, while the equally-sized northern portion traverses only four degrees of longitude. This incompatibility means that locations in the upper region of the map known to be in East Tennessee are placed due north of locations in the lower region of the map known to be in Texas. In reality, the Texas locations are actually 500 miles to the west of those in Tennessee. This discrepancy accords with the well-known sixteenth century Spanish misconception that the silver mines of Zacatecas, in Mexico, were located at about the vicinity of Knoxville, Tennessee. For example, the Jesuit authors Clifford Lewis and Albert Loomie sixty years ago pointed out the misconception and illustrated it with a map titled "The Geography of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés."[100] One of the objectives of Juan Pardo's *entradas* was to find an overland route to the mines to establish a pack animal route to Santa Elena. A successful overland route would substitute a safer journey for the silver than the ship-borne journey from Havana north through the constricted Bahaman Channel, where English and French vessels could easily find and attack the Spanish treasure fleets.

So the Chaves–Ortelius map can be regarded as two separate maps uncomfortably meshed together. This nonconformity of the upper and lower regions is no doubt explained by the different kinds of cartographic data used by Chaves. In the south, Chaves had decades of nautical information from Spanish mariners. The shore line and the islands are well-placed: modern eyes accommodate readily to the locations of Bimini, the Tortugas, the Florida Peninsula and its outline, the Mississippi River (Rio del Spirito Santo), and the trend of the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico. In contrast, Chaves's cartographic information for the north of the map came from the written and oral records of the Soto expedition. Modern eyes find nothing readily recognizable in this region.

For the present study of the Spanish in Virginia, the author extracted an upper right hand rectangular segment of the map, specifically the rightmost two-thirds and the upper one-third of the map, or about one-quarter of the map's area. That segment (Figure 13) includes the map's cartouche. The Chaves map segment contains eight American Indian towns as depicted by their icons.

The next step was to adjust the segment's axes so that the north-south (N-S) scale became comparable to the east-west (E-W) scale. This adjustment

Figure 13. The northeast segment of the Chaves–Ortelius map selected for use in this study.

was an iterative process. Using its upper right hand corner as a reference point, and relating it to features such as the locations of Xuala and the buried conquistador, and to archeologically identified places such as Chiaha and Coste, various fits were tested. As a result of this iterative fitting, the length of the N-S axis was increased (stretched) by a factor of 2.34 to make the N-S scale consistent with the E-W scale.[101] The stretched version of the segment of the Chaves–Ortelius map is shown in Figure 14. An alternative way to view this adjustment would be to consider that the E-W scale has been shortened or squeezed by a factor of 2.34 to compensate for latitude error.

The stretched segment map in Figure 14 is 247.5 miles N-S and 320 miles E-W. Its bounding latitudes are 37.515° (top edge) and 34.662° (bottom edge).

Figure 14. The "squeezed" segment of the Chaves–Ortelius map used as the basis for the hybrid map. This is the map in Figure 13 compressed along its E-W axis.

Its bounding longitudes are -83.796° (left edge) and -79.262° (right edge). These edge coordinates were chosen so that Xuala (Joara and the Berry site) on the stretched segment map exactly coincides with the geographic position of the Berry site.[102] Its top and right edges are those of the Chaves–Ortelius map. In its electronic format, it is 2400 pixels wide and 1856 pixels high.

Table 1. Chronology of Soto's Travels in 1540 Through the Northeast Segment of the Chaves-Ortelius Map.

Town		Expedition Chronology	Page*
Chaves' Name	Hudson's Name		
Chalaqua	Chelaque**	Reached on 14 May	p. 186
Xuaquile	Guaquili	There May 17-19	p. 187
Xuala	Joara	Arrived May 21	p. 187 & 189
Guaxuli	Guasili	Departed 31 May	p. 193 & 199
Canaragay	Canasoga	Passed by June 1	p. 199
Chiacha	Chiaha	There June 4-24	p. 204
Coste	Coste	There July 2-9	p. 207
Ulibahaly	Ulibihali	There August 31 - September 2	pp. 224-225

*Page numbers from Hudson's *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun*
**Hudson states Chalaque "must have been somewhere southwest of present-day Charlotte. The author arbitrarily selected York, South Carolina, as a point location for Chalaque.

From the records of the Soto expedition, we are able to state with some precision when the expedition was at or near each American Indian town in the segment map. Table 1, which is based on the work of Charles Hudson, shows a chronology of the dates when the expedition was in (or near) the towns shown in Figure 14. Note that the spelling of the town names is inconsistent (the usual situation when dealing with the various Soto chronicles).

Chaves's "Canaragay" has been here interpreted by the author as Hudson's Canasoga, which is consistent with both the geography and the chronology (Pardo's name for Canaragay was Cauchi). The town of Ulibahaly on the Chaves–Ortelius map was apparently misplaced by Chaves (on the "De Soto" map, Ulibahaly is located nearer to its presently judged archeological location of Rome, Georgia). Chaves's misplacement of Ulibahaly is substantiated by the chronological sequence of Soto-visited towns shown in Table 1.

Documentary Evidence from a Sixteenth-Century Map Compared with Archeological Evidence: The Hybrid Map

This section describes how the "base" map illustrated in Figure 14 was combined with modern geographical information to prepare a hybrid map.

The hybrid map (Figure 15) was made by overlaying the base map (the stretched segment) with a printed, transparent, Google-derived map using the same four corner coordinates of the hybrid map. Doing this combined the sixteenth-century map with modern features. The town icons are large. For example, the Xuala town icon is 75 pixels wide, so with the map scale being 7.5 pixels per mile, it is 10 miles wide.

Location indicators on the hybrid map are modern state boundaries (shown by dotted lines) and modern towns. Historical places include Maniatique (modern Saltville), the newly discovered burial site of the conquistador near Holston Knob, and Phoebe Butt[103]—in western Lee County near the present Tennessee state line. Phoebe Butt is where it is likely (though not proven) that, heading north from Chiacha in search of metals, the first Europeans (Juan de Villalobos from Seville and Francisco de Silvera from Galicia) ever to set foot in Virginia did so in 1540.[104]

To test the hybrid map, the map coordinates of the American Indian towns were compared to the latitude/longitude coordinates of the ethnohistorical/archeological location of the town. The test data is summarized in Table 2. Of principal interest in this table are the error values in column 9.

Figure 15. The hybrid map.
This map combines twenty-first century features such as towns and state boundary lines over a base map derived from the sixteenth century.

As described in the text, this map was adjusted so that the Xuala icon and the Berry site are at exactly the same place. Here, they are shown slightly separated for the convenience of the viewer.

Map coordinates for the eight towns were obtained as follows: the stretched segment of the Chaves–Ortelius map was loaded into the Microsoft program Paint, and the cursor successively located at the mid-point of the building icon designating each town. The town's pixel position coordinates were then read from the bottom of the screen. Pixel position coordinates were converted to map coordinates using ratios from the known map coordinates of the corners.[105]

Table 2. Comparison of Chaves's Indian Town positions and their Modern Locations

Town	Pixels from top left corner down - right		Degrees Latitude/ Longitude calculated from pixels		Modern Location ethnohistory/ archeology	Degrees Latitude/Longitude Google Maps		Error in miles
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chalaqua	1661	1445	34.962	-81.066	York, SC	34.980	-81.270	10
Xuaquile	1489	1095	35.226	-81.727	Hickory, NC	35.764	-81.361	43
Xuala	1103	1089	35.819	-81.739	Berry Site, near Morganton, NC	35.819	-81.743	0
Guaxuli	1116	810	35.799	-82.266	Embreeville, TN	36.179	-82.453	28
Canaragay	902	652	36.128	-82.564	Hot Springs, NC[106]	35.895	-82.828	22
Chiacha	814	390	36.264	-83.059	Dandridge, TN	36.015	-83.415	26
Coste	961	71	36.038	-83.661	Bussell Island, TN	35.778	-84.260	38
Ulibahaly	1466	346	35.261	-83.142	Rome, GA?	34.267	-85.175	133

Columns 2 and 3 show the pixel coordinates of the eight Indian towns on the Chaves map with their computed latitude/longitude coordinates in columns 4 and 5. Column 6 shows where modern ethnohistory/archeology locates the town and columns 7 and 8 show the latitude/longitude of that place as obtained from Google Maps. Column 9 shows the error, i.e. the distance in miles from the Chaves–Ortelius mapped American Indian town to its modern location. The calculations are based on 69.172 miles per degree of longitude and 55.88 miles per degree of latitude (the latitude of Xuala).

To obtain an average mileage error between Chaves's Indian town positions and their modern locations the author used the five towns Xuaquile, Guaxuli, Canaragay, Chiacha, and Coste. The average error for these five towns is 31 miles. Xuala was excluded from the average because it was chosen in the method of analysis to be correct, Chalaqua was excluded because its exact (but not general) location is not known, and Ulibahaly was excluded because of its obvious misplacement.

Conclusions and Discussion

The combination of modern archeological studies with Spanish documentary evidence has proven itself to be a powerful tool for studies of the history of the sixteenth century American Southeast. The results obtained during the past decade open the prospect that further studies eventually will be able to quite closely define the Soto route. Studies of the portion of the Chaves–Ortelius map not examined here may assist in that ongoing effort.

The hybrid map developed in this article changes what Virginia historians have traditionally labeled as "English" America and "Spanish" America" and strongly challenges the traditional English and Low Countries view that Virginia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries extended almost to the Florida peninsula.

The 1869 newspaper report of the putative buried Spanish soldier found 17 miles east of Bristol is slim but tantalizing evidence for the 1567 Hernando Moyano attack on Saltville. The credibility of that report is much strengthened by the depiction of the soldier's burial cairn on the 1923 William Myer's map of Tennessee archeology. The author is of the opinion that this evidence is acceptable and correct.

A principal conclusion is that the measured positions of five Indian towns on the adjusted segment of the Chaves–Ortelius map agree with modern ethnohistorical/archeological estimates of their locations. The sixth town, Xuala, is by definition in the correct place because the hybrid map was constructed on that premise. The seventh town, Chalaqua, lacks a precise archeological identification. The eighth town, Ulibahaly, is misplaced on the Chaves–Ortelius map.

It is concluded that the segment of the Chaves–Ortelius map studied here depends entirely on Soto accounts for positioning the towns. There is no evidence on the studied map segment of any information deriving from the Pardo *entradas* of 1566–1568.

By combining sixteenth and twenty-first century information, the hybrid map demonstrates that the Chaves–Ortelius map is the earliest European depiction of inland Virginia. While none of the Chaves map towns is in Virginia, the two mountain peaks depicted immediately north of present-day Bristol in Figure 15 are the first inland Virginia features ever shown on a map.

The opinion of Patricia Galloway concerning the Chaves–Ortelius map is here questioned. She wrote of the map that it "show[s] so confused a notion of the hydrography and topography of the interior that only external evidence has permitted scholars to match the place names to those of historic tribes."[107] The conclusion here is that once the map is adjusted, it

becomes clear that, with the exception of Ulibahaly, Chaves and the officials at the Casa de Contratación did rather well. Soto chronicler Rodrigo Ranjel suggested that the French Broad River was a tributary of the Mississippi.[108] This suggestion elicited a response from David Duncan, who observed "Ranjel's reference to this geographic point should be of great interest to anyone who believes this expedition was poorly run from a navigational standpoint—or for those who believe Soto had no idea where he was, or where he going. Given that no European had yet explored much beyond the mouth of the Mississippi, it's remarkable that Ranjel and the expeditions geographers were able to conjecture (possibly in retrospect, after the entire journey was over) that the French Broad [river] eventually connects with the Mississippi, via hundreds of miles of twists and turns along the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers."[109] The analysis of the Chaves–Ortelius map offered here supports Duncan's conclusion.

Interestingly, the portion of sixteenth-century Virginia on the hybrid map published in the first-ever World Atlas is more-or-less contiguous with the "Fighting Ninth" Congressional District running from Roanoke to the Cumberland Gap.

Acknowledgments

Thanks for comments on earlier versions of this article to Paul Hoffman, David Kiracofe, Ryan Mays, Harry Ward, and William Wooldridge. Thanks also to J. Thomas Touchton and Karen Finch. Thanks to several anonymous *Smithfield Review* referees. Thanks to the staff at Newman Library at Virginia Tech and particularly to the staff of the Newman Library Interlibrary Loan Office. As always, thanks to my wife Deena Flinchum. The author has not agreed in all particulars with those who have so generously advised him; final responsibility for the conclusions and interpretations of this article is his alone.

Appendix: The Reports of the Buried Conquistador

Bristol News, December 24, 1869

Page 2, column 3

Mysterious Discovery in Iron Mountain—Opening of a Curious Sepulchre

Special Correspondence of the News

NEAR HOLSTON, Sullivan. co,

Tenn, Dec., 15th '69

Messrs. editors, Gents:— Knowing that you are interested in all matter of news and moreover that the greater part of your time is passed in catering to the reading public, I have determined to send you a short account of a very curious discovery that I, in company with some other gentlemen, had the good fortune of making, some days ago. Being in the mountains (Iron) on a hunting excursion chance led our party into a deep and gloomy gorge, flanked on either side by beetling walls of granite, adown [*sic*] whose side the "forked lightnings" have played these many centuries; with here and there a stunted tree, to relieve the vision, while at its base a little stream flowed, or rather floundered on its way, here forming in a deep crystal pool, and the next moment creeping threadlike among the boulders. Whilst sitting near this little stream, I happened to cast my eye around and observing a rather singular mound at a short distance, I arose and on examination became convinced that it must have been erected by men at some period anterior to this. With the assistance of my companions I at once began to remove the earth and stones from the surface, and we were soon rewarded with a sight into its interior, for at the place where we began removing earth, &c., the crust, so to speak, was not exceeding 2 feet in thickness. Having made a cavity of a foot or more in diameter, we could at first distinguish nothing in the interior save the decayed remains of bodies the nature of which—owing to the imperfect light—we could not determine, curiosity being excited we determined to unearth the mystery at all events. Accordingly we dispatched one of our party to the nearest house for implements and on his return set to work, and soon succeeded in removing *totum jugum tumuli* [the entire contents of the mound]; On entering this "habitation of the dead," for such it proved to be we found several human skeletons in various stages of decay; but with one exception all in a very imperfect state. This one underlying the others, at first presented the appearance of a corpse in complete preservation; but on examination the fleshy parts we found to be of a sort of cheesy consitence [*sic*], and readily yielded to the touch,

Decayed implements evidently those of war were found intermingled, and one medal or coin the inscription of which was so effaced that nothing could be deciphered, except the word "Espa," or, I should say part of a word for there was an appearance of other letters, on the reverse the figure of a cross could be plainly seen, its presence owing to the concavity of the side. One skull which I examined is evidently that of a Caucasian; or, at least differs widely from that of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. You will probably aid in throwing a new light on the early history of this country by giving publication to this in your excellent paper.

This tumulus is near the residence of Mr. F. Wright on Jacobs Creek, Sullivan County.

With respect, I remain yours,

T. C. KING

Bristol News, December 31, 1869

Page 3, column 1

The Iron Mountain Mystery.—The communication of Mr. T. C. King, in our last issue has attracted much attention. The remains found by him, in a gorge of the Iron Mountain, while very ancient are evidently those of European persons. That they must date their sepulture beyond the settlement of the County is plainly evident. It has been suggested that they are those of a portion of De Soto's party, in its journey to the Mississippi River in [blank space, 1541 intended?] and we regard this conjecture as not only plausible, but probably true. The spot will be visited by gentlemen of our town, and perhaps by one of the editors of the *News*.*

*No report in the *Bristol News* of such a follow up visit has been found.

The citations for this appendix are:

T. C. King, [Special Correspondence of the News], "Mysterious Discovery in Iron Mountain—Opening of a Curious Sepulchre," *Bristol News*, December 24, 1869, page 2, column 3. Online at *http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85026955/1869-12-24/ed-1/seq-2/.*

Anonymous, "The Iron Mountain Mystery, *Bristol News*, December 31, 1869, page 3, column 1. Online at *http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85026955/1869-12-31/ed-1/seq-3/.*

Endnotes

1. Jim Glanville, "Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence," *Smithfield Review* 8 (2004), 70–108.
2. Paul E. Hoffman, "The Historiography of Sixteenth-Century La Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Special Issue: 500 Years of Florida History—The Sixteenth Century), 91 (2012), 308–348. The citation is at footnote 94 page 335.
3. Peter Wallenstein, *Cradle of America: Four Centuries of Virginia History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 7–8. The Library of Virginia website "Virginia Memory" states that in 1567 "A Spanish party under the command of Hernando Moyano attacked a Holstonia town at the site of Saltville in Washington County." Online at *http://www.virginiamemory.com/reading_room/chronology_by_period.*
4. Jim Glanville, "The Blade from Glade," *Smithfield Review* 10 (2006), 33–37. The blade was actually from West Africa.
5. Jim Glanville, "Brief Note: Conquistadors at Saltville—An Interim Update," *Smithfield Review* XIII (2009), 137–39.
6. Jim Glanville, "16th Century Spanish Invasions of Southwest Virginia,"*Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal* 17 (2009), 34–42.
7. The author does not wish to join the thorny and distracting "De Soto" versus "de Soto" debate. He will follow Soto biographer David Ewing Duncan in referring to him as either simply "Soto" or "Hernando de Soto," except where otherwise dictated by context, direct quotations, and citations.
8. Patrick Foley, "Catholics of the South: Historical Perspectives," *Catholic Social Science Review* 13 (2008) 77–90. Foley comments "One noticeable tendency long present in the publishing of American history textbooks, for example, has been the over-focusing on the English heritage of the American story at the expense of a more in-depth and accurate look at the Spanish historical legacy. Thus the Protestant Anglican narrative, even today, oftentimes tends to be biased and over-stated. ... [T]he Roman Catholic history of the United States, particularly in the South, needs to be presented more accurately."
9. Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565–1568* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1976).
10. Albert C. Manucy, *Florida's Menéndez: Captain General of the Ocean Sea* (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1965).
11. Charles W. Arnade, *Florida on Trial, 1593–1602* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1959), 38.
12. Brendan Wolfe, "Don Luís de Velasco / Paquiquineo (fl. 1561–1571)," *Encyclopedia Virginia* (Charlottesville: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, nd), *http://encyclopediavirginia.org/don_lua. Modified 10 October 2013.*
13. Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 39–41.
14. John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* [to the 76th U.S. Congress] (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939). Reissued with an introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and foreword by William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985).
15. Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).
16. John C. Hall, "The Search for Hernando de Soto," *Alabama Heritage*, Spring 1987, 22–27. Online at *http://www.alabamaheritage.com/images/vaultimages/04desoto/whole.pdf.*
17. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight Jr., and Edward Moore, *The de Soto Chronicles: the Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543,* 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993). Other useful single-volume books are: David Ewing Duncan, *Hernando de Soto: A Savage Quest in the Americas* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1996); Patricia Galloway, ed., *The Hernando De Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); and, Hudson, *Knights of Spain.*

18. Charles Hudson (1932–2013) was for 35 years Professor of Anthropology and History at the University of Georgia.
19. Herb Roe, "Proposed Route of the De Soto Expedition," online at *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:De_Soto_Map_HRoe_2008.jpg.*
20. Hudson, *Knights of Spain.*
21. Charles M. Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568*, with documents relating to the Pardo Expeditions transcribed, translated, and annotated by Paul E. Hoffman. (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), reissued (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005) with a new foreword by Charles Hudson (ix–x) and an afterword by Robin A. Beck Jr., David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning, 343–49.
22. Robin A. Beck, David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning, "Joara and Fort San Juan: Colonialism and Household Practice at the Berry Site, North Carolina," Final Report of Grant BCS-0542120 submitted to the National Science Foundation (NSF), 21 October 2010, 1–112, online at *http://www.tulane.edu/~crodning/nsfreport2010.pdf.*
23. David Moore, "The Berry Site and Upper Catawba Valley Archaeology," online at *http://www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/berryhistory.* See also the website "Exploring Joara Foundation," *http://exploringjoara.org,* which includes a video about the Berry site.
24. NSF Report: Joara and Fort San Juan, 2010.
25. NSF Report: Joara and Fort San Juan, 2010, 8.
26. Robin A. Beck Jr., "From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540–1568," *Southeastern Archaeology* 16 no. 2 (1997), 162–169. The author agrees with Beck that the conquistadors' 1567 attack at the American Indian village of Maniatique occurred at present-day Saltville. However, a more cautious historian might consider Saltville as the place of the attack as a good working hypothesis rather than as an absolutely established fact.
27. David G. Moore, Robin A. Beck Jr., and Christopher B. Rodning "Afterword: Pardo, Joara, and Fort San Juan Revisited" in Charles M. Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568* (University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, 2005), 343–349.
28. Robin A. Beck Jr., David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning, "Identifying Fort San Juan: a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Occupation at the Berry Site, North Carolina," *Southeastern Archaeology* 25 (2006), 65–77.
29. Robin A. Beck Jr., David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning, "Limiting Resistance: Juan Pardo and the Shrinking of Spanish La Florida, 1566–1568," in *Enduring Conquests: Rethinking the Archaeology of Resistance to Spanish Colonialism in the Americas*, in Matthew Liebmann and Melissa Murphy eds. (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011), 19–39; Christopher B. Rodning, Robin A. Beck Jr., and David G. Moore, "Conflict, Violence, and Warfare in La Florida," in Clay Mathers, Jeffrey M. Mitchem, and Charles M. Haecker eds. *Native and Spanish New Worlds: Sixteenth-century Entradas in the American Southwest and Southeast*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 231–50.
30. John Noble Wilford, "Fort Tells of Spain's Early Ambitions," *New York Times*, July 22, 2013. Online at *http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/23/science/fort-tells-of-spains-early-ambitions.html.*
31. Robin Beck, personal communication, conversation at the Berry site, June 8, 2013.
32. In the author's opinion the archeological work at Berry has been exemplary. The author has elsewhere ("A Review of *Finders Keepers: A Tale of Archaeological Plunder and Obsession* by Craig Childs [New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2010]" *Central States Archaeological Journal*, 56 [2012], 45–46) been highly critical of the archeological neglect of Southwest Virginia and the contempt held by some archeologists for American Indian relic collections and the activities of commercial relic hunters in the region. While these latter activities may be deplored, the information they provide cannot be excluded from consideration as powerful evidence for vanished people and their cultures.
33. David A. Barreis, "The Ethnohistoric Approach and Archaeology," *Ethnohistory* 8 no. 1 (1961), 49–77.

34. Alanson Skinner, "The Lenapé Indians of Staten Island," in Clark Wissler, ed., *The Indians of Greater New York and the Lower Hudson* (New York: The Trustees of the American Museum of Natural History, 1909), 1–62.
35. George MacCurdy, "Some Mounds of East Tennessee," in *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Americanists, Washington, 1915*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge (Washington, D.C.: Congress of Americanists, 1917), 59–74.
36. Laura Kozuch, "*Olivella* Beads from Spiro and the Plains," *American Antiquity* 67 no. 4 (2002), 697–709.
37. Jeffrey P. Brain, Alan Toth, and Antonio Rodriguez-Buckingham. "Ethnohistoric Archaeology and the De Soto Entrada into the lower Mississippi Valley," in Stanley South ed. The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers, vol. 7, book 8 (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1974), 232–89, online at *http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/archanth_historic_site_arch_conf_papers/8/.*
38. Michael Gannon, "The New Alliance of History and Archaeology in the Eastern Spanish Borderlands," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 49 no. 2 (1992), 321–334.
39. John R. Swanton, "Hernando De Soto's Route through Arkansas," *American Antiquity*, 18 no. 2 (1952), 156–162.
40. Warren H. Wilkinson, *Opening the Case against the U.S. De Soto Commission's Report: Being a "thoroughgoing Examination" of the Part in Re Present Florida of the Final Report of the U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission* (Jacksonville Beach: Alliance for the Preservation of Florida Antiquities, 1960).
41. Telephone conversation August 16, 2013 with Daniel Stephens, Interpretive Ranger, National Park Service De Soto Memorial.
42. W. S. Eubanks Jr., "Studying De Soto's Route: a Georgian House of Cards," *Florida Anthropologist* 42 (1989), 369–380.
43. Charles Hudson and Marvin T. Smith, "Reply to Eubanks," *Florida Anthropologist* 43 (1990), 36–42.
44. David Henige, "A Mismatched Pair: Hudson at the Feast of Hoffman. 'Review of *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568* by Charles Hudson, with documents relating to the Pardo expeditions, transcribed, translated, and annotated by Paul E. Hoffman (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990)' "; David Henige, *Documentary Editing*, 13(2), 30–34, 1991; and David Henige, "Proxy Data, Historical Method, and the de Soto Expedition," in Gloria A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman eds. *The Expedition of Hernando De Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541–1543: Proceedings of the De Soto Symposia, 1988 and 1990* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 155–172. See also David Henige, "Millennarian Archaeology, Double Discourse, and the Unending Quest for de Soto," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 21 no. 2 (1996), 191–215.
45. Charles Hudson, Chester B. DePratter, and Marvin T. Smith, "Appendix I: Reply to Henige," in Young, and Hoffman *The Expedition of Hernando De Soto West of the* Mississippi, 255–66.
46. Charles Hudson, Chester B. DePratter, Marvin T. Smith and David G. Anderson, "De Soto in Coosa: Another Reply to Henige," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78 no. 4 (1994), 716–34.
47. Jon Muller, *Mississippian Political Economy* (New York: Plenum Publishing Company, 1997). See the essay "The de Soto Expedition," 72–97. The cited quote comes from page 75.
48. Patricia K. Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 7–13.
49. Robin Beck, personal communication, conversation at the Berry site, June 8, 2013.
50. John E. Worth, "Exploration and Trade in the Deep Frontier of Spanish Florida: Possible Sources for 16th-Century Spanish Artifacts in Western North Carolina," paper presented in the symposium "A Consideration of Archaeological and Documentary Evidence for 16th- and 17th-Century Spanish and Native Contact in Western North Carolina" at the 51st annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Lexington, 1994, online at *http://uwf.edu/jworth/WorthSEAC1994.pdf.*

51. Gregory A. Waselkov, "What Do Spanish Expeditionary Artifacts of Circa 1540 Look Like and How Often Are They Preserved?" in Vernon J. Knight, ed., *The Search for Mabila: The Decisive Battle between Hernando de Soto and Chief Tascalusa*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 94–106.
52. Jerald Milanich, Ashley White, Bill Boston, Michele White, and Alan M. Stahl, "The Discovery of Conquistador Hernando de Soto's 1539 Encampment," Doug Engle, producer for the Florida Archaeological Survey, 2012, online at *http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L9I2d9cKKaI.* See also Fred Hiers, "Delayed De Soto Exhibit Reaches Farther Back into Site's Past," *The Gainesville Sun*, Thursday, February 7, 2013, online at *http://www.gainesville.com/article/20130207/ARTICLES/130209665.* In the latter item journalist Hiers quotes Milanach as saying: "I looked at the archaeological evidence. There is absolutely no doubt that is a De Soto contact site, and I am 99.99 percent sure this is the town of Potano, the major Indian town. Until now, we really had no one location until all the way up to Tallahassee. Now we have a midway place."
53. Charles R. Ewen and John Hann *Hernando de Soto Among the Apalachee: The Archaeology of the First Winter Encampment* (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 1998); Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources "Hernando de Soto 1539–1540 Winter Encampment at Anhaica Apalachee," online at *http://www.flheritage.com/archaeology/soto/index.cfm.* The Governor Martin site was first identified in 1987 by the state-employed Florida archeologist Calvin Jones, who made shovel tests while the site was being cleared by a contractor for construction. Jones immediately realized that he was finding a mixture of Apalache Indfian and Spanish artifacts, and a formal excavation was initiated. See also Florida Master Site File MS19749.
54. Dennis B. Blanton, with contributions by Wes Patterson, Jeffrey B. Glover, and Frankie Snow, *Point of Contact: Archaeological Evaluation of a Potential De Soto Encampment in Georgia* (Atlanta: Fernbank Museum of Natural History, 2013), copy in author's files. The Glass site is located on the north side of the Ocmulgee River in the south of Telfair County.
55. Robert L. Blakely and David S. Mathews, "Bioarchaeological Evidence for a Spanish-Native American Conflict in the Sixteenth-Century Southeast," *American Antiquity* 55 No. 4 (1990), 718–744. These authors conclude "We have shown that one in five Native Americans from the sixteenth-century village at the King site was either wounded or killed by soldiers in Hernando de Soto's expeditionary force." The King site is located on the Coosa River inside a large meander loop named Foster Bend, about seven miles west-south-west of Rome, Georgia. See also David J. Hally, *King: The Social Archaeology of a Late Mississippian Town in Northwestern Georgia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 461–62. Hally concludes "I think it is probable that the iron implements in the King site burials were gifts from members of the De Soto and/or Luna expeditions to politically and socially important people."
56. George F. Fielder Jr., United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service: Nomination Form for the National Register of Historic Places for the Moccasin Bend (Chattanooga) Historic Area, Online at *http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NRHP/Text/64000813.pdf.* The author writes: "Hampton Place ... has been demonstrated to have intact burned houses containing late prehistoric artifacts and extensive quantities of Spanish artifacts dating from the sixteenth century." Spanish artifacts at Chattanooga (and other places) may also have originated with men from the expedition of Tristan de Luna y Arellana who traveled north from the Gulf Coast in 1560 as far as the vicinity of present-day Rome, Georgia. See also Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The De Soto Map and the Luna Narratives: An Overview of Other Sixteenth-Century Sources," Knight ed. *The Search for Mabila*, 45–63.
57. Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 11, 31–32. Ethridge writes "Although the site of Chicaza has not been found, archaeologists agree that the both the town and province of Chicaza were likely located on the physiographic region known as the Black Prairie."
58. Blanton, *Potential De Soto Encampment in Georgia.*

59. Knight, ed., *The Search for Mabila.*
60. Ned J. Jenkins and Craig T. Sheldon Jr. "The Hernando De Soto Entrada through Central Alabama: September–November, 1540," paper presented at "Southeastern archaeological conference, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, November 9, 2012.
61. *De Soto Chronicles*, volume 1, 71.
62. Chester DePratter, "Santa Elena Update," *Legacy*, 13, no. 1, (2009), 14–15, online at *http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/leg/4/.*
63. Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 26–29.
64. Beck, "From Joara to Chiaha." As noted, Beck inadvertently placed Saltville on the South Fork of the Holston River. It is on the North Fork.
65. Rufus W. Pickle, taped interview conducted by Thomas Warden Totten and Helen Virginia McCready Totten, May 21, 1975. Original tape and transcript in author's files. Small objects such as these beads would have traveled easily, and they do not prove (but merely hint) at a Spanish presence at present-day Chilhowie.
66. *Bristol News*, 31 December 1869, 3, "The Iron Mountain Mystery," Thanks to Amy Wright Fuller who discovered the reference and to Wilma Smith who called it to the author's attention.
67. Conversations with numismatists have convinced the author that numerous coins fitting this description and dating from the correct time period are known.
68. *Bristol News*, 24 December 1869, 2, "Mysterious Discovery in Iron Mountain—Opening of a Curious Sepulchre."
69. William E. Myer, "Indian Trails of the Southeast," 727–857, in *Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928 plate 14, 751. Many thanks to Tom Rotenberry of Bristol, Virginia/Tennessee, who called the author's attention to the cairn depicted on Myer's map.
70. Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700*, 21–24 and 205–217.
71. For a non-speaker of Spanish, who also lacks the specialized skills needed to interpret sixteenth century texts (such as the author), it is impossible to assess independently the textual documentary evidence. However, when the documentary evidence is a map, no special Spanish language skills are needed.
72. Paul Hoffman, "Discovery and Early Cartography in the Northern Gulf Coast," in Alfred E. Lemmon, John T. Magill, Jason R. Wiese, and John R. Hébert eds. *Charting Louisiana: Five Hundred Years of Maps* (New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 2003), 7–39.
73. Alonso de Santa Cruz [attributed], "Mapa del Golfo y costa de la Nueva España," photocopy of original in the Archives de las Indies, Seville. (Lowery Collection, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.) online at *http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3860.ct001033."*
74. Robert S. Weddle, "Spanish Mapping of Texas," in *Handbook of Texas Online* (Np: Texas State Historical Association), online at *http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/uws01.*
75. Henry Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America; a Critical, Documentary, and Historic Investigation. With an Essay on the Early Cartography of the New World* .... (London: H. Stevens and Son, 1892), 643–45. The "De Soto" map had been exhibited in Madrid in 1881 and there incorrectly dated to 1521. Harrisse pointed out that the map indisputably had to be post Soto in date.
76. Barbara Boston, "The 'De Soto" Map," *Mid-America,* 23 (1941), 240–50. See also JeanDelanglez, "El Rio Del Espiritu Santo [Part] V," *Mid-America,* 26 (1944), 62–84.
77. G. Malcolm Lewis, "Maps, Mapmaking, and Map Use by Native North Americans," chapter 4, in David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis eds. *History of Cartography*, Volume 2, Book 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 51–182. Also published online and freely available at *http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V2_B3/HOC_VOLUME2_Book3_chapter4.pdf.*
78. Catherine Delano Smith, "Cartographic Signs on European Maps and Their Explanation before 1700," *Imago Mundi* 37 (1985), 9–29.
79. Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700*, 23, 215–217.

80. Geronimo Chaves and Abraham Ortelius, "La Florida / Peruviae Auriferae regionis Typus/ Guastecan" in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [The Theater of the World], third edition (Antwerp: Christophorum Plantinum, 1584), supplement. Online at the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress at *http://memory.loc.gov/gmd/gmd3/g3290/g3290/1g3290tiff/ct001038r.tif.*
81. Phillip Burden, *The Mapping of North America* vol. 1, (Rickmansworth, Herts: Raleigh Publications, 1996) 71–73. Quoted by Dorothy Sloan at *http://www.dsloan.com/Auctions/A22/ item-map-ortelius-floridia.html.*
82. William P. Cumming, revised and enlarged by Louis De Vorsey Jr., *The Southeast in Early Maps*, third edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 1.
83. Ralph E. Ehrenberg, "'Marvellous Countries and Lands': Notable Maps of Florida, 1507–1846," online at *http://www.broward.org/library/bienes/lii14003.htm.*
84. William C. Wooldridge, "Ortelius's Chesapeake," *The Portolan, Journal of the Washington Map Society* (2004), no 4, issue 61, 37–40.
85. Paul Binding, *Imagined Corners: Exploring the World's First Atlas* (London: Review, 2003), 201. Ortelius had two licenses: one from the Secret Council of the Spanish Netherlands and one from the Council of Brabant.
86. Alonso de Santa Cruz, "Mapa del Golfo y costa."
87. Examining in detail the relationship between the "De Soto" and the Chaves–Ortelius maps lies beyond the scope of this article. A review assessing the large body of diverse scholarly opinion about the relationship between the "De Soto" and Chaves–Ortelius maps would be appropriate and welcome.
88. Patricia K. Galloway, *Practicing Ethnohistory: Mining Archives, Hearing Testimony, Constructing Narrative* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 79. Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 55, puts the number of survivors at 300, including one woman.
89. Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (New York: H. N.Abrams, 1980), 73, 79–81.
90. William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 116–117. See also Peter A. Cowdrey Jr., "Catalogue Annotation to the Chaves–Ortelius Map" in Dana Ste. Claire ed. *Borders of Paradise: A History of Florida through New World Maps* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 28–29.
91. Binding, *Imagined Corners.*
92. Frans Koks, "Ortelius Atlas—Abraham Ortelius: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.* Online at the Library of Congress at *http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gnrlort.html#1.*
93. Cumming and De Vorsey, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, third edition, 43.
94. Weddle, "Spanish Mapping of Texas." Weddle incidentally notes that Chaves's map fails to show the Rio Grande.
95. Cowdrey, "Catalogue Annotation," 28, 32.
96. J. B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), 57–76.
97. Alison Sandman, "Controlling Knowledge: Navigation, Cartography, and Secrecy in the Early Modern Spanish Atlantic," in Nicholas Dew and James Delbourgo eds. *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World, [1500–1800]* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 31–51.
98. Denis Wood and John Fels, *The Natures of Maps: Cartographic Constructions of the Natural World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
99. William Wooldridge (personal communication) suggested copying errors as the cause. Alison Sandman (personal communication) suggests that no one in Ortelius' publishing house had any special knowledge of latitudes and longitudes. Both of these informants are of the opinion that Spanish knowledge of latitudes and longitudes in 1584 far exceeded what the corner coordinates of the Chaves–Ortelius map would suggest.
100. Clifford Merle Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570–1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953). The cited map is Plate III on page 19.

101. The value 2.34 was arrived at by experimentation to best fit the known locations. The test of that value is in the distances shown in the rightmost column of Table 2.,
102. In other words, the author used the precisely known longitude and latitude of the Berry site to establish the same identical longitude and latitude for the town of Joara on the Chaves–Ortelius map. The working segment of the Chaves–Ortelius map has been "normalized" around a point unambiguously known to us.
103. *Virginia Atlas & Gazetteer* (Yarmouth, Maine: DeLorme Mapping Co., sixth ed., 2005). Phoebe Butt is on page 19 at map square D5.
104. Glanville, "Conquistadors at Saltville."
105. The author has posted online the hybrid map at *www.holstonia.net/files/HybridMap.jpg* where it may be examined or downloaded for examination
106. Charles Hudson, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter, "The Hernando De Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha" *Southeastern Archaeology* 3 no. 1 (1984), 65–77. Here, the authors propose the Hot Springs location for Canasoga (Canaragay).
107. Patricia Galloway, "Confederacy as a Solution to Chiefdom Dissolution: Historical Evidence in the Choctaw Case," in 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), 403.
108. "[Our] navigation charts indicates [the French Broad River] is a tributary of the River of Spíritu Sancto." Duncan, *Hernando de Soto: A Savage Quest*, 345. The quote is Duncan's translation of the Ranjel–Oviedo account.
109. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto: A Savage Quest*, 345–46.

Book Review

Brown, Meredith Mason. *Touching America's History: From the Pequot War Through WWII.* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), ISBN: 978-0-253-00833-6.

Meredith Brown's *Touching America's History: From the Pequot War Through WWII* is an effort to link historic objects into a written narrative. Brown selects twelve relics, ranging in origin from the Pequot War to the Second World War, to explore the development of America and its people. Many of the relics are family heirlooms, thus the narrative is as much of Brown's family history as it is America's development. By selecting individual items and linking them to the historical narrative, Brown personalizes and humanizes history. "I do better in history," Brown offers, "when it becomes concrete and personal to me" (1). The objects are varied, although many relate to a military event or person. The emphasis on militarism emphasizes the importance of warfare to America's birth and development. These objects include a sword carried by Brown's ancestor in the Second Seminole War, shavings from the scaffolding from which John Brown was hung in 1859, diaries written by his great-grandfather during the Civil War, a record of a court-martial of his great-uncle who served in the Philippine War, and a section of the toilet bowl used by Adolph Hitler. Each object is treated in its own chapter, with a summation and photo of the object and a discussion of the historical context. *Touching America's History* functions as a written "show-and tell" narrative and as such lacks a unifying thesis or argument.

Material culture provides a tangible connection to the past. Touching the wooden shavings from the platform in which John Brown was hung serves as a concrete connection to the divisiveness of the mid 19th century and the nation's impending Civil War. Brown's chapter on the scaffold shavings includes a summary of John Brown's life and a discussion of the events at Harpers Ferry in October 1859. Another object includes two diaries written by the author's great-grandfather, John Mason Brown, a Kentuckian who served as a colonel in the Union army. Colonel Brown

recounts the volatility of the 19th century Kentucky frontier and his experiences defending Kentucky against the raids by Confederate Colonel John Hunt Morgan. Such is the case with each object. *Touching America's History* doesn't advance or redefine any scholarly debate, nor does it open new interpretive dialogue, but it does underscore the importance of historic objects as primary sources and reaffirms the value of material culture. For the general reader, Brown's book provides a satisfactory narration into key events in American history and humanizes history, not as dates and ideas, but as people and stories. Through such tangible objects, as well as written documents, American history unfolds.

Jennifer M. Murray
University of Virginia's College at Wise

Index to Volume 18

Rachael Garrity

X

Y

Z

The Smithfield Review
Volume 18, 2014

The *Smithfield Review* publishes book reviews. The editors plan for each issue to carry one to three reviews of books dealing with all periods of trans-Appalachian history and culture. We enlist active scholars and professionals to write the reviews. Review copies, requests to review books, and other inquiries may be addressed to:

Tom Costa, Book Review Editor
The *Smithfield Review*
Department of History and Philosophy
The University of Virginia's College at Wise
Wise, VA 24293

The *Smithfield Review* is published annually by the Smithfield Preston Foundation.

Subscriptions are $14.70 per year, including tax; please add $3.50 for shipping. Make checks payable to the Smithfield Museum Store.

Proposals or manuscripts to be considered for publication are welcome. Please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Texts may be of varying length, but should ordinarily not exceed 8,000 words. Annotations should be collected as endnotes.

Please address all correspondence to:
The *Smithfield Review*
555 Edgewood Lane
Blackburg, VA 24060

In this issue —

However, after a few years of relatively harmonious effort, two distinct political factions had begun to form and foreshadow the two party system prevalent in later decades. . . . The issues uniting Federalists are discerned more easily in hindsight than they were in the early1790s. In greatly simplified terms, they sought to lessen the importance and power of the states and to increase that of the federal government. They intended to use the new federal powers to create a much greater income for the federal government, build support for it among important elite groups, reorganize its finances, increase its lowly international status, and encourage large scale international commerce. —**page 5**

This single document provides a wealth of new information about the activities of George Draper and his family from 1745 through 1747. First, the manuscript clearly indicates that George was quite literate and familiar with legal terminology and functions, which may be one reason he was appointed constable. His handwriting is legible and his composition and most of his spelling are very good for the mid-eighteenth century. —**page 32**

At the time they made their trip from Staunton to Buchanan, Washington was 24 years old and Preston 27. One imagines that their two-day journey together might have been idyllic—passing through magnificent, old-growth forest, amid tall, well-spaced trees beginning to take on their fall colors, and with bison to be seen and flocks of passenger pigeons overhead. —**page 53**

In the decade prior to the Civil War, Smithfield Plantation experienced a time of prosperity and modest growth. Modes of transportation improved. By 1848, the Southwest Turnpike (the Great Road) was finally finished through Montgomery County. It was known as the "macadamized road," a road with a finish of crushed rock over well-drained subsoil. Moreover, the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad extended its reach through Montgomery County by 1854, thus furnishing agricultural production a less expensive outlet to distant markets.

—**page 83**

Spaniards were at Saltville in 1567, only 75 years after Columbus's first crossing of the Atlantic. As summarized in Figure 1, their route led them north from Cuba, which they reached in 1514, to St. Augustine in 1565, to Santa Elena in 1566, and to Saltville (called Maniatique by the Spanish) the following year. —**page 98**