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Adam Harman, the New River, and Tom's Creek: An Analysis of the Earliest Documentary Records

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The earliest surviving references to the New River, Tom's Creek, and Euro-American settlement in the New River Valley of southwest Virginia appear in government treaties, court documents, and the private records of the region's first explorers and surveyors. This article presents documentary evidence dating from 1744 that shows Adam Harman settled on the New River by June of that year. Although Euro-Americans undoubtedly visited the New River Valley as early as the late 1600s, no hard evidence of their having settled in the area before 1744 has yet come to light. Using primary source documentation, this article also discusses the naming of the New River and Tom's Creek, the latter being one of the river's tributaries in what is now Montgomery County, and also one of the first creeks named by Euro-Americans in southwest Virginia.

Evidence for Adam Harman on the New River (June 1744)

Between 22 June and 4 July 1744, representatives of the Six Nations and other northern Indian tribes met at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to conduct treaty negotiations with Lieutenant Governor George Thomas of Pennsylvania and commissioners from Virginia and Maryland, with the Pennsylvania government acting as intermediary. The commissioners from Virginia were Thomas Lee and William Beverley. Colonel James Patton (c. 1690–1755) also attended the proceedings and signed the treaty made on 2 July. The result of this meeting—to rectify disputes between the Indians and colonists over western frontier land— was the Indians' renunciation of their claim to any land in the Colony of Virginia for the sum of £400.

What has been called the official record of the Treaty of Lancaster negotiations and agreements was printed by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia in 1744. However, William Parks printed a more complete version in Williamsburg, Virginia, the same year. Among letters sent to the Board of Trade in England from Virginia in 1744 was one "from Colo. [William] Gooch, Lieut. Govr. of Virginia, to the Board, dated the 21 of

Decbr. 1744, transmitting a great number of Publick Papers, A Treaty with the Indians for purchasing Land of them; his remarks on several Acts publick and private." The copy of the treaty that Gooch sent to the board was that printed by William Parks. Page 75 of Parks' edition includes the following entry (see also Figure 1):²

The Indian Road as agreed to at Lancaster, June the 30th, 1744. The present Waggon Road from Cohongoronto above Sherrando River, through the Counties of Frederick and Augusta by Colonel James Wood's, Jacob Tunk's, Jost Hiti's [Hite's], Benjamin Allin's, the Widow Givan's, Colonel James Paton's, Patrick Campbell's, Patrick Haye's, Gilbert Campbell's, Robert Young's Mill, Joseph Long's, Robert Loney's, George Robinson's Mill, on Roanoke [River], to Adam Herman's at Tom's Creek on New River, above the Blue-Ridge; shall be the established Road, for the Indians our Brethren of the Six Nations, to pass to the Southward, when there is War between them and the Catawbas.

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June the 30th, 1744.

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Figure 1. This is the excerpt from William Parks' 1744 printing of the Treaty of Lancaster proceedings, describing "Adam Herman's at Tom's Creek on New River" as the southern terminus of the Indian Road. The document is located in the Colonial Office Papers 5/1325 at the Public Record Office of Great Britain (The National Archives in Kew, London).

This passage is not printed in Benjamin Franklin's edition, and because the Franklin version rather than the Parks version of the treaty proceedings is most often cited by historians, this entry has apparently never been recognized in the literature as containing the earliest mention of Euro-American settlement on the Western Waters (tributaries of the Mississippi River) in Virginia. "Adam Herman's [Harman's] at Tom's Creek on New River" is now indisputably the earliest known, unambiguous documentary record of a colonist settled in the New River Valley. It clearly refers to

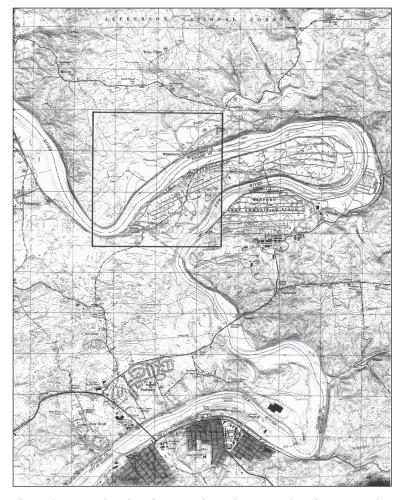


Figure 2. Map showing the area along the New River in present-day Montgomery County, Virginia, that was settled by Adam Harman and his family. The square in the upper left outlines the inset map shown in Figure 3 (page 58). Visible on this map about three miles south of the Harman settlement is the present-day City of Radford. The great "Horseshoe Bottom," known by that name and occupied by Adam Harman's close relative, Jacob Harman Sr., in the 1740s, is today the site of the Radford Army Ammunition Plant. Base map, U.S. Geological Survey, 7.5 minute series: Radford North, Virginia, 1998.

the Adam Harman (c.1700–1767)³ who seems to have overseen the use of a natural ford over the New River about 1.5 miles west (down the river) from the mouth of Tom's Creek (Figures 2, 3).⁴ The creek was simply a prominent landmark used to identify the locale in the Treaty proceedings. It is the author's opinion that Harman and his family had built a cabin by June 1744, probably at the present site of the James R. Kent plantation house, on a hill overlooking the vast New River bottomland at what is now called "Whitethorne" and "Kentland Farm" in present-day Montgomery County. The Kent brick mansion (built in the 1820s–1830s) replaced an earlier log house built in the 1790s by Abram Trigg,⁵ with that house possibly replacing or incorporating an earlier existing structure or the remnants thereof.

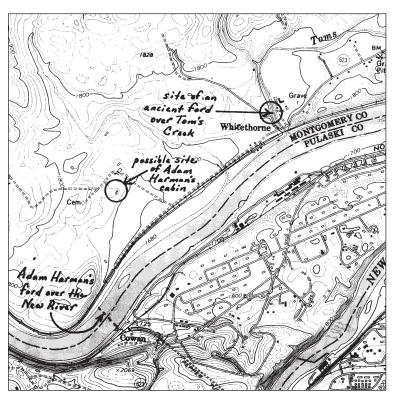


Figure 3. Inset map showing the location of Adam Harman Sr.'s settlement. There is only one convenient place to ford Tom's Creek at this locale, as indicated on the map. This was undoubtedly where the Indian Road crossed Tom's Creek. The author has also marked the location of the ford across the New River and the possible location of Adam Harman's house. Base map, U.S. Geological Survey, 7.5 minute series: Radford North, Virginia, 1998.

New/Wood's River

The few extant records dating from the 1740s and 1750s indicate that the New River was called New River and Wood's River interchangeably and with about equal frequency. The earliest known record of the river's being called the "New River" appears in the Treaty of Lancaster proceeding of 30 June 1744 (Figure 1). The name "New River" most likely derives from this river's being a prominent newfound or "new" river, as it was west of the James and Roanoke Rivers upon which waters colonists settled when westward expansion began in earnest during the late 1730s and early 1740s.⁶

Colonels John Buchanan (d. 1769) and James Patton called the New River both "New" and "Wood's River" starting in the 1740s. For example, in his land entry book, John Buchanan noted in 1745 that he was agent for the "new River Company." John Buchanan referred to the company as "Col. James Patton and Company" at least as early as November 1747, but he called the river "Wood's River" on the title page of his 1745 journal of his tour of the settlement. Similarly, on a paper included with Buchanan's copy of the 1746 terms of the company's 100,000-acre grant of April 1745, Patton wrote: "A booke of Entreys & other Papers Belonging to the new River Grante on the waters of the Misisipioa on the fronteire of Virginia in North America 1749." When Dr. Thomas Walker (1715–1794) reached the river on 16 March 1750 during his exploratory expedition for his own Loyal Land Company, he called it the "New River."

The earliest reference to the New River by the name "Wood's River," and possibly the oldest surviving record of the river itself, is found in the Virginia Council's decision of 25 October 1743 on James Patton and Company's petition for 200,000 acres.¹² The explorer John Peter Salling (Sally) had reached the New River in March 1741/42 [1742]¹³ as a member of the John Howard expedition. In his account of the expedition, apparently written after his return in the spring of 1745, Sally noted that his party killed five buffalos at "Mondongachate now called Woods River." ¹⁴

Following the Treaty of Lancaster, Governor Gooch held a council meeting on 6 August 1744 in Williamsburg. The report of the meeting states:

This day was read the Treaty concluded at Lancaster by the Honble Thomas Lee Esqr. & Colonel William Beverley on the behalf of this Colony with the six united Nations of Indians & their Release of all their Right to all the Lands within this Colony And it was Order'd that that part of it relating to the Roads agreed to be printed in the Publick Gazette and all Persons required to take due Notice thereof and pay a strict Obedience thereto.¹⁵

At a court held in Frederick County on 5 March 1744/45 [1745], it was "[o]rdered that Robert Green Gent. & John Newport petition the Court of Orange County for a Road from the County line of Frederick to the upper Inhabitants of Augusta on Woods River." A directive written by Colonel John Buchanan, probably also in March 1744/45, reads as follows:

Memorandam That you motion to ye court of orange To appoaint Proper Men To nominate and appoaint certian persons To Lea [lay] off and survey a Road from fredrick county Through Augusta crossing James River at ye Chrerey [Cherry] tree Bottom thence [illegible] [Egle Bottom—marked out in the document] to woods River at the most convanint [convenient] place of passing. N.B. That Colo. Patton survey & Lay off from fredrick to Burdens [Benjamin Borden's?] Line and Colo. Buchanan Lea off from thence to woods River &c.¹⁷

Wood's River was also mentioned in the proceedings of an Orange County Court held on 24 May 1745:

James Patton and John Buchanan Gent. having viewed the way from Frederick County Line Through the Part of this County called Augusta according to the order made at the Last March Court made their Report in these words 'Pursuant to an Order of Orange Court dated the Thirteenth Day of March 1745 [1744/45] We the Subscribers have viewed laid of f and Marked the said road mentioned in the said Order as followeth Viz. To begin at Thom's Brook at Frederick County line and to go from thence...to a ford at the Cherry tree Bottom on James River...and that the said Road continue from the said Cherry tree Bottom to Adam Harmon's on the New or Woods River and that Capt. George Robinson and James Campbell and Mark Evins and James Davison be Overseers of the same and that all the Inhabitants between James River and Woods River clear the same and that a Distinct Order be Given to Every Gang to Clear the same and that it be Cleared as it is already Blazed and laid of f with Two Notches and a Cross Given under our hands this 8th Day of April 1745 James Patton – John Buchannon' whereupon it is Ordered that the said way be from henceforth established a Publick Road. 18

The previously mentioned Frederick and Orange (later Augusta) County road orders of March 1744/45 all use the name "Wood's River." A few years later, the Ohio Company explorer Christopher Gist (c. 1705–1759) referred to the river as the "Kanhawa or new river (by some called Woods river)" when he passed through the New River Valley in May 1751.¹⁹

There seems to be no extant historical record providing an explanation for the origin of the name "Wood's River." One possibility is that it was named for Major General Abraham Wood (c.1615–c.1681).²⁰ In September 1671, Wood sent Thomas Batte, Robert Hallam, and Thomas Wood west from Fort Henry in the Tidewater of Virginia to explore the western mountains and search for a passage to the "South Sea." Thomas Wood died early in the expedition, but Batte and Hallam apparently reached the New River in what is now southwest Virginia.²¹ It is thus not unreasonable to assume that at least by the early 1700s the river that Batte and Hallam had found and reported was becoming better known to Indian traders and other intrepid explorers. Perhaps a tradition had developed of calling it "Wood's River" for the sponsor of the Batte and Hallam expedition, even though no evidence has been found that Abraham Wood himself ever saw it. It may even be that Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam named the river to honor either Abraham Wood or their exploration party member, Thomas Wood, who had died early in the expedition.

Another possible explanation is that the river was named for Colonel James Wood (c.1707-1759), clerk and surveyor of Orange and later Frederick County, and the founder of Winchester, Virginia.²² Wood was a friend of James Patton and John Buchanan and also a prominent member of the 21-member New/Wood's River Company, as evidenced, for example, by Buchanan's notation on his bill against the company "[t]o view the Land pr order of Colo. Patton & Colo. [James] Wood Before ye order of Council was obtained" in 1743.23 Moreover, in the 1746 terms of the New River Company, James Wood's name appears alongside those of James Patton, John Buchanan, and George Robinson, suggesting that he was a leading member, since these were the only members specifically listed by name.²⁴ The river had undoubtedly been known to at least some eastern and central Virginians for some time, but it may not have been until the early 1740s that the westernmost inhabitants of Orange and Augusta counties named it in honor of James Wood, a county magistrate held in high esteem. Although this suggestion is entirely speculation, it is worth considering.

Tom's Creek

The person for whom Tom's Creek was named is even more difficult to identify. That the creek was already called "Tom's Creek" in June 1744 might indicate that an explorer or settler named Tom had preceded or was a contemporary of Adam Harman. John Buchanan's 1745 entry of land for Adam Harman at "Toms pleace" [Tom's Place], presumably along Tom's Creek, hints that someone named Tom had some affiliation with the locale.²⁵ This is not necessarily the case, however. Places at the time probably were not always named for people who had actually discovered or settled them; the names of friends and acquaintances were no doubt often used.

Patricia Givens Johnson's speculation that Tom's Creek was named for Thomas Jones, the grandson of Abraham Wood,²⁶ is unsubstantiated. This speculation apparently hinged on Lyman Chalkley's abstract of the circa 1750 lawsuit *Michael and Augustine Price vs. Israel Lorton and James Patton.*²⁷ In fact, Chalkley misread attorney John Harvie's handwriting and deciphered as a "J" what Harvie had clearly written as a "T" in Tom's Creek throughout the case documents. Chalkley therefore mistakenly wrote in 1912 that Israel Lorton had bought a tract of 400 acres "at [the] mouth of Jones (Toms) Creek." Furthermore, none of the surviving early records from this period ever referred to Tom's Creek as Jones Creek. If Tom's Creek had been named for anyone associated with Abraham Wood, it would most likely have been either Thomas Batte or Thomas Wood, two of the three men who led the 1671 exploratory expedition that may or may not have encountered the creek.

The only other reasonable possibilities with regard to Tom's Creek seem to be the names Thomas Looney, Thomas Deleney, Thomas Walker, and Thomas Lewis. Possibly one of these men was the enigmatic Tom. Thomas Looney (c. 1718–1755?) may have lived somewhere in the New River Valley at least as early as 1746.²⁹ He appears to have been the sonin-law of Adam Harman Sr., having married one of Harman's daughters about 1735–1739.³⁰ A man named "Thomas Deleney" served as a chain carrier for John Buchanan on his 1743 exploratory and surveying expedition into southwest Virginia. ³¹ Dr. Thomas Walker was an early explorer and surveyor of western Virginia and was well known to James Patton and John Buchanan, although he was not a member of the New River Company.³² Finally, Thomas Lewis (1718–1790), Surveyor of Augusta County, while also not a company member, could conceivably have visited or even surveyed land on the western waters in the early 1740s. More importantly, however, Lewis' close affiliation with Patton, Buchanan, other company members, and

probably some of the first New River settlers, is significant. James Patton once referred to him as "[T]om Lewis." But like so many mysteries of the early frontier period, the truth of this matter may never be known.

Summary

This article has presented documentary evidence that Adam Harman Sr. was settled along the New River in what is now Montgomery County, Virginia, by June 1744, the earliest known record of any settler living in the New River Valley. However, because records from the early 1740s with references to the Virginia backcountry are scarce, it remains possible that other settlers preceded Harman by several years. Furthermore, it seems possible that Harman and his family travelled to the New River Valley with other settlers whose names are unknown. The author has also examined documentation from the 1740s and early 1750s to help speculate on the origins of the names New River, Wood's River, and Tom's Creek, which are among the earliest names Euro-Americans gave to watercourses in southwest Virginia. The names New River and Tom's Creek have survived to the present day.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my thanks to the following persons for their assistance to me in obtaining primary source documents for use in this study: Nancy Weaver and other members of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Interlibrary Loan staff; the Library of Virginia Interlibrary Loan staff; John Davis, clerk of Augusta County Circuit Court; Vickie Arnold, deputy clerk of Augusta County Circuit Court; Jim Holmberg, curator of manuscripts at the Filson Historical Society; Sara Bearss, deceased, former editor of the Dictionary of Virginia Biography at the Library of Virginia; John McClure, reference department manager at the Virginia Historical Society; Katherine Wilkins, reference librarian at the Virginia Historical Society, and other members of the VHS reference staff; Bruce Kirby, Julie Miller, Lia Apodeca, and other members of the Manuscript Division staff at the Library of Congress; Heather Riser, Special Collections librarian at the University of Virginia; Matt Gorzalski, Wendy Pflug, and Jennifer Nicol of the Archives Service Center at the University of Pittsburgh. I also thank Mary B. Kegley, Jim Glanville, and three anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier draft of the manuscript, as well as Dwight Paulette, Jr., manager of VPI Kentland Farm, for permission to explore the land owned by Adam Harman.

Endnotes

Abbreviations and symbols:

ACCH = Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, Virginia

CO = Colonial Office

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

MCCH = Montgomery County Court House, 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, Mss1 P9267f, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. Microfilmed by the Library of Congress PRO = Public Record Office, Great Britain.

VHS = Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia

- David E. Washburn, ed., The Peoples of Pennsylvania: An Annotated Bibliography of Resource Materials (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1981), 131. The full text of the Franklin version is included in James H. Merrell, ed., The Lancaster Treaty of 1744 with Related Documents (Boston, Mass.: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008), 41-126.
- [Cadwallader Colden], [ed.,] The Treaty Held with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, in June, 1744, to Which is Prefixed, An Account of the First Confederacy of the Six Nations, Their Present Tributaries, Dependents, and Allies, and of Their Religion, and Form of Government (Williamsburg, Va.: William Parks, 1744), Enclosure in William Gooch's letter to the Board of Trade, 21 December 1744, CO 5/1325, PRO, National Archives, United Kingdom.
- Information on the early life and genealogy of Adam Harman is found in John N. Harman Sr., Harman Genealogy (Southern Branch) with Biographical Sketches and Historical Notes, 1700–1924 (Radford, Va.: Commonwealth Press, Inc., 1925, reprinted 1983), 47–51. Although Adam's full name was apparently Heinrich Adam Herrmann, in the early Virginia records his given name Heinrich was never used. The author of this article has chosen to refer to him as Adam Harman. However, there were various other spellings of his surname (e.g. Herman, Hermon, Harmon). To further confuse matters, Harman had a son named Adam: Harman, Harman Genealogy, 58, 60. In some cases the two men were designated Adam Harman Sr. and Adam Harman Jr. in the early records, but when only "Adam Harman" is mentioned it is usually impossible to determine with absolute certainty that it was Adam Harman Sr. It should also be noted that John M. Harman Sr.'s Harman Genealogy is an old publication that is very poorly referenced, with much of the material coming only from secondary sources. One important primary source document that was used, however, is "Adam's 'German Lutheran Bible,' which was handed down from him to his son, Henry Sr....This Bible was sent to the writer in October, 1923....While some of these records are dim and others somewhat mutilated, we here insert a very satisfactory translation of them." Harman, Harman Genealogy, 49-50. Information relating to Harman's marriage and the death of his wife and at least two of his children in Harman Genealogy thus appears to have come directly from Adam Harman's Bible. This document is preserved in the Virginia Historical Society: Harman Family Bible records, 1723–1767, Mss 6:4

- H2278:2. The author has obtained photocopies of it, but has not yet had the text translated from the German. The best biographical sketches of Adam Harman and the Harman family published since *Harman Genealogy* can be found in Frederick B. Kegley and Mary 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), 217–227, and in Zola Troutman Noble, "Adam Harman, German Pioneer on the New River," *Smithfield Review* 13 (2009), 5–28.
- Adam Harman's ford on the New River, located approximately 1.5 miles southwest down the river from the mouth of Tom's Creek, is clearly marked on John Poage's survey plat (as copied by Augusta County surveyor Thomas Lewis into his court record book of county surveys) depicting the Horseshoe Bottom tract of 985 acres across the river from Adam Harman's 500acre survey: John Poage's surveys of 985 acres "at a place called the Horseshoe Bottom [now the site of Radford Army Ammunition Plant] in a Bent [bend] of the New River," for Jacob Harman, 21 March 1750/51 and 500 acres "on the north side of the new River & on Toms Creek opposite to ye lower End of the Horseshoe Bottom," 22 March 1750/51, Augusta County Surveyor's Record 1:52a, ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 107. Poage noted (according to Thomas Lewis' transcription) that the Horseshoe Bottom survey began "at an Iron Wood [probably American hornbeam, Carpinus caroliniana] at Adam Harmons ford." See also William Preston's copy of this survey: William Preston, Survey Book, 1750s-1760s, PP-VHS, Folder 67, LC microfilm reel 2. The ford is a naturally shallow place in the New River where a ledge or series of rocks spans the river's bottom from its north to south bank, forming a convenient crossing, especially Harman's ford was obviously a well-known road crossing and an important at low water. landmark at least as late as March 1750/51. It had probably been used by the Indians who occupied the New River bottomlands in centuries past, and became well-known to hunters and other early adventurers by the 1740s: See 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), 109-113, for a helpful discussion.
- Johnson, Kentland at Whitethorne, 22, 29-30; John Kern, "Kentland Farm, A New River Plantation," Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society 13 (1996), 45-52; Henry E. Albert, Log Cabin Heritage: A Historical and Genealogical Insight into the Middle New River Settlement (Dayton, Ohio: Henry E. Albert, privately printed), 139-42. The last author (Albert) stated flatly that Adam Harman's cabin was located where the Kent mansion stands today, although he cited no definite evidence. See also Montgomery County Deed Book E:31, MCCC, LVA microfilm reel 3: Abram Trigg and his wife Susana sold to Philip Harless [Jr.] a tract of 133 [sic] acres on Tom's Creek "where the said Abram now lives & deeded to him by John Smith." The tract began on an old patent line "at the mouth of Tom's Creek" and ran "near the line of the sd. Philip Harless's Land where he now lives," crossed Tom's Creek, and met a corner with Harless' 600acre survey. It also included "one acre at the waggon ford [on Tom's Creek] for the benefit of a mill seat," apparently just above the mouth of Tom's Creek; Deed of 1,630 acres "on the east side of New River adjoining & below Tom's Creek...Beginning at a hickory and white oak at the mouth of Tom's creek on the lower side being corner of the survey on Buchannans bottom," from Abram and Susana Trigg to Gordon, Thomas, and David Cloyd, Montgomery County Deed Book E:392–93, MCCC, LVA microfilm reel 3.
- See for example: 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), 51–201.
- Wood's River Land Entry Book 1745–1781, Preston Family Papers, 1658–1896, Davie Collection, Folder 52, Mss A P937d, FHS.
- John Buchanan's survey of 700 acres at a place called Clamper Ground, 14 November 1747, PP-VHS, Folder 25, LC microfilm reel 2.

- John Buchanan's "Memorandum Book 1745: Memorandams Relating Sundrey passages With Respect to my Journey to wood's River commencing ye 4 octobr 1745," 4–29 October 1745, Preston Papers (PP), Draper Manuscripts (DM), 1QQ38–48, Microfilm reel 110.
- 10. James Patton's Memorandum, 1749, PP-DM, 1QQ58, Microfilm reel 110.
- Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker 1750, William C. Rives Papers, 1674–1939, MSS37937, Library of Congress; Lewis P. Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia 1760–1800* (Abingdon, Va.: L.P. Summers, 1929), 8–26.
- Journal of Council, 25 October 1743, CO 5/1423, PRO, Library of Virginia microfilm reel 18, Virginia Colonial Records Project; Wilmer L. Hall, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, vol. 5 (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1945), 133–34.
- 13. This was the old style of dating based on the Julian calendar in use at the time. The new year began on 25 March and both the old and new year were written together during the months of January, February, and March until 1752. Therefore, March 1741/42 is the same as March 1742 (by the Gregorian calendar, new style).
- 14. John Peter Salling (Sally), "A Brief Account of ye Travels of Mr. John Peter Salley, a German living in the County of Augusta in the Colony of Virginia to ye Westward of that Colony as far as the River Mississipi between March 1741,2 & May 1745," CO 5/1327, PRO, LVA microfilm reel 44. This document was sent to the Board of Trade by acting Governor Lewis Burwell in August 1751. It was probably not written by Salling, but transcribed and perhaps polished from the original, which seems not to have survived. The author has found Salling's signature on documents in Augusta County Courthouse and the handwriting certainly does not match. For example: Augusta County Court Case, Judgment March 1755, Bond dated 6 June 1751, John Buchanan vs. John Peter Salling, File 395, August County Courthouse (ACCH). Here Salling signed as "Jahan Pator Saling." The note was written by Colonel Buchanan. Buchanan also mentioned in his journal of 1745 that he copied Salling's journal on 7 October at Salling's cabin, which stood along the James River at the modern town of Glasgow in Rockbridge County: John Buchanan's "Memorandum Book 1745: Memorandams Relating Sundrey passages With Respect to my Journey to wood's River commencing ye 4 octobr 1745," 7 October 1745, PP-DM, 1QQ39, Microfilm reel 110. However, Buchanan's transcription, too, is apparently lost. For discussions of the John Howard expedition and John Peter Salling, see: Fairfax Harrison, "The Virginians on the Ohio and the Mississippi in 1742," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 30 (1922), 203-222; Richard Batman, "The Odyssey of John Peter Salley," Virginia Cavalcade 31 (1981), 5-11; and Dan Kegley, "Searching for the Explorer Johan Peter Saling," Journal of the History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia 16 (2004), 51-60.
- 15. Hall, Executive Journals of the Council, 156–57.
- 16. Frederick County Order Book 1:265, FCCH, LVA microfilm reel 66.
- 17. Orange County Judgments, March 1745, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 93. The memorandum is unsigned but is clearly written in the hand of Colonel John Buchanan. On the back of the document is written in the hand of Frederick County clerk Colonel James Wood: "Memm. To Motion Orange Court to Appoint proper persons to Lay of the Road from Fredk. County thro Augusta." Cherry Tree Bottom was located on the north side of the James River just west of present-day Buchanan in modern Botetourt County. The "Egle Bottom" [Eagle Bottom], which Buchanan marked out in his memorandum, was located along the New River around the site of the later Ingles Ferry (operated by William Ingles, husband of Mary Draper Ingles) and where Interstate 81 now crosses the New River downstream from the mouth of the Little River. Eagle Bottom was probably the bottomland on the present-day Montgomery County side of the river at or near what is now known as Ingles Bottom. A man by the name of John Stroud appears to have been the first settler to have occupied the locale, if only for a short period. See: Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 1:284–285; Augusta County Land Entry Book 1:13(2), ACCH, LVA microfilm reel 108a; David John Mays, *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton 1734–1803*, vol. 1 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1967), 9.

- 18. Orange County Order Book 4:331–32, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 31.
- 19. Christopher Gist's Journal, Entry of 8 May 1751, Ohio Company Papers, 1736–1813, DAR.1925.02, Darlington Collection, Special Collections Department, University of Pittsburgh. Another transcription of the original journal, which is now lost, in this same collection reads: "The Conhaway or new River (by some called Wood's River)." See also: Lois Mulkearn, ed., George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954), 120.
- Alan V. Briceland, "Abraham Wood" in *American National Biography*, vol. 23, John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 748–49.
- 21. Alan V. Briceland, Westward From Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier, 1650–1710 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1987), 124–26; Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays, "Where Was Totera Town," Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal 20 (2011), 31–43. The surnames "Batts" and "Fallam" used so often in the literature are simply incorrect. Their names were Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam. See, for instance, Alan V. Briceland, "Thomas Batte," in Dictionary of Virginia Biography, vol. 1, Sara B. Bearss et al., eds. (Richmond, Va.: Library of Virginia, 2001), 390–92.
- 22. A valuable recent study of Colonel James Wood is Richard W. Stephenson, "The Life and Times of Colonel James Wood, Surveyor and Founder of Winchester, Va.," *Journal of the Winchester–Frederick County Historical Society* 13 (2001), 55–95. James Wood once wrote the following salutation in closing a letter to Colonel John Buchanan dated 19 December 1746: "I hope you are in good health and am Sr. [Sir] Yr. [Your] real friend & hble [humble] Servant JWood." PPVHS, Folder 33, LC microfilm reel 2. For this and other reasons, it is the author's opinion that Buchanan and Wood may have surveyed land together during the early 1740s. Buchanan was the principal agent and surveyor of land on the Virginia frontier from circa 1745 through 1751.
- 23. John Buchanan's Account with the New River Company, invoiced 18 April 1751, PP-VHS, Folder 13, LC microfilm reel 2. His dating the account to 1 May 1743 suggests that most of the subsequent entries pertained to this one expedition, since no other dates apart from that of the invoice itself were listed.
- 24. Proclamation of the Terms of the Grant for 100,000 acres on Wood's River and Two Rivers to the Westward Thereof, 10 October 1746, PP-DM, 1QQ57, Microfilm reel 110; Wood's River Land Entry Book 1745–1781, Preston Family Papers, 1658–1896, Davie Collection, Folder 52, Mss A P937d, FHS.
- Wood's River Land Entry Book 1745–1781, Preston Family Papers, 1658–1896, Davie Collection, Folder 52, Mss A P937d, FHS.
- 26. Johnson, Kentland at Whitethorne, 6-8.
- 27. Augusta County Court Case, Chancery Cause 1752-003, Michael and Augustine Price vs. Israel Lorton and James Patton, Documents dated 1748–1752, File 392, ACCH. The author first examined and made photocopies of the documents in this case file in 2009. The file has since been removed from the courthouse by the Library of Virginia for digitization along with all other Augusta County chancery records. It is now located at LVA. For a new analysis of the records of this lawsuit, see: Ryan S. Mays, "The Draper's Meadows Settlement (1746–1756) Part I: George Draper and Family," Smithfield Review 14 (2014), 25–50.
- 28. Lyman Chalkley, Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia Extracted From the Original Court Records of Augusta County 1745–1800, vol. 1 (Rosslyn, Va.: Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912), 307–8.
- 29. A road order of 19 November 1746 listing Thomas Looney as a settler directed to help clear the Indian Road from Adam Harman's ford on the New River (at present-day Whitethorne) to the North Fork of the Roanoke River, indicates that Looney was probably then living in the New River Valley: Orange County Order Book 4:413, OCCH, LVA microfilm reel 31. However, he could have been located somewhere on the North Fork of the Roanoke. Thomas Looney was later involved in a lawsuit with a man named William Pepper in 1756. He had evidently been

- living on the New River because in March of that year a deputy sheriff, who had been ordered to arrest him, noted that he was afraid to go the New River because of the recent murders committed by Indians. Another paper noted that by March he had left the county: Augusta County Court Case, Judgment August 1756, *William Pepper vs. Thomas Looney*, File 399, ACCH.
- 30. 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), 138, 327; 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, vol. 2 (Apollo, Pa.: Closson Press, 2008), 37–38, 49, 713–14, 716.
- 31. John Buchanan's Account with the New River Company, invoiced 18 April 1751, PP-VHS, Folder 13, LC microfilm reel 2. (See also endnote 24 above.)
- 32. See for example: Alexander C. McLeod, "A Man for All Regions: Dr. Thomas Walker of Castle Hill," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 71 (1997), 169–201.
- 33. James Patton's Levy Account, 1743–1745, PP-VHS, Folder 15, LC microfilm reel 2. For a biographical sketch of Thomas Lewis, see: Arthur T. McClinton, The Fairfax Line: A Historic Landmark, Written by Arthur T. McClinton, John W. Coleman, Francis F. Wayland, Including Republication of The Fairfax Line Thomas Lewis's Journal of 1746, John W. Wayland, Editor (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, Inc., 1990, originally published 1925), 23–29. For much additional information on Thomas Lewis, Thomas Walker, and James Wood, see: Sarah S. Hughes, Surveyors and Statesmen Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia (Richmond, Va.: The Virginia Surveyors Foundation and The Virginia Association of Surveyors, 1979), which includes important discussions on the early history of surveying in Virginia and provides a wealth of information on the land companies and surveyors of western Virginia during the colonial period.