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Dr. Thomas Walker's Influence on Thomas Jefferson's Lewis and Clark Expedition

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DR. THOMAS WALKER'S INFLUENCE ON

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

by

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ABSTRACT

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The greatest accomplishments of Thomas Jefferson's presidency were the purchase of the Louisiana territory, which doubled the size of the United States, and the discoveries made by the Lewis and Clark expedition. These were not just single events that sprang into being in 1803, as we learned in elementary school, but the fulfillment of a lifetime of study and effort for Jefferson. Many factors influenced Jefferson to make the decisions that culminated in these twin events.

This thesis examines the role of Doctor Thomas Walker, who was Thomas Jefferson's guardian, neighbor, and friend, to demonstrate the influence of a lesser-known person on the larger issues of America's westward movement. This study intends to consider Thomas Walker's life in terms of the long relationship between the Walker and Jefferson families to discover in what ways and to what extent Thomas Walker might have influenced Thomas Jefferson. In his instructions outlining the goals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Jefferson reflects Walker's attitudes towards land exploration and mapping, using the land as a resource and developing relations with the natives.

Primary materials used to support this thesis were the words of the men themselves. The author examined the journal of Thomas Walker's 1750 journey of exploration, correspondence between the two men, government records of their actions as public servants, and Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View of the Rights of British America* and

Notes on the State of Virginia in order to establish Walker's influence over Jefferson in terms of their personal philosophies about land and relationships with natives. Further examination of President Jefferson's instructions to Meriwether Lewis demonstrated how those philosophies influenced the mission of the Corps of Discovery's exploration of the Louisiana Purchase.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the members of my thesis committee. Dr. Michael Carhart pushed me to begin thinking about how to tell Dr. Walker's story. His comments and suggestions helped me think about this project in new ways. Dr. Cathy L. Pearson helped me make some important connections between the history of colonial America and the history of the ancient Romans. It is important for me to be able to satisfy both halves of my academic self. My greatest thanks go to Dr. Jane T. Merritt for giving me well-timed nudges in the right direction and encouragement when I had nearly given up in despair.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When European nations began colonizing the North American continent their explorers initially sought resources that might yield quick wealth such as precious metals or furs. If those resources were not readily available, they had to determine what resources existed that might be marketable and therefore provide the riches they were seeking. Eventually competition for these resources required them to develop a method for determining ownership. The question of ownership put the Europeans in conflict with each other as well as with the native population. As British colonists, and the Americans afterward, continued to move west, they continued to confront these issues. In adapting the property laws and philosophies of the Old World to the situations of the New World, each new generation built upon the experiences of the previous generation.

Settlers came to Virginia because they believed that they would have the opportunity to rise above the economic status into which they were born. Men wanted this upward mobility, not just to lead lives that were more comfortable, but also to have the power to be able to shape the world in which they lived. As they moved into the interior of the continent, Virginia's vast expanse of land, and the relative ease of acquiring it, made the frontier a suitable place for colonists to become independent and to create a society of their choosing, far away from the conventions of the eastern seaboard and farther from the government and society of England. Even though far away and desirous of creating some independence, inhabitants maintained "important lines of social, economic, and

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This paper follows the format requirements of *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations* 6th edition by Kate L. Turabian.

political connection between the backcountry and American (and European) cultural centers."[1] Through the acquisition of land and subsequent wealth created from the sale of tobacco or other, surplus agricultural products, one could gain a measure of respectability and thereby gain entry into the world of politics. With growing economic power, one encountered, and endeavored to strengthen relationships with, individuals that were more powerful through marriage, common religion, and political ties. By an informal understanding, the size and worth of a man's real estate or control of real estate determined how far he could go politically.[2] Thomas Walker was a man hungry for wealth, power, and influence so that he could shape his own world. In this, he was typical of many men of his age.

However, Walker was also extraordinary in that he was involved, and influential, in so many diverse ventures. "If ever there was a man with many irons in the fire it was Thomas Walker," one early twentieth century historian remarked.[3] He was a physician who became a huge landowner. Through his land interests and the status he achieved in the community, he was appointed a surveyor.[4] His interest in land coupled with his surveying skills influenced a land speculator to ask Walker to join his expedition to survey his company's land in the mountains of Virginia.[5] Walker and his newfound friends then set up another, larger speculation company, which named Walker as leader

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[1] Gregory H. Nobles, "Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier, 1750-1800," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Ser., 46, no. 4 (Oct. 1989): 643.

[2] L. Scott Philyaw, *Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion on an Early American Frontier* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 29.

[3] Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the 18th Century* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1931), 243.

[4] *Virginia Gazette*, 8 December 1752.

[5] Samuel Cole Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country 1540-1800* (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1928), 165.

of its exploration of lands even farther west.[6] The information he recorded in the journal he kept of his exploration influenced mapmakers of the colony and North America. Because of the contacts he made as a neighbor, surveyor, and explorer with settlers in the west, the governor of Virginia asked Walker to serve in both the French and Indian war and the Cherokee War as a commissary.[7] The beginnings of Doctor Walker's influence were through connections he made in land speculation.

While pushing the boundaries of his influence farther west, Walker also influenced the lives of others through various governmental bodies at home. As a vestryman for his home parish, he was instrumental in governing church affairs. This included processioning, or surveying, the lands within the parish, caring for church property and buildings, collecting tithes, and caring for indigents.[8] As was common with many large landowners, he served from 1752 through the Revolutionary War in the Virginia House of Burgesses as the representative from Louisa, Hampshire, and Albemarle counties.[9] After his examination of the records of the House of Burgesses, historian L. Scott Philyaw determined that a large percentage of its members were land speculators.[10] Due to his experience with various Indian tribes as an explorer, as commissary during the French and Indian war and the Cherokee War,[11] as well as personal relationships he

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[6] "A List of Early Land Patents and Grants," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 5, no. 2 (Oct. 1897): 177.

[7] R. A. Brock, ed., *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddi,e* 2 vols. (Richmond: The Society, 1883), 1: 439-440.

[8] "Fredericksville Parish Vestry Book, 1742-1787," Special Collections, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

[9] Jack P. Greene, "Foundations of Political Power in Virginia House of Burgesses, 1720-1776," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 16, no. 4 (Oct. 1959): 501.

[10] Philyaw, *Virginia's Western Visions,* 26 quoting Lucille Griffith, *The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774* (Northport, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1968), 129.

[11] George Reese, ed., *The Official papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758-1768,* 3 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 2:507-508.

developed with some Indians,[12] the government of Virginia relied on Thomas Walker as its representative in negotiating several treaties with the Indians. Treaties with the Indians most often involved an exchange of land and called for drawing new boundaries between the Indians and the colonies, as well as between the colonies that claimed the new land. Because of his experiences drawing boundaries as an Indian negotiator and as a surveyor, the Virginia government appointed Walker a member of its committee involved in surveying its boundary with North Carolina. Once he had acquired wealth and status through land ownership, it was natural for Walker to become part of decision-making groups.

In spite of his involvement in so many different and important events in Virginia and American history, Doctor Thomas Walker remains a shadowy figure. However, he is an interesting person to use as a case study to demonstrate the influence of a lesser-known person on the larger issues of America's westward movement. Because he worked on the sidelines, in the background, or in a group of more illustrious people, his story remains not much more than a footnote in larger histories. This study intends to consider Thomas Walker's life in terms of the long relationship between the Walker and Jefferson families to discover in what ways and to what extent Walker might have influenced Thomas Jefferson. In his instructions outlining the goals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Jefferson reflects Walker's attitudes towards land exploration and mapping, using the land as a resource, and developing relations with the natives.

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[12] Archibald Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company of Virginia* (Worcester, MA: The American Antiquarian Society, 1931), 75. Walker's deposition given March 15, 1777 said that in August 1751 Attacullalah (Attakullakulla) and other Indian Chiefs came to visit Dr. Walker at his home. Richard Canning Moore Page, *Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia* (New York: Publishers' Print Co., 1893), 216. According to family legend, at Castle Hill Dr. Walker met with Indians under a cherry tree where one of them was heard to say excitedly "Domi-nickah-hee-hay-skeesh-skeesh!"

Historians have examined these issues from a variety of viewpoints. Originally, historians concentrated on the major themes of colonial America to show how the events of that time led inevitably to the American Revolution against England. Biographies of this period have concentrated on those men who were eventually instrumental in forming the government of the new country. Recently, historians have re-examined the colonial period from the viewpoint of those whose voices have been silent previously: common men, soldiers, women, religious groups, slaves, and natives. Woody Holton's book, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia*, explored how those lesser-known people influenced others to make the decisions that led the American colonies to revolt against England and shape a new country. His central thesis was that famous decision makers did not act within a vacuum, but, influenced by others, they reacted to events as they unfolded.[13] Although Dr. Thomas Walker was one of the lesser-known people, he did have an influence on events that led to the birth of the new nation and its policies toward the frontier.

Frederick Jackson Turner's well-known concept of the American frontier as "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward,"[14] while groundbreaking in the nineteenth century, has been deemed too simplistic by more recent historians. In 1966, John T. Juricek argued that Turner's understanding of the word frontier was much different from that used by early European settlers. He agreed that this area was sparsely settled, but claimed that the land was not "free land" but the front line of the contest among several entities for control of

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[13] Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

[14] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* [book on-line] (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1935, accessed 19 June 2006); available from http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER; Internet.

the land. Originally, colonists referred to the west as the backcountry as their orientation, or front, was to England in the east. Using the term frontier, meaning the west, became more widespread when Americans broke away and turned their backs on England to pursue the land of the interior.[15] Because his orientation was westward, rather than eastward, Thomas Walker was a frontiersman in the latter sense of the word. Although Dr. Walker was involved in trade with England, he realized that he could have a greater fortune through land development in the backcountry. In order to be successful, he had to understand the nature of the backcountry inhabitants-both natives and Euramerican settlers-so that he could profit from exploiting their needs.

Thomas Walker may not have come to this realization or been able to achieve his level of wealth and influence had he stayed in Tidewater where he was born. The older, more influential families there might have made his upward mobility difficult, if not impossible. Richard Beeman's narrowly focused book *The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1832* used one location as a case study to explore the demographics of those who inhabited the frontier. In his research, he examined the county's records, which wealthy, educated men primarily wrote. While this evidence was helpful in pointing out certain trends of the backcountry, the lack of evidence from other inhabitants of the county revealed an incomplete picture. However, from the information he could gather, Beeman maintained that settlers came west not to divorce themselves from eastern society, but to be able to participate in it. The goal of farming in Lunenburg County was not just subsistence, but surplus that could be exported for esteemed English goods. Just like Dr. Walker, the wealthy, educated men

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[15] John T. Juricek, "American Usage of the Word 'Frontier' from Colonial Times to Frederick Jackson Turner," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110, no. 1 (Feb. 18, 1966): 10-34.

who documented the early years of Lunenburg County may not have had the access to the amount of land needed to produce a surplus had they remained in Tidewater.

Although people moved west for a certain level of independence and opportunity not available on the east coast, they also were conservatives who wanted to recreate society on the model of the east coast society they left. Gregory Nobles in his article, "Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier, 1750-1800" explored how historians have recently changed their approaches to the concept of frontier.[16] He revealed that, unlike Turner's concept of the frontier as the line between civilization and savagery, inhabitants of the backcountry were often in conflict with society of the east coast as well as the native inhabitants of the west. Central themes examined how new inhabitants wished to be independent of the society they had left and integrate a variety of cultures to shape a new society. With his friends and neighbors, Dr. Walker was part of the creation of Albemarle County, Charlottesville, and Fredericksville parish. They developed all these spaces out of a pre-existing county and parish, and structured them along the same lines.

These men were particularly scrupulous in re-creating the political hierarchy that had already developed in other parts of the colony. This time Walker and his friends made sure that they filled the top posts. In "Ordering the Backcountry: The South Carolina Regulation," Rachel N. Klein pointed out this dichotomy of independence and integration by using the South Carolina Regulators as an example group.[17] In the mid-eighteenth century as the population grew and the economy became more complex, the South Carolina backcountry became real economic competition for the low country on the

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[16] Nobles, "Breaking into the Backcountry," 641-670.

[17] Rachel N. Klein, "Ordering the Backcountry: The South Carolina Regulation," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 38, no. 4 (Oct. 1981): 661-680.

coast. Moreover, a backcountry hierarchy developed with slaveholding planters and shopkeepers at the top and newcomers and hunters at the bottom. Conflict arose among the settlers, who divided themselves into two groups "those who did and those who did not rely primarily on hunting for their subsistence."[18] When hard times came, some of those at the lower end of economic existence became part of wandering gangs of robbers. The settlers of the backcountry then turned to the government on the east coast of the colony demanding its protection. When the help was not forthcoming, they formed the "Regulators," which was the only source of justice in the area. The Regulators wanted independence from the government to form their own communities, but also wanted the resources of the government when times were difficult. Dr. Walker was near the top of the backcountry hierarchy as a slaveholding planter and shopkeeper. He used this position to become a vestryman in his parish and a county surveyor, making decisions that were independent of the colonial government in Williamsburg. However, unlike the Regulators of South Carolina, Walker also worked within the system after being elected burgess to the colonial assembly from three different counties. By being a member of the colonial assembly, Walker could make sure that the issues of the backcountry were addressed.

Land was the key to success for Walker on a personal level and Jefferson on a national level. Land was also the key to the backcountry as Warren Hofstra asserted in his article "'The Extention of His Majesties Dominions': The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers." The colony of Virginia was willing to grant large tracts of land to extend its influence. The owners of these large tracts became dominant in backcountry society while owing allegiance to the government which

[18] Klein, "Ordering the Backcountry," 668.

granted the land. As Hofstra said, settlers who "were part of a larger effort to check French expansion across the interior of North America, extend English dominion, secure a western periphery destabilized by Indian conflict, and occupy mountain fastnesses otherwise a refuge to runaway slaves" then occupied the land.[19] Walker had become influential by his acquisition of land through marriage and his participation in the Loyal Land Company. Even though Jefferson inherited and maintained large tracts of land personally, as president, one of his greatest achievements was the expansion of the land holdings and influence of the United States through the Louisiana Purchase.

Complicating the issues of land acquisition and influence were the native inhabitants. Much has been written about the contact between European settlers and the native inhabitants of North America. Under Turner's model, these contacts were a series of conflicts between the civilization the Europeans advanced and the savagery maintained by the natives. Recently, Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute in their book *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830* gathered essays from several historians to show not just that contact took place, but how that interaction changed the parties involved. This was not simple interaction between two groups of people-Euramericans and Indians-but each of those groups was quite diverse in nature, which created a more complex picture of the frontier. According to Cayton and Teute, "What went on within frontier arenas was in part an extension of the construction of power relations in larger political entities, be they empires, Indian leagues, states, or republics. Essential to probing internal power dynamics has been

[19] Warren R. Hofstra, "'The Extention of His Majesties Dominions' The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers," *The Journal of American History* 84, no. 4 (Mar. 1998): 1284.

analyzing gender, race, and status hierarchies."[20] In his quest to rise in the hierarchy of his society, Dr. Walker also became involved in the interplay between political entities on the frontier. The emergence of huge land grant companies in the 1750s brought the North American empires of England and France into conflict. Both empires had been trying to build relationships with the natives that would result in peaceful coexistence. Now each empire tried to bring the natives into their war. On a large scale, there was disagreement, and even hostility, among the Euramericans and, on a smaller scale, colonies, land grant companies, and individuals fought over the land. These conflicts were not particular to the Euramericans only. The Iroquois enveloped and dominated tribes to the south. The Shawnees and the Cherokees fought over the Kentucky hunting grounds. Therefore, the Virginia frontier for Dr. Walker was not a place of struggle between two entities, but many struggles among many parties. Cayton and Teute described the level of intensity in this multi-faceted struggle. "All involved understood that negotiations over peace and war were a life-and-death struggle over whose version of the terms of coexistence would prevail."[21] By becoming involved in the struggles through his roles as land company agent, commissary for the Virginia regiment, and Indian negotiator, Dr. Walker was learning all he could about all the parties interested in the western lands of Virginia and was working toward making sure his version of coexistence would prevail.

In a synthesis of many of these ideas about the frontier, Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall's *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* examined this area from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. "Lacking structure, backcountry settlements also lacked traditional restraints on behavior and opportunity. For many it

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[20] Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 10.

[21] Cayton and Teute, eds., *Contact Points*, 15.

was a place of pure possibility."[22] This idea of pure possibility was one held by Thomas Walker and Thomas Jefferson. Because of the lack of traditional restraints, both Walker and Jefferson looked to organize the new societies that would develop on their own terms. They knew that the settlers of the land would be diverse, representing different ethnicities and religions. Some would be hunters, others traders. Some would farm as tenants, some as squatters. All would interact with the natives through exchange of ideas, trade, alliances, and war. The means by which Walker met these issues on a smaller scale, Jefferson would later interpret and use on a national scale.

Research into the history of the former backcountry of Virginia has seen growth since the Thomas Jefferson Memorial foundation (now the Thomas Jefferson Foundation) acquired Monticello in 1923.[23] The recent bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition raised awareness of Jefferson's childhood on the Virginia frontier and the multigenerational connections between the Jefferson, Lewis, and Clark families. President Thomas Jefferson, as friend and neighbor to the younger Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, shaped how the young men carried out the goals he set for them. Yet, very little has been written about the personal influences that shaped Jefferson's views of the land and the native inhabitants.

Doctor Thomas Walker was Thomas Jefferson's neighbor, guardian, mentor, and friend for fifty years from Jefferson's birth in 1743 to Walker's death in 1794. Upon acquiring control of his wife's property in Albemarle Country, Virginia, Walker met his new neighbor, Peter Jefferson. They became business partners in land speculation during

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[22] Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 6.

[23] Monticello: The Home of Thomas Jefferson, "The Thomas Jefferson Foundation," accessed 24 November 2005; available from www.monticello.org/about/foundation.html; Internet.

the 1750s with Walker exploring the land the company had been granted. A small group of the investors, including Jefferson, Joshua Fry, and Reverend James Maury began to develop the idea of someone, presumably Dr. Walker, exploring farther west.[24] It is likely that Thomas would have been exposed, if not to these conversations themselves, to the ideas that were discussed by these four men. After attending Peter Jefferson on his deathbed in 1757, Walker became one of the guardians of Peter's young son Thomas and enrolled him in Reverend Maury's school where he became friends with Walker's son, John.[25] During the 1760s, Walker guided Jefferson's college career and the beginning of his career as a lawyer.

Later, Walker and Jefferson were involved in colonial politics, sometimes serving in the House of Burgesses together. Towards the end of the Revolutionary War, when Jefferson was governor of Virginia, he employed Dr. Walker to be part of the team to survey the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina.[26] As a member of this team, Walker, at Jefferson's instruction, met with George Rogers Clark, another young man from an Albemarle County family, to discuss how Virginians would move west after the war and how to deal with the Indians who lived there.[27] Jefferson clearly relied upon Walker's expertise when it came to the frontiers of Virginia.

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[24] Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1999), 32.

[25] Donald Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West From Monticello* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 7.

[26] E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra, "We Have Only to Lament Being Concerned in This Business," *Virginia Cavalcade* 20, no. 3 (1971): 34-35.

[27] Henry Read McIlwaine, ed., *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia,* 3 vols. (Richmond: D. Bottom, superintendent of public printing, 1926-1928), 2: 90-91.

After the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson asked George Rogers Clark if he were interested in leading an expedition west.[28] Although Clark turned down the idea, Jefferson was still interested. He wrote a letter to Walker in 1790 in which he discussed the current war between France and Spain and the impact it would have on influencing "both powers to accommodate us in the affairs of the Western posts & the Missisipi."[29] When Jefferson began to assemble the Corps of Discovery for the Louisiana Purchase early in the 19th century, he chose his secretary, Meriwether Lewis, the nephew and ward of Walker's son-in-law Nicholas Lewis, as one of the captains. At this point, George Rogers Clark suggested his younger brother William as the other leader. Albemarle County, Virginia was the birthplace of several men who set their eyes to the west.

Given their long history and the diverse nature of their many relationships, it is possible to conclude that Dr. Thomas Walker's influence on Thomas Jefferson might have culminated in one of Jefferson's greatest accomplishments—the exploration of the western North American continent. This study will delve into Walker's experiences and influences in the area of land acquisition and Indian relations, as well as various aspects of the Walker family's relationship with Thomas Jefferson. Although Walker was not one of the famous founders of the United States, he may have been an influence on one of them.

Researchers are fortunate indeed that so many of the personal papers have survived from the colonial and revolutionary eras. The basis for this study is the correspondence

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[28] Gaye Wilson, "Jefferson and the West: A Chronology," *Monticello Newsletter* 11, no. 2, (Winter 2000): 3.

[29] Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Walker, 23 June 1790, The Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; accessed 10 April 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjser1.html; Internet.

not only between Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Walker, but also between Jefferson and other members of the Walker family, to demonstrate the extent of their relationship. The majority of the extant letters are in the William Cabell Rives microfilm collection and in the Library of Congress. The William Cabell Rives microfilm collection of the Walker family documents also contains the journal Walker kept during his 1750 exploration, fragments of a diary he kept while commissary in the French and Indian War, and account records that Doctor Walker kept for himself and the Jefferson family. Additionally, many public documents such as land grants, vestry books, legislative and court records, and Jefferson's official papers kept during his governorship help to define the relationship.

Still, previous works focusing on Dr. Thomas Walker have been few. In 1888, William Cabell Rives, a politician from western Virginia who was married to Walker's granddaughter, compiled and published the first work on Walker: *Journal of an exploration in the spring of the year 1750 by Thomas Walker*. Rives described Walker in the preface of the book as "strong in body, courageous, enterprising, intelligent, he was impelled by his curiosity and restless energy to leave his wife and young children for a season; and, if not to forget them, yet, like the hunter in Horace, to pass his nights under the cold canopy of the skies in the unknown region beyond the mountains."[30] The Rives publication of Walker's 1750 journal of exploration has been the basis of other works, most notably, Archibald Henderson's *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company of Virginia* published in 1931. Henderson, a professor at the University of North Carolina, wrote many books on southern history. Henderson used the Walker's journal as a starting point

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[30] William Cabell Rives, ed., "Preface," *Journal of an Exploration in the Year 1750* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1888) quoted in Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 11.

for his short text (less than fifty pages) exploring Walker's role in land company speculation. The most recently published book *Gateway* celebrated the 250th anniversary of Walker's exploration of the Cumberland Gap. Not necessarily a scholarly work, this book served as a public relations piece for the state of Kentucky. David Burns, the author, included a bibliography of sources used, but did not footnote specific information. These are the only books that attempt to narrate the accomplishments of Thomas Walker.

There exists only a pair of master's theses[31] and one doctoral dissertation[32] describing Walker's main accomplishments. Working at the University of Virginia under the guidance of T. P. Abernethy, a leading mid-twentieth century scholar on frontier Virginia, Natalie Disbrow studied Walker as a businessman, a land speculator, and as a public servant. The inaugural issue (1940-41) of *Magazine of Albemarle County* published part of her thesis and Dumas Malone cited it in his biography of Thomas Jefferson. Nearly thirty years later, James Frutchey, at Pennsylvania State University, devoted his thesis to examining the financial motivations behind Doctor Walker's accomplishments. The third and last academic study of Doctor Walker was Keith Nyland's doctoral dissertation, a biographic overview of Walker's life. For such an influential character in Virginia history, it has been surprising and disappointing that so few scholars have devoted their studies to exploring the impact made by this multifaceted man.

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[31] Natalie Jarboe Disbrow, "Thomas Walker: Man of Affairs" (M. A. thesis, History, University of Virginia, 1940); James A. Frutchey, "Doctor Thomas Walker, Colonial Virginia's Extraordinary Entrepreneur" (M. A. thesis, History, Pennsylvania State University, 1968).

[32] Keith Ryan Nyland, "Doctor Thomas Walker (1715-1794) Explorer, Physician, Statesman, Surveyor and Planter of Virginia and Kentucky" (Ph. D. dissertation, History, The Ohio State University, 1971).

Articles mentioning the accomplishments of Doctor Walker appear infrequently in regional historical journals such as *Virginia Cavalcade,*[33] *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,*[34] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,*[35] *The Filson Club History Quarterly,*[36] *The Magazine of Albemarle County History,*[37] and the *Washington County Historical Society Bulletin.*[38] Interestingly, the authors of many of these publications assume the reader has some knowledge of Walker and his accomplishments, but the corpus of published material does not reflect a practice of disseminating that knowledge.

The most recent scholarship has been pairs of articles by Alexander Canaday McLeod and Harry W. Wellford. Wellford's two articles for *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* focused on Thomas Walker's influence on the early history of Tennessee. In 1975, Wellford's first article, "Dr. Thomas Walker, His Uncelebrated Impact on Early Tennessee," showed how Walker entered the territory that would become Tennessee during his 1750 journey of exploration. Walker returned to Tennessee in 1760 as commissary for Col. William Byrd III's expedition against the Cherokee. The boundary line drawn by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and his continued relationship with Attakullakulla, a Cherokee chief, brought Walker back into the area. His final trip

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[33] William H. Gaines, "We Killed...13 Buffaloes," *Virginia Cavalcade* 4 (Spring 1956): 1-15; Sanchez-Saavedra, "We Have Only to Lament," 34-38.

[34] Harry W. Wellford, "Dr. Thomas Walker, His Uncelebrated Impact on Early Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1975): 130-144; Harry W. Wellford, "The Virginia-Tennessee Boundary: The Walker Line?" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2003): 110-129.

[35] William Buckner McGroarty, "Wives of Thomas Walker," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 42, no. 3 (Jul. 1934): 244-246.

[36] Alexander Canaday McLeod, "A Man for all Regions: Dr. Thomas Walker of Castle Hill," *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 71, no 2 (Apr. 1997): 169-201; Alexander Canaday McLeod, "Three Travelers on the Mississippi: George Rogers Clark, Thomas Walker, and Daniel Smith," *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (Oct. 1999): 377-389.

[37] William W. Reynolds, "Merchant and Investor: Additional Chapters on the Career of Dr. Thomas Walker," *The Magazine of Albemarle County History* 52 (1994): 1-21; James O. Breeden, "The Medical World of Thomas Walker," *The Magazine of Albemarle County History* 52 (1994): 22-37.

[38] Goodridge A. Wilson, "Dr. Thomas Walker, Explorer," *Washington County Historical Society Bulletin*, no. 17 (1950): 1-12.

occurred when he was one of the Virginia Commissioners appointed to survey the North Carolina/Virginia boundary to the Mississippi River. In his first article, "A Man for all Regions: Dr. Thomas Walker of Castle Hill," McLeod demonstrated how Walker's travels for his various enterprises reflected the mobility and expansion of the American society that followed. His second article focused on the meeting between Walker, Daniel Smith, and George Rogers Clark in 1780 following instructions from Virginia governor Thomas Jefferson.[39] Wellford's second article "The Virginia-Tennessee Boundary: The Walker Line?" explained why Thomas Walker was chosen a one of Virginia's commissioners to survey the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia and the controversies stemming from that survey. Both Wellford and McLeod have demonstrated that their interests in Walker are regional in nature.

Dr. McLeod, in a footnote of his first article, made the complaint that "no definitive biographies of Thomas Walker have been published. Brief notations about him have been recorded in biographical compilations and miscellaneous articles; manuscripts and parts of books offer short summaries of his accomplishments."[40] These other works mention Walker as a person whom readers should know well, but the body of written work devoted to him is minimal.

Previous authors have recounted Doctor Walker's many accomplishments by giving an overview of his extraordinary life or by developing theories of his motivation for becoming involved in such diverse activities with a general summary. Early writers recounted Walker's life experiences relying chiefly on anecdotal evidence as many original documents were still in private hands or in remote libraries. Now that families

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[39] McLeod, "Three Travelers," 377-389.
[40] McLeod, "A Man for all Regions," 169, note 1.

have donated their documents to libraries, and they are available through microfilm, inter-library loans, or internet, historians have more opportunities to examine an individual's life through his own correspondence.

As one reads his personal letters and public documents, Dr. Thomas Walker becomes more than just a footnote to history. Very early in his life he saw the opportunities that vast tracts of land in the west had to offer and he turned his concentration away from Tidewater and toward the mountains. By acquiring land, he was able to participate on the same level economically as the established families in the east. Being one of the first of the large landholders to move to the west, Walker parlayed his economic wealth into political power, making sure to position himself at the top of the hierarchy. After demonstrating his competence and influence on the local level, he was able to participate in and influence the government of the colony.

Walker's influence was felt not just on a professional level, but on a personal one as well. He was a neighbor, friend, doctor, political colleague, and business partner with Peter Jefferson for over a dozen years. Peter's son Thomas must have been exposed to, and influenced by, the many conversations that took place between these two men who had so many similar interests. Many historians credit Peter Jefferson with influencing President Jefferson's views on the west and native relations. However, Peter died when Thomas was fourteen. Thomas Walker, as guardian and family friend, served as a paternal figure for Thomas for over fifty years. Walker continued to pursue the opportunities that the land had to offer and to influence official policies of businesses, colonies, states, and empires. He also influenced the man who would broker the United

States' greatest real estate deal and the subsequent exploration of the Louisiana Purchase by Lewis and Clark.

CHAPTER II

THE LAND

North America inhabitants have always sought ways to use its natural resources advantageously. After gaining control of a large tract of land in the Piedmont area of Virginia through marriage, Dr. Walker learned how land ownership could be parlayed into political power and wealth. In order to increase his holdings and thus his power, he joined a long line of Virginia's explorers. He then used the information garnered to make personal land purchases as well as to pool his capital with others to form land grant companies. Since the land itself represented wealth, it was subject to many claims. Euramericans disputed land claims between individuals, land companies, colonies, and the European countries that had established colonies in North America. Dr. Walker's experience in various levels of land ownership and the ensuing disputes made him a suitable resource to create boundaries between these entities. Furthermore, Dr. Walker, through conversations with his neighbor and business partner, Peter Jefferson, exposed Peter's son Thomas to the myriad of issues that arose concerning the land. Thomas Jefferson later incorporated many of these ideas in his instructions to Meriwether Lewis and the Corps of Discovery.

Exploration

> Other objects worthy of notice will be
> - the soil & face of the country, its growth & vegetable productions especially those not of the U. S.
> - the animals of the country generally, & especially those not known in the U.S.
> - The remains & accounts of any which may be deemed rare or extinct;

- the mineral productions of every kind; but more particularly metals, limestone, pit coal & saltpetre; salines & mineral waters, noting the temperature of the last & such circumstances as may indicate their character; volcanic appearances; climate as characterized by the thermometer, by the proportion of rainy, cloudy & clear days, by lightening, hail, snow, ice, by the access & recess of frost, by the winds, prevailing at different seasons, the dates at which particular plants put forth or lose their flowers, or leaf, times of appearance of particular birds, reptiles or insects.

President Thomas Jefferson's instructions to Captain Meriwether Lewis
June 20, 1803[1]

Dr. Thomas Walker was just one of many Virginia explorers. As British colonists, from a variety of motivations, pushed the frontier west, all were eager to discover how the land might be used to an advantage and to leave some record of their presence. What made Walker's 1750 trip of exploration unique was that he was acting as agent for a commercial venture and kept a detailed daily journal during his entire journey. In this journal, he kept a log of the people and challenges he encountered as well as his observations of the land. The intent of the journal was to allow those who came after to make informed decisions about the utility and value of the land.

In the century preceding Dr. Walker's well-known trip of exploration, several parties pushed to discover the value of the land to the west. In July 1653, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed an Act designed to encourage westward exploration. Only Major Abraham Wood followed up on the opportunity by leading a group across the Allegheny Mountains' eastern ridge, which he named the Blue Ridge, through Wood's Gap where he discovered Wood's River. This expedition inspired other groups from eastern Virginia to go west to search for a river passage to the Pacific ocean in the west.[2]

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[1] Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes* [book on-line] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, accessed 20 June 2006); available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/index.html; Internet.

[2] Danny Dixon, "A History of the Settlement of Southwest Virginia 1400-1800," accessed 19 April 2005; available from http://www.scott.k12.va.us/history/priorto.html; Internet; B. Scott Crawford, "The

Persistent dreams of Asian wealth caused even Governor Berkeley of Virginia to write about his intention to go with two hundred gentlemen to find a way to the East India (or Pacific) Sea and to find silver mines on the way. Berkeley never actually led this expedition but he did send Major William Harris, with a party of twenty colonists and five Indians, to explore western Virginia. In the group was John Lederer, a German physician who kept a diary of the trip in Latin. He recorded that they journeyed to the top of the Blue Ridge and then followed the ridge southwest.[3] Later, Abraham Wood sent a group headed by Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam and led by Perecute, an Appomattox Indian, to continue west of his earlier exploration. As the party passed through Wood's Gap and on to the New River, Thomas Batts kept a journal of one month of this trip which took 225 days.[4] Wood organized another expedition farther south, sending James Needham and Gabriel Arthur to travel from Charleston, South Carolina to the Cherokee capital city of Chota and into what would become Kentucky through a gap, later known as the Cumberland Gap. The Indians, who were hunting in the area, captured Arthur and took him west of the Cumberland Gap. However, Arthur was illiterate and did not leave a written record of what he saw.[5] The primary purpose of all these expeditions was to find gold and silver mines as the Spanish were doing farther south. The secondary purpose was to find the water passage to the Pacific Ocean. None of these

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Transformation of a Frontier Political Culture: Blacksburg's Early Experience, 1745-1870," in Clara B. Cox, ed., A *Special Place for 200 Years: A History of Blacksburg, Virginia* [book on-line] (Blacksburg, Virginia: the Town of Blacksburg, 1998, accessed 19 April 2005); available from http://www.spec.lib.vt.edu/bicent/recoll/histbook/chapter8.htm; Internet.

[3] William P. Cummings, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 16.

[4] Kenneth P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1939), 166.

[5] Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, 21.

trips was able to reveal this information and the diarists' recollections of hard travel, dangerous animals, and unfriendly Indians did not encourage settlers to move west.

Governor Alexander Spotswood was one of the first to explore Virginia's land in order to make a profit by land speculation. He encouraged westward exploration and settlement by taking a group of about fifty of his friends, as well as rangers, Indians, and servants, west to the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the late summer of 1716. This trip seemed no more than a whimsical camping trip. To commemorate their participation in this trip, Governor Spotswood gave each member of the group, which he dubbed Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, a jewel-encrusted golden horseshoe and patents to large tracts of land in the west.[6] These large land patents whetted the appetite of wealthy Virginians to acquire tracts to rival those of English nobility. Additionally, patent holders sold parts of the tracts to increase their wealth. The settlers would provide a buffer between the Indians in the west and the plantations of the wealthy Virginians in the Tidewater. Although a log of Spotswood's journey recorded beautiful descriptions of the land, there was not an urgency among the population of Virginia to migrate west to the mountains. However, when Scots-Irish and German settlers from southeast Pennsylvania came into the Valley of Virginia, they came into contact and conflict with the Iroquois, who claimed traditional rights of ownership to this land.

Other explorers traveled farther west, where they discovered just how valuable the land was by their experiences with the inhabitants. When Mr. Mackey and John Salling set out in 1726 to explore the west, the Cherokee captured Salling. Traveling as far west as the Mississippi River, his Indian captors sold him to some Spaniards, who took him to

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[6] Crawford, "The Transformation of a Frontier Political Culture."

Canada, and then sent him to New York from where he returned home.[7] In the 1740s, the Council of Virginia, with the promise of a share in a 10,000-acre grant, commissioned John Howard and John Peter Salley (perhaps the same John Salling) to explore west to the Mississippi River. Unfortunately, when they reached the Mississippi, the French captured them. They were taken as prisoners to New Orleans where they remained for three years, until they were able to escape.[8] Even though neither the native nor the French inhabitants were violent toward these explorers, their actions demonstrated their desire to remove Virginians from the land west of the Blue Ridge.

Thomas Walker's journey of exploration in the spring of 1750 was not motivated by personal curiosity or by a government commission, but by his role as the agent of a land grant company. In this capacity, it was his task to travel through the area of the grant in order to discover the best way to sell the land for the highest profit. Therefore, in his journal he detailed not just the route he traveled, but gave descriptions of the flora and fauna he observed along the way. Clients would only buy land if it could support new inhabitants. He frequently noted the natural food supply such as the fish, "We saw Perch, Mullets, and Carp in plenty, and caught one of the large Sort of Cat Fish;" the birds, "I saw Goslings, which shows that Wild Geese stay here all the year;" and the wild game, "We killed in the journey 13 buffaloes, 8 Elks, 53 Bears, 20 Deers, 4 Wild Geese, about 150 Turkeys, besides small game. We might have killed three times as much meat, if we had wanted it." Whereas hunters may not buy land, farmers did. To appeal to them, Walker noted features of the land. "The Mountains hereabouts are very small and here is a great deal of flat Land." He also noted mineral resources, which could attract those

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[7] Danny Dixon, "A History of the Settlement of Southwest Virginia 1400-1800."

[8] Fairfax Harrison, "The Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 30, no. 2 (Apr. 1922): 205-222.

able to finance mining operations. "Under the Rock is a Soft Kind of Stone almost like Allum in taste; below it a Layer of coal about 12 inches thick and a white Clay under that." [9] Since his trip only lasted a few months, Walker's observations of spring weather were limited to how it affected his progress. Immediately, people back in Virginia were interested in what Dr. Walker had found. His brother-in-law Dr. Gilmer even "promised the Govr. the perusal of Dr. Walker's journal of his travels beyond ye mountans."[10] The information in these journal entries concerning the terrain, the supply of game, minerals discovered, and the weather was strikingly similar to that which President Jefferson requested in his instructions to Captain Meriwether.

Although the overland trip supplied a great deal of information about the resources of the land to the west, trade with Asia remained a commercial goal. In 1752, Joshua Fry, a former mathematics professor at the College of William and Mary, met several times in Albemarle County with Loyal Company associates and neighbors Thomas Walker, Reverend James Maury, and Peter Jefferson, to begin putting together an expedition to find a Northwest Passage to the Pacific. A nineteenth century descendant of Maury wrote of the plan, "Some persons were to be sent in search of that river Missouri, if that be the right name of it, in order to discover whether it had any communication with the Pacific Ocean; they were to follow the river if they found it, and exact reports of the country they passed through, the distances they traveled, what worth of navigation those river and lake afforded, etc."[11] Maury, influenced by Daniel Coxe's *A Description of the English*

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[9] Thomas Walker, "Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker: 1749-1750," Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, microfilm, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[10] John Blair, "Diary of John Blair," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (Jul. 1899): 17.

11 Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains*, 8 quoting from Ann Maury, Memoirs *of a Huguenot Family* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1853), 391.

Province of Carolana which he had borrowed from Fry, wanted Walker to lead this expedition.[12] Unfortunately, the Seven Years' War put a stop to the Virginians' ability to traverse western territory in search of a commercial passage.

During this one hundred and fifty year period of exploration, Virginians found neither the passage to Asia nor the silver mines envisioned by Governor Berkeley. Trade and mineral wealth would have inspired more people to move west more quickly. In lieu of quick wealth, Virginians reconciled themselves to develop the land for farming. Therefore, explorers, such as Thomas Walker, who recorded information about the nature of the land, were anticipating a secondary means of wealth through the sale of land to farmers. Thomas Jefferson, who had learned about these explorations as a child, took them into account as he wrote his instructions to Meriwether Lewis. He realized that even if the Missouri River was not the passage to the Pacific, farmers would people its basin.

Commercial Use

> The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as, by it's course & communication with the water of the Pacific Ocean may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce.
>
> President Thomas Jefferson's instructions to Captain Meriwether Lewis
> June 20, 1803[13]

Exploration was not a goal by itself. Men left the comforts of their homes to improve their circumstances. British colonists in North America were dazzled by stories about Spanish explorers of South America and their discoveries of gold and silver. British

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[12] Guy Meriwether Benson, et. al., "Exploring the West from Monticello: A Perspective in Maps from Columbus to Lewis and Clark," accessed 23 December 2004; available from http://www.lib.virginia.edu/small/exhibits/lewis_clark/exploring/ch3-16.html; Internet.

[13] Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes.*

explorers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century did not find gold and silver mines, but did determine that the land itself was also a good source of potential wealth. The ability to buy, rather than merely inherit property, made America uniquely attractive to British settlers. Buying and selling real estate in conjunction with farming large tracts of land with slave labor allowed Virginians to acquire wealth as well as power in their communities.

Dr. Thomas Walker understood the value of land better than many people. He inherited a modest amount of land from his father, which allowed him to pursue a medical career in Williamsburg. Although this was not a lucrative profession at the time, the demand for doctors gave him the mobility to settle in the port town of Fredericksburg, where he became involved in trade. He designed each step he took professionally to increase his opportunities for wealth. Eventually, it was his marriage to a widow with huge landholdings in the west that propelled him into the upper class of Virginia society.

The potential of wealth from land motivated many to emigrate from England to North America. England needed these settlers to protect its investment in the New World as well. From the beginning of the Virginia Company, land was sold cheaply through a headright system as an incentive to settle the New World. Nevertheless, in 1705, a law was passed limiting land patents to 4000 acres per individual. The Crown permitted land grant companies exceptions because it was easier for new immigrants to buy through them on site than through the government in England. The height of the popularity of land grant companies was between 1745 and 1754. During this time, the governor and

Council of Virginia authorized thirty-six grants totaling over 2,000,000 acres to land companies, while only six grants went to private individuals.[14]

The reason for this land grant explosion was the Treaty of Lancaster made with the Indians in 1744.[15] Following the treaty, the Virginia Council granted 100,000 acres to the Greenbrier Company, organized by House of Burgess Speaker John Robinson. Members of this organization included Dr. Thomas Walker, Colonel Joshua Fry, and Peter Jefferson.[16] The Council also exempted the Greenbrier Company from paying headright taxes until it actually sold the land, which spared the company from real risk.[17] In April 1748 under the leadership of Colonel James Patton, a group, including Dr. Thomas Walker and possibly Peter Jefferson, set out from Augusta County to explore land for the Greenbrier Company.[18] T. L. Preston, a grandson of one of the members of this group, said his grandfather described Walker as "thirty three years old and in the prime of his manhood. He was richly endowed with every qualification for such an expedition, mentally and physically, and as a physician and surveyor, a great accession to the party."[19] During this trip of exploration for the company, the group also began to survey tracts of land for themselves and other investors.

Members of Virginia's legislature formed several land grant companies. Members of the elite from Northern Virginia such as the Fairfax family, the Lees, and the Washingtons formed the Ohio Company of Virginia in 1747. Because their request for

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[14] James Titus, *The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 10.

[15] J. Stoddard Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky* (Louisville, KY: John P. Morton and Co., 1898), 96.

[16] Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia*, 66, footnote 178; "A List of Early Land Patents and Grants," 175.

[17] Titus, *The Old Dominion at War*, 11.

[18] Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky*, 5.

[19] Disbrow, "Thomas Walker: Man of Affairs" quoting from T. L. Preston, *Historical Sketches and Reminiscences of an Octogenerian* (Richmond: B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1900), 10.

500,000 acres was so large, Governor Gooch and the Council of Virginia denied the patent and asked the Board of Trade in London to clarify its instructions for land grants.[20] Virginians were not discouraged by this initial rejection. According to historian Daniel Friedenberg, "When the Ohio Company was about to receive its charter by means of pressure from London, Speaker Robinson and his legislative cronies from the Greenbrier Company decided to organize a still more ambitious scheme."[21] The newer aristocrats from the Piedmont area of Virginia organized the Loyal Land Company. The company's members included four friends from Albemarle County: Peter Jefferson, Joshua Fry, Dr. Thomas Walker, and Reverend James Maury.[22] On July 12, 1749, the same day as the Ohio Company finally received their grant, Governor Gooch granted land to the Loyal Land Company. By the terms of the grant, 800,000 acres of land west of the Alleghenies, between the boundaries of Virginia and North Carolina, had to be settled within four years.[23] Because of his experience exploring for the Greenbrier Company,[24] Dr. Walker, the Loyal Company's agent, was contracted "to go to the westward, in order to discover a proper place for a settlement"[25] In this role of explorer and surveyor, Walker was able to protect his investment in the Loyal Company and to increase his own property holdings. George Washington later wrote, he saw little reason "to explore (the) uninhabited Wilds" except for "the prospect of getting good Lands."[26]

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[20] Otis K. Rice, *Frontier Kentucky* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 8.

[21] Daniel M. Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Land* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), 113.

[22] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company,* 17.

[23] "A List of Early Land Patents and Grants," 177.

[24] Gaines, "We Killed...13 Buffaloes," 9.

[25] Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky*, 6.

[26] George Washington to George Mercer, 7 November 1771, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* 39 vols. [book on-line] (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931-1944, reprint, New York: Greenwood Press,

In her book, Sarah Hughes explained that surveyors' income came from fees for surveying or from the acquisition and sale of land. Therefore, one could not measure the profits from speculating accurately. A surveyor's travels could encompass supervision of his own farming operations at different quarters and measurement of his client's land. Crisscrossing the land in this manner also presented opportunities to become well known as a potential civil or militia officer.[27] Acquisition of land was a prerequisite for political office in Virginia as well as an avenue for economic advancement.[28]

At the same time as Dr. Walker was exploring and surveying Loyal Company land, its rival, the Ohio Company, was doing the same. Since their land was also claimed by the French, the company began erecting forts to protect their investment.[29] This action prompted the French to erect forts as well. To protect Virginia against the encroachment of the French, Governor Dinwiddie set aside 200,000 acres in the Ohio Valley as a land bounty to encourage men to enlist in the militia.[30] No official government act accompanied Dinwiddie's action and much of the paperwork that would be needed to prove a soldier's qualifications was not kept accurately.[31] The bounty land also overlapped land granted to land companies just as English land claims were overlapping French claims. The overlap of claims led to conflict.

In this time of conflict, the four friends from Albemarle County followed various paths to protect their land. Joshua Fry left his position as surveyor for Albemarle County

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accessed 23 December, 2004); available from http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw030053)); Internet.

[27] Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Surveyors Foundation and Virginia Association of Surveyors, 1979), 64.

[28] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen,* 68.

[29] Louis Knott Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925), 39-40.

[30] Rice, *Frontier Kentucky*, 29.

[31] "A List of Early Land Patents and Grants," 173.

to be a colonel in charge of the Virginia Regiment's expedition against the French. Peter Jefferson replaced him as surveyor and held the post until his death in 1757.[32] Meanwhile, the General Assembly asked the governor of Virginia to issue a new writ for electing a Burgess for Louisa County since Thomas Walker had accepted the position of assistant surveyor for Augusta County.[33] Still planning an exploration of the west, the Reverend James Maury wrote a friend about the possibilities of a link between the Potomac and Ohio rivers. "What an exhaustless fund of wealth would be opened superior to Potosi and all the other south American mines!" Maury said that he was "ever dwelling with pleasure on the consideration of whatever bids fair for contributing to extend the empire and augment the strength of our mother island...and at the same time aggrandizing and enriching this spot of the globe." "Were I only to enumerate in a concise manner such of the important benefits only of the country watered by the Ohio, which is but one branch of the Mississippi, as occur even to myself ...my letter would swell to an enormous size."[34] These paths reflected the spectrum of land speculation from exploration, conflict over resources, and resolution of property ownership.

Unfortunately, the foursome did not survive to explore and exploit the west. Joshua Fry died on his way to confront the French in 1754. Peter Jefferson, despite the medical care of Dr. Walker, died during the summer of 1757. This left only Walker and Maury. Jefferson named Walker one of the executors of his will as well as one of the guardians for his children, including his fourteen-year-old son Thomas. Guardians were not

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[32] George H.S. King, contributor, "List of County Surveyors-1757," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 50, no. 4 (Oct. 1942): 368; Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 100.

[33] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 179.

[34] Marc Egnal, *A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 101 quoting from James Maury to unknown recipient January 10, 1756 in Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 392-394.

necessarily those with whom the children were placed, but rather someone who would look after the financial affairs of minor children. In addition to routine expenses, Walker protected Peter Jefferson's share of the Loyal Land Company, which the Jefferson children inherited. He sent Thomas, as well as his own son John, to live with Rev. James Maury, who was their teacher. Donald Jackson, in his book, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West from Monticello*, pointed out the impact this group had on the future president. "Some only thought of the rich lands beyond the Blue Ridge, some talked heartily of going there, and some went. Of these, four men can be said to have shaped by work and action the view of the West that prevailed in Jefferson's household and neighborhood. They are Peter Jefferson, Joshua Fry, Thomas Walker, and James Maury."[35]

Although land grant companies no longer were in conflict with France after the Seven Years' War, their own government's Proclamation of 1763, which required settlers to stay east of the Alleghenies, hampered them.[36] The Loyal Land Company had petitioned the Governor and Council of Virginia for a renewal and confirmation of their grant. "Inasmuch as the completion of their surveys were obstructed by a public enemy for the want of that protection which Government was bound to afford them, the Crown could not justifiably take advantage of their failure to complete their survey within the time prescribed, as the war occurred during that time."[37] The petition was denied because of the Proclamation. Circumventing this ruling, Dr. Walker, as agent for the Loyal Land Company, advertised in many newspapers throughout the colonies that those who had

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[35] Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains*, 5.

[36] Lewis P. Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800* (Richmond: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903), 82.

[37] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 26.

contracted for land, but Seven Years' War had driven away, should return to claim it. Otherwise, the Company would sell it to others.[38] The Council, and possibly the governor of Virginia, supported this action, although it was illegal.[39] However, Walker was concerned about the Crown's long-term plans concerning land grant companies. His agent in London, John Norton, assured him that the Loyal Company's grant would remain safe. "You say they are going to take away the back Lands from & give them to Gentlemen in England I can scarce think this will be done, they certainly I should suppose wou'd at least except the different Compy Grants that are legal."[40] Walker was correct to have some suspicions. The land belonging to the land grant companies was not redistributed to "Gentlemen in England", but the Council of Virginia gave away land previously granted them to soldiers who had served in the Seven Years' War. In 1773, Thomas Walker and inhabitants on the Loyal Company and Greenbrier grants petitioned the Council to have this land returned to them.[41] But, war intervened again.

Land that had been granted to individuals was not safe from redistribution. One was required to improve, or build, on the property or pay quitrent tax on unimproved land. There were periodic reviews of land in order to return to government control any land claimed, but found delinquent on taxes. In 1769, Thomas Jefferson wrote John Walker in reference to such a crackdown on lands Dr. Walker owned in Augusta County. "Are your father's grazing lands in Augusta safe? That is, may they not be subject to lapse through lack of cultivation or quitrents? A word to the wise: a great loss will soon come

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[38] Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, 83.

[39] Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Land*, 114-115.

[40] John Norton to Thomas Walker, 25 March 1772, Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, microfilm, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[41] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 34.

to those who are otherwise."[42] Since grants often overlapped, titles to land were not always clear. Doctor Walker wrote to a friend about employing Jefferson to represent him as plaintiff in a lawsuit over the title for a piece of land.[43] Often landowners sold their land to cover other debts. Both Jefferson and Walker acted as trustees for a fellow landowner whose land had to be sold for this purpose.[44] Walker regularly acted as agent for Jefferson in the sale of his family's property. In a statement of account from 1764 to 1774, Walker enumerated for Jefferson the sale of property in Loyal Land Company plus another 50,000 acres granted to Thomas Walker, Peter Jefferson, and others.[45] These sales represented a redistribution of Jefferson's wealth. While land acquisition in the 1740s and 50s was easy, by the 1760s and 70s there was a struggle to maintain control of it.

Instead of finding wealth through mineral discoveries or lucrative international trade, Virginians found wealth in the land itself. Western lands became more desirable once they negotiated treaties with the natives. Those who had already attained political power through land ownership were in a position to form land companies with their colleagues to receive huge government grants of land. Their intention was to sell the land to the influx of immigrants, but conflicts over trade and property rights with the French led to war. Once the war was over, the government prohibited the land companies from continuing their business by issuing a Proclamation to keep settlements east of the mountains. The lack of opportunity to conduct business frustrated land companies.

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[42] Willard Stern Randall, *Thomas Jefferson: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 104.

[43] Thomas Walker to Captain Samuel Ragland, 12 November 1770, Overton Family Papers, Box 2, folder 17, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

[44] *Virginia Gazette*, 21 February 1771.

[45] Thomas Walker to Thos Jefferson, 5 February 1774, Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, microfilm, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Landowners began suing each other and the land companies over elusive titles to the land. Some investors were forced to sell what property they could in order to pay off debt or reposition wealth into a more convenient medium. The fight over the limits of the land required that clear boundaries be drawn.

Boundary Lines

> Beginning at the mouth of the Missouri, you will take observations of latitude an longitude at all remarkable points on the river, & especially at the mouths of rivers, at rapids, at islands & other places & objects distinguished by such natural marks & characters of a durable kind, as that they may with certainty be recognized hereafter. The courses of the river between these points of observation may be supplied by the compass, the log-line & by time, corrected by the observations themselves. The variations of the compass too, in different places should be noticed.... Your observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy to be entered distinctly, & intelligibly for others as well as yourself, to comprehend all the elements necessary, with the aid of the usual tables to fix the latitude & longitude of the places at which they were taken, & are to be rendered to the war office, for the purpose of having the calculations made concurrently by proper persons within the U. S.
>
> President Thomas Jefferson's instructions to Meriwether Lewis
> July 20, 1803[46]

James Patton chose Dr. Thomas Walker to make his first trip of exploration because he was a surveyor. This trip exploring land for the Greenbrier Company, and his second, more famous trip in 1750 for the Loyal Land Company, intended to locate the most desirable land within the framework of the government's vague land grants. Since Walker was a member of both of these investment companies, his purpose for exploration was financial gain through discovery, commerce, or ultimately, land sales. Under the terms of the grants, the land had to be surveyed, sold, and settled within a short time. Most companies began this process by selling land to its members first. While surveying the land during his trips of exploration, Walker was able to purchase large tracts of land

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[46] Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes.*

in southwest Virginia from the companies. However, the boundaries between the land grants issued to companies and those issued to veterans during this period were unclear and conflicts between the groups developed. As colonial governments became involved in trying to solve these disputes, they realized the borders between the colonies also needed clarification as the population moved west. The move west also caused conflict between the French colonies and the land grant companies of the English colonies. While the Euramericans squabbled over their rights to the land, they paid minimal attention to the rights of the natives who were already occupying it. In the course of all these disputes, the concerned parties resorted to violence and warfare, treaties, lawsuits, and finally boundaries lines.

When the English government first began to inhabit North America, it set up rough boundaries of each colony. As colonists arrived and began to explore the area, those initial boundaries had to change to fit the circumstances of the inhabitants and the landscape. The Virginia Company of London was chartered in 1606 to act as a tenant for the Crown, which held title to the land that they sublet to English inhabitants. This area seemed like a limitless supply of land--stretching from Cape Fear to Long Island Sound, or 34° to 41° north latitude, and extending 100 miles inland--to emigrants from England. The 1609 charter slightly changed the land boundaries set in 1606 giving the Virginia Company clear title to the land between 34° and 40° north latitude all the way to the Pacific Ocean. The 1612 London Company charter then moved the southern border of Virginia from 34° to 29° north latitude to include Bermuda, which had more settlers at that time. In 1665, under the terms of the charter of the new colony of Carolina, the

boundary between the two colonies was moved to 36° 30′ so that Carolina would include Albemarle Sound.[47] Disputes between the two colonies began almost immediately.

With population growth, the Crown understood the need to have in the colony an organization or person that would be able to draw clearer boundaries between counties and individual landowners. Under the provisions of its Charter in 1692, the College of William and Mary had control of the office of Surveyor General, and those who filled the position after that date were appointees of the College. This office also provided the college with a source of revenue as it was authorized to collect one-sixth of all surveyor's fees in return for its commissions.[48] The College was a landowner too. President John Blair claimed that a grant of land on the Pamunkey Neck and the Blackwater Swamp would give the college an "Excellent opportunity of advancing her own Students of Mathematicks to Surveyors places which would give the Colledge a Considerable Interest in the County & would draw many Students upon this very Account."[49] The college trained surveyors on its own land grant, appointed surveyors for the government, and collected a percentage of the fees gathered from surveying.

The growing population intensified land disputes between Virginia and Carolina. At last, both colonies agreed to have the boundary surveyed to prevent further disagreements. Governor Gooch, along with the Virginia House of Burgesses and the Council, appointed William Byrd II as one of Virginia's boundary commissioners in

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[47] Lawrence Shaw Mayo, "Review of William K. Boyd's *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*," *Geographical Review* 20, No. 4. (Oct. 1930): 692.

[48] "Charter of the College of William and Mary," accessed 1 July 2006; available from http://www.swem.wm.edu/departments/special-collections/exhibits/exhibits/charter/charter/; Internet.

[49] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen,* 24 quoting John Blair's 'Memorial Concerning a Coledge in Virginia' whose cover letter dated December 11, 1691.

1727.[50] Alexander Irvine, a mathematics professor from the College of William and Mary, and William Mayo were surveyors.[51] Byrd kept a log detailing the entire journey. Beginning at the Ocean on the north end of Currituck Island, they ran the line west to the south branch of the Roanoke River. Although much of Byrd's log described the conflicts among the members of both commissions, he also described the land. This log was part of the basis of the map that was signed by all the commissioners on October 7, 1738.[52] Having an accurate map with clear boundaries helped forestall disputes between the colonies for twenty years.

The map of the dividing line surveyed by the Byrd commission inspired Virginians to want a map of the whole colony. The *Virginia Gazette* reported on January 5, 1738 that "Towards the close of the last session of Assembly, a proposition was presented to the House by Mr. Joshua Fry, Major Robert Brooke, and Major Wm. Mayo, to make an exact survey of the colony, and print and publish a map thereof, in which shall be laid down the bays, navigable rivers, with the soundings, counties, parishes, towns, and gentlemen's seats, with whatever is useful or remarkable, if the House should see fit to encourage the same."[53] After approaching the House with the idea of mapping the colony, these three men tried twice more over the next few years to achieve their goal.[54] Fry tried one last time to persuade the House in 1742 that someone make an exact survey of the colony.[55] These men were not necessarily advocating a map for the good of the colony. All three

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[50] Kenneth A. Lockridge, *The Diary, and Life, of William Byrd II of Virginia 1674-1744* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 126.

[51] Coolie Verner, "The Fry and Jefferson Map," *Imago Mundi* 21 (1967): 72.

[52] Cummings, *Early Maps,* 85-86, 224.

[53] *Virginia Gazette*, 5 January 1738.

[54] Henry Read McIlwaine and John P. Kennedy, eds., *Journal of House of Burgesses of Virginia,* 13 vols. (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1905-1915), 6: 379; Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 86.

[55] Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1959), 7.

were surveyors who expected to be named to a commission to perform the survey. In this capacity, they were legally able to add any unclaimed land they discovered to their personal land holdings. These men understood the role surveying played in controlling and building wealth through land acquisition.

The King gave his friends large tracts of land in North America as their personal property. Two of these proprietary grants affected the northern boundary of Virginia. Lord Baltimore's 1632 grant eventually became Maryland and Lord Fairfax's 1690 grant encompassed the Northern Neck of Virginia. Virginia constantly contested the borders of these grants. After a lengthy legal battle, a British court agreed to have the land surveyed.[56] Therefore, in the late 1740s, the Crown appointed Joshua Fry one of its Commissioners to survey the 5,000,000 Fairfax Estate from the headsprings of the Rappahannock River to the headsprings of the Potomac, defining the western limit of the Northern Necks.[57] Fry asked Robert Brooke and his neighbor Peter Jefferson to be surveyors for the Crown.[58] Thomas Lewis and George Washington, Fairfax's surveyors, kept journals of this survey as William Byrd had done during his survey of the southern border.[59] Being involved in this survey, which also settled the western border with Maryland, allowed Fry to take the first step toward his goal of a complete map of Virginia.

By 1749, the populations of North Carolina and Virginia were moving west farther than the extent of Byrd's boundary lines. Heading off conflicts before they arose, the

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[56] Fairfax Harrison, "The Northern Neck Maps of 1737-1747," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd Ser., 4, no. 1 (Jan. 1924): 1-2.

[57] Philip Slaughter and Henry Fry, *Memoirs of Col. Joshua Fry* (Richmond: Randolph & English, 1880), 24.

[58] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen,* 147.

[59] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen,* 88.

Board of Trade and Plantations in London commissioned Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson to continue the survey of the border between North Carolina and Virginia into the mountains. They began at the end of Byrd's line at Peter's Creek and traveled west to Steep Rock Creek.[60] While the mission of the survey was to clarify the borders, the terminology of the area was still confused as evidenced by North Carolina's Governor Johnston's comments about the journey: "They (the boundary commissioners) crossed a large branch of the Mississippi (New River) which runs between the ledges of the mountains, and nobody dreamed of before."[61] The surveyors were not close to the Mississippi River at any time during this trip. As Fry and Jefferson were completing their survey, the Loyal Land Company received its charter and Thomas Walker left to explore its claim.

Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson submitted the first edition of their map of Virginia and Maryland in 1751 to the Board of Trade, but Fry continued to refine it over time.[62] In Fry's dispatch "An Account of the Bounds of the Colony of Virginia & of its back settlements & of the lands towards the Mountains & Lakes" written to go with the map he told how he acquired information from other travelers and surveyors. He stated that some of his depiction came from his conversations of western waters and lakes that he had with Doctor Thomas Walker, his neighbor, who had just returned from Kentucky and partly from information derived from John Peter Salley who lived in Augusta County.[63] In addition to the journal he kept during his journey of exploration and his personal recollections, Walker had drawn a map as well.

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[60] Verner, "The Fry and Jefferson Map," 72.
[61] Cummings, *Early Maps,* 262.
[62] Cummings, *Early Maps,* 29.
[63] Harrison, "The Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742," 206.

Although the map has been lost, Walker's observations and map influenced other mapmakers. In 1776 cartographer Lewis Evans said, "As for the Branches of Ohio, which head in the New Virginia, I am particularly obliged to Dr. Thomas Walker, for the Intelligence of what Names they bear, and what Rivers they fall into Northward and Westward, but this Gentleman, being on a Journey when I happened to see him, had not his Notes, whereby he might otherwise have rendered those Parts more perfect."[64] When Governor Thomas Jefferson set up the Virginia Land Office in 1779, he too consulted Walker's map. "I am glad you kept the map sent me by my Father, it was intended chiefly for the use of your honble Board," John Walker, Thomas' son wrote to Jefferson.[65] Accurate maps were particularly useful during the Seven Years' War, when the British contested property rights with the French, and later during the American Revolution, when states organized their land policies.

As important as surveying was between nations and colonies, it was just as important on a local level. Joshua Fry was the first surveyor for Albemarle County completing about one hundred surveys a year for several years.[66] Surveyors were required to mark every tract surveyed plainly, either by natural bounds, marked trees or other artificial landmarks, and to deliver plats of surveys to those for whom they were made within six months after the survey was made.[67] Peter Jefferson began his career as Goochland county surveyor prior to joining Joshua Fry in surveying the Fairfax grant. He later took

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[64] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company,* 17.

[65] John Walker to Thomas Jefferson, 11 July 1780, The Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; accessed 10 April 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjser1.html; Internet.

[66] John Hammond Moore, *Albemarle: Jefferson's County 1727-1976* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 38.

[67] F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), 55.

over the Albemarle position when Fry left for the Seven Years' War.[68] Since he was a vestryman in Fredericksville parish in Albemarle County, it was Thomas Walker's duty to procession, or survey, lands within the parish. Every fourth year the county court instructed vestrymen to lay off its parish into precincts, and appoint times for processioning. Three processionings settled the bounds of land unalterably, provided they were made with the consent of the owners, except in the cases of infants, women, and persons of unsound mind.[69] Vestrymen were also the political power of the church. They decided whom to hire as minister, where to build the church and how to care for widows and orphans within the parish. Fredericksville parish provided Dr. Walker some experience in surveying and gave him political power and contacts. James Patton chose Walker to explore the Greenbrier tract in 1748 because of his experience processioning. After he returned from his own journey of exploration, he was the deputy surveyor for Augusta County.[70] Surveying lands was a large part of the careers of Fry, Jefferson, and Walker.

By the 1770s, the office of county surveyor was losing its power. Even though most land in the county had already been claimed and there was little need for surveyors, in 1773 Thomas Jefferson became the surveyor of Albemarle County succeeding Nicholas Lewis, Walker's son-in-law.[71] No survey signed by Jefferson was entered into the county survey book in the few months between his commissioning and April 1774 when the next surveyor took office. Also that fall, the council of Virginia appointed Dr. Thomas Walker and others to examine the books of the surveyors of Augusta, Botetourt and

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[68] King, "List of County Surveyors-1757," 369.
[69] Kegley, *Virginia Frontier,* 55.
[70] *Virginia Gazette,* 8 December 1752.
[71] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen,* 90; Slaughter and Fry, *Memoirs of Col. Joshua Fry,* 62.

Fincastle counties.[72] "It being suggested that there was too much Reason to fear some Collusion between the Surveyors & several other persons who had made large Surveys of Land ready to be entered on the surveyor's Books, as soon as their office should be open for that Purpose, altho such surveys were made in Disobedience to the orders of Government."[73] Dr. Walker was the logical choice to oversee this audit because of his experience as county surveyor twenty years before.

President Jefferson demonstrated his understanding of the role of the surveyor in land acquisition by his instructions to Meriwether Lewis. He knew roughly, as did the first Virginia Company men, the area of the Louisiana territory. In anticipation of the westward migration of the American population and the ensuing disputes over land between countries, states, and individuals, he encouraged Lewis to make his measurements as accurate as possible. Practically from birth, Jefferson learned about these concepts from his father, Joshua Fry and Thomas Walker. Even though Fry and Peter Jefferson died when Thomas Jefferson was still a child, Walker continued to demonstrate the importance of mapmaking and surveying throughout Jefferson's life.

Although mineral wealth and trade routes would have yielded wealth faster, Dr. Walker and Thomas Jefferson realized that the real wealth of North America was its vast amount of land. They were willing to explore the land to determine the kinds of resources it could yield. These resources were the abundance of natural food supply, fertile land, and a climate favorable for farming. Once they understood the nature of the land, they were quick to see its commercial potential. Though a northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean remained elusive, and trade with the colonies of other European nations

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[72] Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, 89.
[73] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 103.

uncertain, real estate remained a steady investment. Both men bought and sold property personally and professionally throughout their lives. The key to buying and selling was having clear title to the land. Without a clear title, disputes over land developed. The most peaceful way of solving the disputes was to hire surveyors to find acceptable boundary lines. Jefferson was reared among Virginia's greatest surveyors and so understood the importance of having this done upon acquiring Louisiana for the United States, before disputes could develop. Ironically, exploring, buying and selling, and surveying were all activities Euramericans performed for Euramericans. The native inhabitants had their own ideas about property rights in North America.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIVE INHABITANTS

> In all your intercourse with the natives treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey, satisfy them of it's innocence, make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable & commercial dispositions of the U. S., of our wish to be neighborly, friendly & useful to them, & of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums, & the articles of most desirable interchange for them & us. If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers, on their entering the U. S. to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, & taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct & take care of them.
>
> President Thomas Jefferson to Captain Meriwether Lewis
> June 20, 1803[1]

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, European nations claimed land in North America as their own. Soon, they began granting parts of the land to their subjects, who traveled to the New World to explore its possibilities. While the British did not find the anticipated wealth of gold and silver, they did find that natives, whom they called Indians, already inhabited the land. The colonists' views of property ownership frequently clashed with the views of the Indians. Therefore, in addition to granting or buying land from each other and then surveying the limits of the land, settlers also made treaties with the natives to accomplish the same goals. Treaties not only determined the details of peaceful coexistence, but also arranged the boundaries between the settlers and the Indians, and sale of the Indian land to the Euramericans. Dr. Walker, a land broker, became adept at Indian negotiations. As the Virginia population stretched its borders, Walker was involved in discussions with three main groups of Indians: the Iroquois

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[1] Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes.*

League in the North, the Shawnees in the West, and the Cherokees in the South. Although the Indians had been welcoming at the outset, they tired of the hunger the Euramericans had for their land. This was especially true in the Louisiana territory. As the property transferred through treaties from French to Spanish, back to French and finally American control, natives had to contend with and adapt to settlers from each of these countries. Lewis and Clark were facing Indians who were skeptical of the Americans' intentions.

From the beginning, the relationship between British colonists and the Indians was cyclical in nature. Although it was initially peaceful, the settlers' increased population and their need for land changed the balance of the relationship. Local Powhatan Indians first attacked Jamestown in 1622, killing over three hundred settlers. Eventually, both sides agreed to a treaty that set up a boundary between the two peoples. Later, other tribes from the west and north pushed into the Powhatans' territory, forcing them to cross the boundary, violating the treaty with Jamestown.[2] The colonists defeated the weakened Powhatans and opened the west for settlers.[3] The Virginia Council ordered the building of forts at the falls of the Appomattox, James, and Pamunkey Rivers, and on the Chickahominy Ridge to protect settlers from potentially hostile tribes in the west.[4] The cycle of peace, a violation of the relationship, violent attacks, and finally, re-negotiated peace had begun.

Peace deteriorated again in the 1670s, when Virginia farmers were experiencing economic problems due to declining tobacco prices, competition from neighboring

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[2] T. E. Campbell, *Colonial Caroline: A History of Caroline County, Virginia* (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1989), 9.

[3] Campbell, *Colonial Caroline,* 8.

[4] Dixon, "A History of the Settlement of Southwest Virginia 1400-1800."

colonies, the Navigation Acts, Anglo-Dutch wars, and a cycle of bad weather. The Dogue Indians, probably for nonpayment of a debt, attacked a plantation and the colonists struck back. After the colonists attacked the more powerful Susquehanna tribe by mistake, the Susquehannas launched a series of attacks on the settlers. Governor Berkeley attempted to curb the settlers' indiscriminate killing of Indians by calling the "Long Assembly." The Assembly voted to declare war on all "bad" Indians, but did not arrange any strategy for waging such a war. Rather, they voted to set up a strong defensive zone and raised taxes to pay for the increased defense. In an effort to avoid personal confrontations, the "Long Assembly" also set up rules regulating trade with Indians. Only licensed traders, governed by a commission to monitor trade, were permitted to continue trade with the Indians. This frustrated people whose families had traded with Indians for generations and they claimed that Berkeley had given the positions to his favorites. At a time when people were already experiencing economic difficulties, the government had taken away the right for some to pursue their livelihood, increased their taxes to pay for ineffectual forts, and left Indian attacks unanswered. Foreshadowing the Regulators of the eighteenth century, these earlier settlers organized their own defense under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. and began attacking and driving out the local Pamunkey Indians. In a demonstration of racial hatred, the settlers then headed southwest and attacked the friendly Occaneechee Indians. Only Bacon's election to the Virginia House of Burgesses and the violent political infighting, known as Bacon's Rebellion, which followed, deflected the settlers' hostilities from the natives.[5] In the end, the Pamunkeys recognized the dominance of the colonists and sought an alliance with them. Once they grasped the settlers' methods of establishing ownership of

[5] Hinderaker and Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire,* 47-52.

property, they asked for and received a patent for the remainder of their tribal lands that the Euramericans had claimed by conquest.[6]

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Walker family was involved in Indian relations. Still unclear whether the official policy of the colony was to maintain a defensive or offensive posture against the Indians, in 1707, Thomas Walker's grandfather, Colonel John Walker of the King and Queen County militia, sent a letter to Governor Edward Nott looking for advice if "Tuskarodo" (Tuscarora) Indians were to attack the county.[7] Even one Indian posed an unsettling threat to Walker's small community. The next year, Walker wrote a letter to the governor recounting one Indian's brief visit to the area. Around the beginning of the new year, Lamhatty, an Indian from Florida, sought refuge from attacks of the Creeks in the home of a Virginia frontiersman, who took him to the home of Col. John Walker. Walker wrote to the governor that Lamhatty came "naked of armes into one of ye houses of ye upper Inhabitants in this County, upon which the people there tied him by ye arm, & brought him to me; they got to my house with him on ye day following; at first I put him in irons..." After a few days, Walker "got ye Interpreter and a tuscarora Indian to talk with him." Colonel Walker noted that the map accompanying this account was "all his (Lamhatty's) own drawing." Walker was able to communicate sufficiently with Lamhatty to understand that "ye red line denotes his march, ye black line, ye Rivers, & ye shaded lines ye mountains, which he describes to be vastly big among some of those Indian Towns." On the back of this

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[6] Campbell, *Colonial Caroline*, 39-42.

[7] Annie Lash Jester, ed., *Adventures of Purse and Person* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956), 223.

letter was a list of "Sum words of his language explained."[8] This patriarch of the Walker family demonstrated some traits in his relationships with the Indians that his grandson Thomas would also show. While John Walker was kind, but cautious, with Lamhatty and developed methods of communication that could maintain peace and further his understanding of the lands farther west, he was not hesitant to resort to violence if attacked.

By 1720, the natives were no longer a threat east of the Appalachians so Governor Spotswood granted settlers as much as 1,000 acres without paying treasury rights or proving head rights.[9] However, this move west brought the settlers into dispute with the Iroquois League who claimed they used the land as a pathway to attack their enemies in the South. In an effort to resolve the dispute and gain Indian allies, as the French were doing to the north and west, the Virginians and the Iroquois signed the Treaty of Albany in 1722. The Iroquois believed that this treaty extended their sphere of influence with tribes even farther south and allowed them to use the Great Warrior Path to attack their traditional enemies.[10] The Virginians believed that this treaty meant they had clear rights to all land east of the mountains and south of the Potomac.[11] By recognizing how each side wanted to use the disputed land and determining how they could continue to do so peacefully, the treaty was a success for twenty years.

As the population moved into western valleys, disputes arose that required the Iroquois and Virginians to refine the terms of the Treaty of Albany. In that treaty, the

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[8] John R. Swanton, "The Tawasa Language," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 31, no. 3 (Jul.-Sep. 1929): 435-453.

[9] Richard Beeman, *The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenberg Co., Virginia 1746-1842* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 25.

[10] Hinderaker and Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire*, 84.

[11] Alf J. Mapp, Jr., *The Virginia Experiment: The Old Dominion's Role in the Making of America, 1607-1781* (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1957), 217.

Iroquois had renounced their right to "all lands within (Virginia) as it is now or hereafter may be peopled and bounded by his said Majesty," the king.[12] However, Iroquois believed that the western boundary was east of the Blue Ridge and Virginians believed it was east of the Alleghenies. The Great Warrior Path, which the Iroquois still needed to attack their enemies, ran down the valley between these mountains. Under the terms of the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744, the Great Warrior Path remained open to Indian travel, but allowed Virginians to settle in the Valley and farther south into the Appalachians. Virginians, who accompanied the agreement with a payment of £400 in Pennsylvania currency, interpreted this to mean that all lands west of the Blue Ridge were open to settlement.[13] The opening of the western lands by this treaty encouraged the development of land grant companies over the next ten years.

In Dr. Walker's journal of his 1750 trip of exploration for the Loyal Company, he made no mention of any encounters with the Indians. However, he did confirm their presence in the area. The man he expected to guide him on his journey could not because he was "on his way to the Cherokee Indians" to trade. Once, Walker's party awoke and "disover'd the tracks of about 20 Indians, that had gone up the Creek between the time we camped last night, and set off his morning."[14] Either the Indians were unaware of the presence of Walker and his men or did not wish to interact with them. The reverse was also true. After traveling along Indians paths, they saw "great sign of Indians on this Creek," but made no attempt to communicate with them. The narrative was matter-of-fact and ambivalent about the proximity of the natives.

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[12] Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 10.

[13] Page, *Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia*, 204.

[14] Walker, "Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker: 1749-1750."

Dr. Walker began a more personal relationship with natives in 1751. Attakullakulla, a Cherokee leader who had been a friend of the British since trader Alexander Cummings took him to England in 1730, traveled to Williamsburg to see the governor about improving trade between their two peoples. Recently, French traders had come to Cherokee territory in the south seeking to take away their trade from the British. This divided the loyalties of the Cherokees. In an effort to unite his tribe as well as renew and strengthen their alliance with the British, Attakullakulla led more than forty-three Cherokees to James Patton's house in Augusta County and asked him to accompany them to Williamsburg. Twelve Indians remained at Patton's house in Augusta while he went with the rest.[15] On their way east, they visited Dr. Walker at his home.[16] Although in his journal Dr. Walker made no mention of any encounter with Cherokees, Attakullakulla's decision to stay at the homes of Patton and Walker, suggested they had already met.

The growing competition for Indian trade between the French and the British was also evident in the west and affected each nation's relations with the natives. Because the British never fully ratified the Treaty of Lancaster, a renegotiation was necessary.[17] By the 1752 Treaty of Logstown, the Iroquois, who asserted they had authority over the Ohio Valley Indians, agreed to limit Delaware and Shawnee claims south of the Ohio River, and gave the British permission to build a fort on the forks of the Ohio.[18] Both Virginia and Pennsylvania traders had been distributing gifts to the Ohio River Indian tribes near the forks of the river to compete with the French traders. Virginia Governor Dinwiddie

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[15] Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Pulaski, VA: B. D. Smith & Bros. Printers, Inc., 1976), 11.

[16] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 75.

[17] Mapp, *The Virginia Experiment,* 232.

[18] "The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 13* (1906): 154–174.

and many members of the Assembly, who were also members of the Ohio Company, which had land claims near the forks of the Ohio River, encouraged passage of the treaty. After the Assembly ratified the treaty, the Ohio Company began plans to build a fort to protect their investment.[19]

Before they could begin, the French built a series of forts from Lake Erie to the forks of the Ohio to protect themselves from British traders. When Governor Dinwiddie heard this, he sent a message to the French, demanding that they leave the area the British had gained through the Treaty of Logstown. The French refused. Dinwiddie's messenger, George Washington, returned the next spring with troops. He discovered that the Ohio Indians were not as eager to back the British as the Iroquois had led them to believe.[20] Chief Half King, an Iroquois who claimed to rule the Ohio Indians, brought less than one hundred men, women and children to help the Virginia regiment, and they became a drain on its meager supplies.[21] After the initial British defeat, many Ohio Indians sensed they were weak and joined the French. During a series of raids along Virginia's frontier, a group of Indians, predominantly Shawnees, scalped and killed James Patton and others.[22] Although Patton had proven himself a friend to the Cherokees in the South, he became a victim of the fury the French aroused in the Ohio Indians. Due to atrocities such as this, the Virginia Assembly voted to pay £10 for scalps of every French man or hostile male Indian over the age of ten.[23] Land claims by the French and the British in the Ohio Valley forced the natives to choose sides and violence escalated.

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[19] Mapp, *The Virginia Experiment,* 232.

[20] Hinderaker and Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire,* 101.

[21] Jennings, *Empire of Fortune,* 61.

[22] Griffith, *The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774,* 85-86.

[23] McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journal of House of Burgesses of Virginia,* 8: 460; William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statues at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619,* 13 vols. (Richmond: n.n., 1819-1823), 6: 550-552.

Once the British government assigned regular troops to conduct its war with the French in North America, Virginians turned their attention to the defense of their colony. In the spring of 1756, the colony sent commissioners to renew trade agreements with the Cherokees.[24] In return for trade, Cherokees agreed to send warriors to assist the British against the French and their Indians allies. To protect Cherokee families and land in the absence of their warriors, Governor Dinwiddie sent men to build Fort Loudon.[25] This fort was just one in a chain that Dinwiddie advocated being built along the ridge of the Allegheny Mountains at vulnerable passes.[26] In an effort to conserve funds, Colonel George Washington thought it wise to use forts already built and to supplement with blockhouses.[27] Maintaining the chain of forts proved nearly impossible. Part of the problem was supplying the forts with food and ammunition. Governor Dinwiddie instructed Colonel Peter Jefferson of the Augusta County militia to send help to another county, but the Governor had no food or guns to supply the militia.[28] Another part of the problem was personnel. When Washington later reported the findings of his inspection of some of the forts and his assessment of the militia operating the forts, he noted a lack of cooperation between militia companies.[29] The weakness of the fort system was apparent when the Shawnees attacked Washington during his inspection tour.[30]

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[24] Brock, ed., *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, 2: 302

[25] Dixon, "A History of the Settlement of Southwest Virginia 1400-1800."

[26] Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, 234.

[27] "Virginia Regiment, 10 July 1756, War Council," George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799; Series 2 Letterbooks, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; accessed 6 July 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:30:./temp/~ammem_q0tK::; Internet.

[28] Brock, ed. *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie,* 2: 405.

[29] George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, 24 November 1756, Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799.*

[30] Washington Irving, *The Life of George Washington,* 5 vols., edited by Allen Guttmann and James A. Sappenfield (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 1: 32.

In keeping with the terms of the trade agreement, hundreds of Cherokee warriors arrived at the Virginia Regiment's headquarters in Winchester each season. Since the army was slow to prepare and was not ready to move against the enemy, this influx of people was a drain on supplies. To avoid this problem during the 1758 campaign season, the Virginians dismissed the warriors until they were needed. As they traveled home along the Shenandoah Valley looking for food, the Indians stole some stray horses.[31] The owners, anxious because of the frequent attacks of Shawnees along the frontier and unwilling to distinguish between friendly and hostile tribes, pursued the Indians, killing about a dozen. The relatives of the Indians swore to avenge their deaths. As hostilities between the former allies increased, General Forbes, who was in charge of the British regulars, ordered the pursuit, capture, and disarming of Attakullakulla and nine other Cherokee chiefs.[32] The Cherokees then attacked white settlers near Fort Loudon. Although a company of riflemen set out to protect the Euramericans at Fort Loudon, by the time they got there, all inside had been killed or taken prisoner.[33] Because of the Shawnee attacks, the fearful settlers extended their mistrust and hostility to all Indians.

As part of their treaty with the Cherokees, the Virginia Assembly had passed an act for establishing and maintaining trading posts with the Cherokees. The Assembly appointed Thomas Walker one of the "Trustees and Directors for the better managing and carrying on such Indian trade."[34] While attempting to strengthen peaceful relations with the Cherokees, the Virginia Assembly also sanctioned brutal means of handling the Indian violence. A group of Burgesses, including Thomas Walker, was asked to bring

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[31] Titus, *The Old Dominion at War*, 128-129.
[32] Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest* (New York: The Century Co., 1920), 74.
[33] Dixon, "A History of the Settlement of Southwest Virginia 1400-1800."
[34] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 36.

forth a bill to increase the bounty on Indian scalps.[35] This, of course, applied to Shawnees, or other Ohio Valley tribes, who backed the French and were hostile to the British. When hostilities had begun with the Cherokees, Walker was forced to sell a "considerable cargo" of trade goods to anyone who wanted to buy them.[36] The situation must not have been entirely hopeless. Rather than execute prisoners of war, the Cherokees agreed to trade them to the British. Governor Fauquier instructed Walker to purchase the prisoners brought in by the Cherokee Indians. In return, he should not trade arms or ammunition, or make treaties of peace, only offer the Indians safe passage home.[37] The Virginians were not yet ready to put a bounty on Cherokee scalps. The government of Virginia put its faith in Walker. His relationship with the Cherokees, made him suitable in better times to handle trade, and in worse times to handle prisoner exchanges.

The situation between the Virginians and the natives broke down the next spring. As troops were gathering to campaign against the Cherokees, Governor Fauquier recommended that Doctor Walker arrange for supplying provisions to the military. In his request for support from the British regulars, Fauquier wrote of Walker, "he has acted in that Capacity ever since I have been in the Colony, indeed I found him in that Office and I have never heard the least Complaint against him either as to the Quality or Quantity of the victuals, I am sure he is active vigilant and punctual, and his Accompts always clear, and fair. I have appointed him, one of the Commissioners to meet the Cherokee Indians, and to purchase the prisoners which they have brought in."[38] Walker's experience, as

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[35] McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journal of House of Burgesses of Virginia*, 8: 471.
[36] Reynolds, "Merchant and Investor," 5, note 9.
[37] Reese, ed., *The Official papers of Francis Fauquier*, 2: 507-508.
[38] Reese, ed., *The Official papers of Francis Fauquier*, 2: 510-512.

commissary for Virginia troops since 1755 and in his mission to the Cherokees the previous year, did not help him obtain the supplies. "I hope this Cause of Delay will be soon removed as I hear Dr. Walker is gone himself to meet the Contractors for the Crown."[39] Even by August, the Virginia troops were unable to pursue the war, as supplies were not forthcoming. In December, Thomas Walker resigned his position because of "the great difficulties he had met" with paperwork for acquiring provisions and a late start in shipping provisions so far west.[40] Unfortunately, it took Walker most of the next year to reconcile his paperwork with the Crown's contractors. By then, peace was re-established with the Cherokees.

Sometimes peace came to the British and the Indians through the establishment of boundaries. The 1758 Treaty of Easton, signed by William Johnson, Superintendent of Northern Indian Affairs, and the Iroquois, confirmed that Pennsylvania west of the Alleghenies would remain the Indians' hunting ground.[41] The British ministry believed that this treaty applied to other colonies as well and that settlements should not be made beyond the Alleghenies without the consent of the Indians.[42] In 1761 when hostilities were still rampant, Colonel Henry Bouquet, the commander of Ft. Pitt, reinforcing the Treaty of Easton, prohibited whites from living west of the Alleghenies.[43] The Ohio Company tried to get him to reverse this decision by attempting to persuade him to become a member. When he turned them down, they made things so unpleasant he asked his superiors to remove him from the region. Nevertheless, he was not removed and later

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[39] Reese, ed., *The Official papers of Francis Fauquier,* 2: 522-524.
[40] Reese, ed., *The Official papers of Francis Fauquier,* 2: 562-563.
[41] Rice, *Frontier Kentucky*, 16-17.
[42] A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926), 139.
[43] Volwiler, *George Croghan,* 210.

received a promotion for his role in defending British territory from Indian attacks.[44] To curb British encroachment on Indian land in the west, the Crown took control of Indian land affairs including the purchase of land, from the royal governors and gave it to the Board of Trade and Plantations in London.[45] Also, in response to British encroachment on the land across the Allegheny Mountains in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, there were attacks by several tribes from 1763 to 1766 known collectively as Pontiac's Rebellion. The Proclamation of 1763 (or Hillsborough Proclamation) was a reaction to the hostility and expense of fighting Pontiac's rebellion and prohibited colonists from settling west of the Alleghenies.[46] Land grant companies believed the Proclamation was a temporary measure that would be lifted as soon as Indian hostilities ceased. In order to persuade the Crown to make these lands available for settlement, land companies knew they had to "quiet the claims of the various Indian tribes to this western territory and to move the boundary line further westward."[47]

After five years, the Proclamation had not been lifted, but the Crown gave special permission to arrange peace with the Iroquois in the North and the Cherokees in the South. Under the direction of William Johnson, three to four thousand Iroquois assembled for a meeting at Fort Stanwix, New York.[48] John Blair, the acting governor of Virginia, commissioned Thomas Walker, accompanied by his sons Thomas and John, and Andrew Lewis, son of John Lewis, the head of the Greenbrier Company, as commissioners to this meeting to settle the boundary line between Virginia, Maryland,

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[44] Volwiler, *George Croghan,* 211.
[45] Randall, *Thomas Jefferson: A Life*, 72.
[46] Volwiler, *George Croghan,* 210; Holton, *Forced Founders*, 5.
[47] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 29.
[48] Eugene H. DelPapa, "The Royal Proclamation of 1763: Its Effect on Virginia Land Companies," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (Oct. 1975): 406.

Pennsylvania, and the Indian nations.[49] Walker and Lewis, of course, wanted the boundary moved west of the Proclamation line to legitimize the claims of the Greenbrier and Loyal Land companies.[50] The original proposal of British Board of Trade asked for lands running east from the mouth of the Great Kanawha River to the North Carolina border. Dr. Walker's proposal, which was accepted by the Iroquois, pushed the line west to include all land south of the Ohio River to the Cherokee, or Hogohege (now the Tennessee), River near the Mississippi.[51] Although the Iroquois did not live here, they treated the Shawnees, Delawares and Ohio River Iroquois living there as dependent tribes. Ultimately, by this treaty, the Indians ceded over six million acres of land to Virginia.[52] Cherokee tribes also claimed this land so a separate treaty was necessary.

In anticipation of more land opening for British settlement before the treaties officially moved the boundary lines west, several parties made private deals with the Indians. A month prior to the Fort Stanwix treaty, George Croghan, one of Johnson's deputies, with witnesses Dr. Thomas and his son John Walker, registered an Indian deed for 200,000 acres of land.[53] The Suff'ring Traders of Pennsylvania, a land company, also purchased 1,800,000 acres of land on the Little Kanawha and Ohio Rivers along the southern boundary of Pennsylvania from the Indians.[54] Two days before the beginning of negotiations, the Indians ceded 2,500,000 acres on the Ohio, Kanawha and Monongahela

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[49] John Blair Esqr President of His Majestys Council and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia to Thomas Walker Esqr, 17 June 1768, Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, microfilm, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[50] Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Land*, 115.

[51] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1857), 8: 137.

[52] Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 224.

[53] Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, 553-554.

[54] Shaw Livermore, *Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 114.

Rivers to the King.[55] After years of war, followed by five years of separation under the Proclamation, those interested in land deals could barely wait for the treaty process to conclude.

Meanwhile, John Stuart, head of Indian affairs for the southern colonies, was negotiating with the Cherokee Indians to fix boundary lines in the south. Stuart, by becoming a blood brother to Attakullakulla, had successfully negotiated the peace that ended the Cherokee War earlier in the decade.[56] Now he followed the directions of the Board of Trade and confirmed, by the treaty of Hard Labor, a western boundary line along the Great Kanawha River towards the southwest.[57] The Virginia politicians, who were involved in land grant companies, were outraged that Stuart did not press the Cherokees to cede more land and demanded the governor force him to renegotiate the treaty.

Governor Botetourt commissioned Andrew Lewis and Thomas Walker to go to John Stuart to acquaint him with the terms of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and to re-negotiate with the Cherokees to make sure that the boundary was in accordance with that treaty. Botetourt maintained that Stuart's treaty was invalid because he did not consult the governors of the colonies affected by his treaty before he made it.[58] A further objection was that Stuart's boundary line gave back land that Virginia had just purchased by the treaty of Fort Stanwix.[59] Even after Walker, Lewis, and Indian representatives met with Stuart, he did not change his mind. Therefore, Walker and Lewis negotiated

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[55] Volwiler, *George Croghan,* 268.

[56] Charles Royster, *The Fabulous History of the Dismal Swamp Company: A Story of George Washington's Times* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1999), 131.

[57] Max Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," *The American Historical Review* 10, no. 4 (Jul. 1905): 787.

[58] Annie Walker Burns, *Daniel Boone's Predecessor in Kentucky, who was Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle County Virginia* (Washington, DC, privately printed, 1962), 72-73.

[59] Burns, *Daniel Boone's Predecessor,* 71 and 73.

independently with the Cherokees and concluded a new treaty, based on the Ft. Stanwix treaty.[60] The Virginia House of Burgesses supported this treaty by asking the government in London to allow Virginia to annex lands in Kentucky and north of the mouth of the Kanawha River, effectively overturning Stuart's Treaty of Hard Labor.[61]

The controversy over these treaties alerted London to the necessity of a new, official treaty with the Cherokees. For unknown reasons, Governor Botetourt did not accept the House of Burgesses' nominees, Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis as treaty commissioners or surveyors, but named John Donelson instead.[62] Unfortunately for the land grant companies that Walker and Lewis represented, the Treaty of Lochaber fixed the Donelson Line at the Great Kanawha River where John Stuart had determined previously rather than at the Tennessee River as Dr. Walker had negotiated.[63] The confusion surrounding the boundary lines created at Fort Stanwix, Hard Labor, and Lochaber, led to an upsurge of hostilities between Indians and white settlers.

Ohio Indians, particularly the Shawnees, had not agreed to any of these boundary treaties. Both whites and Indians had pushed the "line" defined by the Proclamation and the series of treaties which followed. Indians were particularly hostile to surveyors who inevitably came into the area before the more permanent settlers who wanted land.[64] Some settlers, who were angry over escalating Indian raids in the trans-Allegheny settlements which had been ceded to the British by earlier treaties, followed the Indians north across the Ohio River and massacred several members of Mingo Chief Logan's

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[60] Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, 97-102.
[61] McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journal of House of Burgesses of Virginia*, 12: 335-336.
[62] Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 151.
[63] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 32.
[64] B. Scott Crawford, "The Transformation of a Frontier Political Culture."

family.[65] The Mingoes turned to their allies, the stronger Shawnees, for assistance, intensifying the raids. During the summer of 1774, Virginia Governor Dunmore called out the militia without getting approval of the General Assembly, illegally declaring war on the Indians.[66] The war only lasted a few months. By the Treaty of Camp Charlotte which followed, the Shawnees recognized the Ohio River as their southern boundary and agreed not to attack settlers traveling on the river. With this treaty, the Virginia land grant companies must have believed that the issue of boundaries had been solved with the Iroquois in the North, Cherokees in the South and the Shawnees to the west.

Shortly after the Battle of Lexington began the Americans' revolt against the British government, the House of Burgesses and the Council of Virginia appointed George Washington, Dr. Thomas Walker, and John Walker as commissioners to persuade the Indians of the Ohio Valley to support the American cause. Because Washington had been made commander-in-chief of the Continental Army a few days before, Dr. Walker became the Virginia commission chairman.[67] In imitation of the British, the newly formed Continental Congress also created three departments to negotiate with the natives. They decided "that Mr John Walker, of Virginia, be appointed one of the Commissioners for the Indians Affairs for the southern Department." Patrick Henry, one of Congress' middle department commissioners, had already accepted command of the Virginia regiment, so Dr. Walker also took his place.[68] Walker's twenty-five years of experience dealing with Indians as the Loyal Company's agent and as a treaty commissioner from Virginia with both the Iroquois and Cherokees made him the perfect choice.

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[65] Volwiler, *George Croghan,* 303.
[66] Randall, *Thomas Jefferson: A Life,* 191.
[67] Robert L. Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 7 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 3: 270-273.
[68] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 3: 115, note 1.

Thomas Walker was not just interested in advancing the cause of the Americans against the British. He was still interested in earning a profit from his relationships in the west. Just as he had done prior to the meeting at Fort Stanwix in 1768, Walker met with George Croghan before his meeting with the Indians at Fort Pitt in 1775. In July, Croghan wrote a friend that he was going to the Warm Springs of Virginia to meet with the gentlemen from whom he was borrowing money to buy six million acres of land from the Iroquois.[69] Four days before Croghan was to meet the "gentlemen," Dr. Thomas Walker and his son John were given leave to be absent from their seats in the Virginia assembly for the rest of the session to go to Fort Pitt. They traveled there by way of Berkeley Warm Springs. Three Indian chiefs were also at Warm Springs at this time.[70] Given this circumstantial evidence, it appeared likely that Walker was involved in this transaction. Further, a June 30, 1779 deed from George Croghan conveyed a 125,000-acre part of this six million acre tract of land to Dr. Thomas Walker, his sons John and Thomas, Jr., and his sons-in-law Nicholas, Lewis, George Gilmer, Matthew Maury, Reuben Lindsay, Henry Fry, and Joseph Hornsby.[71] In addition to his membership in land companies, Dr. Walker used his connections as Indian commissioner to purchase large tracts of land with his family.

Since Walker was a commissioner for Virginia and Congress, he was the presiding officer over the meetings involving more than one colony in negotiations with the Indians at Ft. Pitt.[72] Asking the Indians to support the cause of the Americans, John Walker made the case for the colonials. "If the British seek to destroy us, their own people, what

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[69] Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution,* 120.
[70] Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution,* 120-121.
[71] Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky,* 18.
[72] Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution,* 141.

can you expect?"[73] The colonials were determined to prove they were not too weak to defend themselves, however. "A correspondent informs us," the *Virginia Gazette* reported, "that doctor Walker and his son, of Albemarle, lately went out upon an expedition, in company with a few Indians, in order to shew them the strengths and activity of the volunteers in one of the back counties. They expressed great astonishment at the sight, and gave the gentlemen who conducted them sufficient tokens to believe that they would never take up the hachet against us."[74] Walker then warned the Indians to keep their people on the north side of the Ohio or nervous settlers may kill them. The Shawnee spokesman replied to the effect that the settlers should be satisfied with the lands they had and should not encroach on more.[75] Walker answered that the Virginians would not encroach on Indian territory, but they would seek satisfaction, if attacked.[76] He then added that if the Shawnees were to show hostility again they would be violently suppressed.[77] Reiterating the peace terms developed at Camp Charlotte, both sides agreed, "Let's keep to our own sides of the Ohio River."[78] Finally, Walker presented gifts from Virginia and made the offer that if any wanted their children educated, it would be done free.[79] With Dr. Walker leading the American commissioners, they convinced the Indians to back their cause against the British by convincing them that the British were not trustworthy allies and that the Americans were strong enough to take and hold their country on their own terms.

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[73] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 4: 184-187.
[74] *Virginia Gazette,* 14 September 1775.
[75] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 4: 197.
[76] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 4: 213.
[77] Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution,* 176.
[78] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 4: 15, 193.
[79] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 4: 222-224.

The discussions at Fort Pitt were deemed successful. The *Virginia Gazette* reported on November 18, 1775, "Dr. Thomas Walker, one of the Gentlemen appointed by the Convention to treat with the Indians, is returned to this city, and informs, that all the different nations who attended the treaty are peaceably disposed; notwithstanding the endeavours of several persons from fort Detroit to set them against this colony in particular. Mr. Walker has brought with him a young Indian (son of the famous Bawbee) to be educated at the college."[80] The British in the west, headquartered at Fort Detroit, continued to work to provoke the Indians into attacking the Americans who were encroaching on their lands. Although the British government had initially supported the move west by their colonists, it also knew that the frontier was particularly vulnerable. The colonials, for their part, sought to strengthen their ties with the natives by bringing their children east and assimilating them into their society.

Keeping the Indians peaceful required the efforts of Virginia throughout the war. "By John Walker, esq; (a commissioner appointed by the Hon. The Congress for superintending Indian affairs in the Southern district) who is just returned from that quarter, we learn, that those Indians are perfectly peaceable; and that, if properly attended to, there is very little danger but they will continue so," reported the *Virginia Gazette*.[81] Immediately after their return from these initial meetings, the Virginia Assembly asked Dr. Walker and his son John to be part of a committee to hire someone to go to Fort Pitt to keep negotiating with the Indians.[82] That spring, the Virginia Convention, the official successor to the House of Burgesses, passed a resolution that neither individuals nor companies could purchase land within its territory from the Indians without its consent.

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[80] *Virginia Gazette*, 18 November 1775.
[81] *Virginia Gazette*, 8 December 1775.
[82] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia*, 5: 263, 316.

The intent of this resolution was to slow land companies outside of Virginia from gaining control over land it claimed, but may not yet have attained through its treaties with Indians.[83] The Virginians wanted sovereign control over their lands and their relations with the natives.

Although the Indian commissioners for the southern district, including John Walker, had met with Lower and Valley Cherokees during the spring of 1776 to persuade them to remain neutral, the Overhill Cherokees refused to attend these meetings.[84] The British had incited this group to attack the American's southern frontier. Thomas Jefferson, who was a member of the Congressional Committee on Indian affairs, later related that Virginia's response to the eruption of hostilities showed the shock western settlements felt at this betrayal by the Cherokees and their determination to end it. Jefferson said that his friend, and Doctor Walker's son-in-law, Colonel Nicholas Lewis

> commanded a regiment of militia in the successful expedition of 1776, against the Cherokee Indians, who, seduced by the agents of the British government to take up the hatchet against us, had committed great havoc on our southern frontier, by murdering and scalping helpless women and children according to their cruel and cowardly principles of warfare. The chastisement they then received closed the history of their wars, prepared them for receiving the elements of civilization, which, zealously inculcated by the present government of the United States, have rendered them an industrious, peaceable and happy people.[85]

As Walker had warned the Shawnees the previous autumn, so the Virginians violently suppressed the Cherokee attacks on western settlements.

The Continental Congress had "recommended to the inhabitants of the frontiers, and to the officers at all the posts there, to treat the Indians, who behave peaceably and inoffensively, with kindness and civility, and not to suffer them to be ill used or insulted."

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[83] Volwiler, *George Croghan,* 309.

[84] Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia,* 7: 245, note 3.

[85] Albert Ellery Bergh, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 19 vols. (Washington, DC: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial of the United States, 1907), 18: 140-142.

On the same day, Congress welcomed a delegation of Shawnees and shared their hopes of peace. "We keep our roads clear of thorns and briars, and open for all our Indian brethren, who think proper to visit us. We shall always be pleased to see our brothers, the Shawanese, and our brothers of every other Indian nation. We wish to see some of their wise men at our great council fire, which we preserve bright and clear for all nations."[86] However, Dr. Walker was concerned that an Indian attack by the Ohio tribes was likely and felt that western settlers should retaliate against hostile Indians. When he returned to Pittsburgh that summer as Indian commissioner, he did not know if the Indians would be hostile or willing to talk. He thought that there should be armed men stationed around the town as a show of strength. Therefore, he wrote to the head of the West Augusta county militia requesting the use of three hundred militiamen who were good marksmen and had equipment. He did not intend to alarm anyone, but wanted to show the Indians the Americans' strength.[87] The Continental Congress' committee on Indian affairs agreed "from the intelligence communicated to them of the motions and preparations of some tribes of indians, and from the dispositions of others well known to be hostile, had cause to apprehend that an attack upon Pittsburg, or incursions into some parts of Virginia or Pennsylvania, would be made by those savages; and therefore acted prudently in calling in forces for protection and defense."[88] The colonists wanted to be able to trust the natives and make them their allies, but the history of hostility along the frontier made both sides wary.

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[86] Worthington C. Ford et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789,* 34 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1904-37), 5: 786.

[87] "Virginia Indian Commissioners to Col. Pentecost," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 17, No. 3 (Jul. 1909): 260-261.

[88] Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, 6: 922.

While protecting his investments in land, Dr. Walker developed relationships with the Indians. President Jefferson instructed Meriwether Lewis in 1803 concerning relations with the natives, "treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner with their own conduct will admit."[89] Walker, too, allowed the Indians to initiate the tone of the relationship. Initially, Walker and the Indians with whom he treated showed indifference to each other. They both knew the other was nearby, but were ambivalent about interaction. When they could no longer afford to ignore each other, they built relationships based on trade. As a businessman and later commissary, Walker was skilled in the acquisition and sale of "articles of most desirable interchange."[90] When "a few of their influential chiefs,"[91] such as Attakullakulla, wished to visit Williamsburg to make official trade agreements, Dr. Walker welcomed them in his home. However, terms of agreement between Euramericans and Indians were not always clear, treaties with one group were often in conflict with those of another, and Europeans fought over the friendships and resources of the Indians. Virginia and Dr. Walker were frequently in the forefront in resolving these disputes. One method both the Indians and the Euramericans used to create peace was to adopt or assimilate one into the other culture. Dr. Walker, who truly only believed in assimilating Indians into Virginian culture rather than vice versa, demonstrated this when he brought a young Indian boy back from Fort Pitt to be educated at the College of William and Mary. Jefferson continued that tradition when he instructed Lewis, "If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, & taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive,

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[89] Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes.*
[90] Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes.*
[91] Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes.*

instruct & take care of them."[92] Walker and Jefferson both realized that it was easier to develop peaceful relations with the natives. They could avoid each other, develop trade, and exchange cultures by visits. When one group perceived the other had overstepped the limits of the relationship, neither was hesitant to employ violence to protect themselves, and their way of life. Thomas Jefferson would put these ideas into state policy, when he became governor of Virginia, and, as president of the United States, into national policy.

[92] Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes.*

CHAPTER IV

WALKER AND JEFFERSON

In the last years of the Revolutionary War, an aging Thomas Walker moved toward retirement from public life and began turning over his business concerns to his sons. At the same time, Thomas Jefferson's career as a public servant was becoming firmly established. After a lifetime of observing and learning from Walker, Jefferson had only a few more years and opportunities to avail himself of Walker's knowledge and experience concerning issues of land and native relations.

After serving in the Virginia legislature and the Continental Congress for over ten years as it struggled toward independence from Great Britain, Thomas Jefferson was elected governor of Virginia in June 1779. During his term of office, which also coincided with the final two years of the American War for Independence, Jefferson integrated ideas that reflected Old World philosophies and laws and applied them as policies to structure the new state for its diverse inhabitants. In this task, he frequently turned to his mentor, Thomas Walker, for help and advice. Together they examined the riches the land had to offer, created plans for the development of Virginia's vast land resources, and defined its southern boundary. Meanwhile, they continued to try to win over the confidence of the Indians and assimilate them into the American culture, but also worked to defend the state's citizens when the natives proved hostile. Jefferson developed policies concerning the issues of land and native relations on a statewide scale during his tenure as governor. Later, when he became a policy maker in the federal government, he refined and expanded his ideas on a national scale. He saw the fruition of

these policies when, as president, he sent Lewis, Clark, and the Corps of Discovery to explore the Louisiana territory.

Thomas Jefferson was a major landholder who understood the potential wealth of real estate. However, the Crown had complicated the process of acquiring land by granting overlapping land patents and then denying land companies the ability to confirm their patents by the Proclamation of 1763. Jefferson, who had inherited his father's shares in the Loyal Land Company, wanted to benefit from the patenting and sale of company lands. Trying to wrest back control, he stated in his pamphlet *Summary View of the Rights of British America* that the dispersal of land was not a right of the British Parliament, but of Virginia's assembly, which was composed of many members sympathetic to land speculators.[1] Once the American colonies declared independence from England, Thomas Jefferson helped write and introduce a state bill setting up a land office to settle conflicting claims in the west and to tax land sales to retire some public debt incurred during the war.[2] Jefferson's intent was to protect the claims of Virginia's land companies and to confirm control of Virginia's land for Virginia, while allowing the new state to share in the resulting financial benefits. Ironically, his fellow speculators in the legislature saw this as an attempt to take the land and its sale from their control. They quickly defeated this measure and reasserted their claims in the west. In 1778, Thomas Walker asked the Virginia House of Delegates to confirm the Loyal Land Company's title to western lands. The Committee of Propositions and Grievances, where Walker's

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[1] Thomas Jefferson, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America Set Forth in some Resolutions Intended for the Inspection of the Present Delegates of the People of Virginia Now in Convention* (Williamsburg, 1774), 21 as reprinted in Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 10 vols. (New York, 1892-1899), 1: 427-447.

[2] John E. Selby and William F. Pallen, *Revolution in Virginia: 1775-1783* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), 153.

request was referred, resolved that surveys made before January 1757 were reasonable and that another 756 surveys should receive titles, but would not allow the company any more time to survey any more of their lands.[3] They added that only the Loyal Land and Greenbrier Companies had surveyed their lands prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War and therefore were the only land grant companies entitled to keep their claims.[4] Other claims were still contested. As Governor of Virginia, Jefferson wanted to stop land grant companies outside Virginia from claiming huge tracts of Virginia's land. In 1779, as part of the Virginia Land Act, he was finally able to set up the Virginia Land Office to monitor the sale of western lands to speculators and settlers, as well as to raise money for the state treasury. The office also approved claims and military service warrants that had been ignored since the war began in 1775.[5] Because of the Virginia Land Act, Doctor Walker, as agent for the Loyal Land Company, brought suit in the Virginia Court of Appeals to protect its ownership of land previously surveyed by the company. Jefferson confirmed the earlier legislative decision on ownership and said that settlers on the Loyal or Greenbrier Company's land must pay up or get out. Jefferson wanted to encourage tax-paying farmers to settle the west and did not want to endorse squatting rights.

As squatters and others moved west, controversy over land ownership also arose between states.[6] The boundary between Virginia and North Carolina no longer extended far enough to clarify the claims of people of each state as they moved west. Following an Act of Assembly in October 1778, Governor Thomas Jefferson chose Thomas Walker to settle the boundary with North Carolina by continuing the line surveyed by Jefferson's

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[3] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company,* 83.
[4] Selby and Pallen, *Revolution in Virginia,* 231.
[5] Hening, ed., *The Statues at Large,* 10: 50-65.
[6] Stephen Aron, "Pioneers and Profiteers: Land Speculation and the Homestead Ethic in Frontier Kentucky," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (May 1992): 197.

father and Joshua Fry in 1749.[7] Although Jefferson had already chosen Walker to be a member of his Council of State, he valued his experience on the frontier even more. After Walker formally asked to be excused from the Council, he was replaced by his son John, who had been a friend, schoolmate, and fellow burgess with Jefferson.[8] However, John Walker only served in this capacity a short time, until he was elected as one of Virginia's delegates to the Continental Congress.[9] The Walkers continued to work with Jefferson, but in different arenas.

The group of Virginians who assembled to survey its southern border in August 1779 included Dr. Walker and his youngest son, Francis. Richard Henderson, whose private purchase of lands from Cherokees in 1775 had been denounced by Virginia, led the North Carolina group. Their mission was to begin near Step Rock Creek where the Fry/Jefferson survey ended in 1750 and, if it was found that they were indeed at 30°30', to run the line due west to the Tennessee, or Ohio, river.[10] After realizing that few of the previous marks remained to guide them, because the trees which Fry and Jefferson had blazed as surveying marks had died, they did not fix their starting point until September.[11] A month later, when only forty miles west of their starting point, the North Carolina surveyors felt the line was two miles too far south.[12] The Virginians claimed they were not, but the equipment was giving a false reading due to the magnetism of the iron ore in the area. They spent several days arguing. By November 1779, the surveyors had only reached the Cumberland Gap. At this point, the surveyors argued again--this

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[7] Sanchez-Saavedra, "We Have Only to Lament," 34-35.
[8] McIlwaine, ed., *Official Letters of the Governors*, 2: 7.
[9] *Virginia Gazette,* 18 December 1779.
[10] Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, 300.
[11] Slaughter and Fry, *Memoirs of Col. Joshua Fry*, 28.
[12] Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, 300.

time about through what state the Cumberland Gap ran. Henderson quit and went to Boonesborough, Kentucky. Walker and his party continued to survey the line. They met Henderson's party in March at French Lick, about 130 miles downriver from where the Cumberland River flowed over the border. After some discussion and more disagreements with the North Carolina group, the Virginians continued west to the Tennessee River. The Tennessee River was the western boundary of Virginia proposed by Dr. Walker and accepted by the Iroquois during the Ft. Stanwix negotiations in 1768. Walker and the Virginians believed the line they had surveyed was an accurate addendum to the Byrd and Fry/Jefferson surveys as well as the treaties negotiated with the natives. North Carolina disagreed and the controversy over the border, known as the Walker line, continued well into the nineteenth century.

While the new states of Virginia and North Carolina disputed the boundary line between them, the Revolutionary War threatened both. When the Walker party returned from the Tennessee River to French Lick, there was a letter waiting for them from Governor Jefferson.[13] Jefferson was writing to Thomas Walker about his idea of putting a fort at the mouth of the Ohio once Walker had determined that this area lay within Virginia's domain. He instructed Walker to meet Colonel George Rogers Clark at the falls of the Ohio River. Governor Jefferson instructed Clark in a separate letter to supply this mission with assistants, guards and "all necessaries."[14] Jefferson told Walker that Clark had an idea where this post should be and Walker and Smith should survey the area for the best place. They were to make two copies of the plat-one for Colonel Clark and

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[13] Julian F. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* 32 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 3: 278.

[14] Thomas Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, 29 January 1780, The Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; accessed 10 April 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjser1.html; Internet.

one for Jefferson. Jefferson reminded them that land still must be purchased from the Cherokees.[15] Building a fort here would establish Virginia's ownership of the land and secure its trade route to New Orleans, assist in developing alliances with the local French and Indians, and protect American settlers from the British and their Indian allies. In the summer of 1780, George Rogers Clark erected Fort Jefferson five miles below the mouth of the Ohio on the Mississippi. Unfortunately, the land upon which the fort was built belonged to the Chickasaws, not the Cherokees from whom the Virginians purchased the land. The Chickasaws constantly attacked the fort, which was abandoned by the summer of 1781.[16]

Surprisingly, in addition to being governor of Virginia in wartime, Thomas Jefferson also found time to pursue his interest in natural science. He became a member of the American Philosophical Society, which was founded to promote useful knowledge, in 1780.[17] In the late summer, or early fall, of the same year, François Marbois, the first secretary of the French legation to the United States, sent a questionnaire to several members of the Society, including Thomas Jefferson, seeking information of each colony. Jefferson's answers to this questionnaire grew to be his only published book, *Notes on the State of Virginia.*[18] Because he had not traveled much farther west in Virginia than Monticello, Jefferson had to rely on the information he read in books and the accounts of acquaintances to answer these questions. This was not the first time Jefferson had turned to others to research trends in nature. In 1775, Thomas Jefferson had written in his Garden Book "Dr. Walker says he remembers that the years 1724 and

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[15] McIlwaine, ed., *Official Letters of the Governors*, 2: 90-91.

[16] Robert S. Cotterill, "The Virginia-Chickasaw Treaty of 1783," *The Journal of Southern History* 8, no. 4 (Nov. 1942): 483-496.

[17] Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains*, 79.

[18] Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains*, 25-26.

1741 were great locust years. We all remember that 1758 was, and now they are come again."[19] *Notes on the State of Virginia* showed how Jefferson's mind organized data and gave a glimpse into how he wanted Lewis and Clark to organize the information they would obtain about the Louisiana territory.

As he was gathering his information and checking his facts, Jefferson turned to Dr. Walker as a resource on western Virginia. Jefferson did not specifically credit any of his friends with providing information, but there were many queries Walker could have answered from first-hand experience. Although Jefferson would have known from his father's work in 1751 that Virginia's southern boundary was at 36° 30' latitude, Dr. Walker's boundary surveying party of 1779-1780 must have been the first to calculate the distance between the Atlantic and the Mississippi as 758 miles.[20] The same trip would have furnished the extensive description of the Tanisee, also called the Cherokee or Hogohege River, and detailed where it crossed the southern boundary of Virginia.[21] In order to disprove a theory put forth by the French scientist Buffon, Jefferson devoted a lengthy discussion and several graphs demonstrating the larger size and weight of North American animals relative to their European counterparts.[22] In this matter, Jefferson felt that even Walker's guesses would show the theory to be false. "I think you can better furnish me than any body else with the heaviest weights of our animals which I would ask the favour of you to do from the mouse to the mammoth as far as you have known

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[19] Randall, *Thomas Jefferson: A Life*, 249.

[20] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, edited by William Peden (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 3.

[21] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* 11.

[22] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 49-52.

them actually weighed, & have not weighed you can probably conjecture pretty nearly."[23] Jefferson's response to the query on Virginia's climate, although it did not name sixty-eight year old Walker specifically, echoed his previous comment about locusts. "The elderly inform me the earth used to be covered with snow about three months in every year....From the year 1741 to 1769 an interval of twenty-eight years, there was no instance of fruit killed by the frost in the neighbourhood of Monticello."[24] Jefferson's neighbor Thomas Walker, who had moved to the area following his 1741 marriage, would have been able to recall such weather patterns. Thomas Walker had the ability to answer questions on a wide range of topics to assist Jefferson in his research.

In answering Marbois' queries, Jefferson was also able to use natives' knowledge to learn about the animal species of Virginia, as well as to study the natives themselves. He wrote of a visit from a delegation of warriors from the Delaware tribe who came to him as the Governor of Virginia on matters of business. After they had settled their business, Jefferson asked them what they knew, or had heard of, the animal whose bones had been found on the Ohio. One of the Indians answered that they had learned through the generations, 'That in antient times a herd of these tremendous animals came to the Bigbone licks, and began an universal destruction of the bear, deer, elks, buffaloes, and other animals, which had been created for the use of the Indians."[25] Jefferson guessed this large animal was the mammoth, but continued to seek evidence of the existence of this and other extinct animals during Lewis and Clark's journey of exploration.

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[23] Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Walker, 25 September 1783, Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, microfilm, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[24] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 80.

[25] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 43.

When discussing the natives themselves, Jefferson began by writing of his personal knowledge of Indians, but admitted that others had more experience. As part of Attakullakulla's 1751 trip to Williamsburg, Cherokee warrior and orator Outassetè visited Shadwell, the Jeffersons' home. Later when Jefferson was a student at the College of William and Mary, Outassetè visited Williamsburg on his way to England. Recalling the farewell speech Outassetè gave to his people, Jefferson wrote that his "sounding voice, distinct articulation, animated action, and the solemn silence of his people at their several fires, filled me with awe and veneration, although I did not understand a word he uttered."[26] Another example of such oratory ability was Chief Logan's speech lamenting the murder of his family at the hands of settlers in 1774. Jefferson included a copy as an appendix to *Notes* to demonstrate to the reader that the natives would "astonish you with strokes of the most sublime oratory; such as prove their reason and sentiment strong, their imagination glowing and elevated."[27] Jefferson believed that if this intelligence were cultivated, natives could be assimilated into American culture.

Jefferson's interest in Indian relations always led back to land acquisition. "The mode of acquiring lands, in the earliest times of our settlement, was by petition to the general assembly. If the lands prayed for were already cleared of the Indian title, and the assembly thought the prayer reasonable, they passed the property by their vote to the petitioner."[28] Clearing the land of the Indian title was not always easy. In his original manuscript for *Notes*, Jefferson described the acquisition of lands from the Indians. "It is

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[26] Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 12 June 1812 in Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson in Twelve Volumes*.

[27] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 140.

[28] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 135.

true that these purchases were sometimes made with the price in one hand and the sword in the other."[29] Doctor Walker had petitioned the Virginia Assembly for land both as a private citizen and as a member of the Loyal Company. He had negotiated for title to Indian land through private purchase and through treaties. In the confusion of the French and Indian, Cherokee, and Revolutionary wars, he sought alliance with the Indians to protect existing land claims and expand into new territory gained through conquest. Thomas Walker was a living example for Jefferson in showing how Americans had gained rights to the land.

Jefferson worked on *Notes* in his limited leisure time over the next several years. When he wrote to Walker in 1783 about the paper he was writing for Marbois, he was still distilling the facts he wished to include. "There are still a great number of facts defective and some probably not to be depended on knowing nobody as able as yourself to set me right in them." Jefferson recognized the fact that he was relying heavily on his life-long friend and neighbor for a wide variety of information, but "I know not what apology to make you unless my necessity be one, and my knowing no body else who can give me equal information on all the points."[30] No letter featuring Walker's response to Jefferson's plea has been found, but neighbors Walker and Jefferson could have met and discussed the ideas contained in this book. Walker was one person who would have known about boundary lines and distances, the topography, animals, the climate of the land, and had experience with the natives. Thomas Walker was the perfect sounding board for Jefferson's ideas.

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[29] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 281, note 4. Although this statement reflected Jefferson's personal assessment of the situation, he eliminated it from the final draft as he was trying to show the Euramericans in a favorable light.

[30] Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Walker, 25 September 1783.

While Thomas Jefferson was clarifying his thoughts through researching and writing *Notes on the State of Virginia,* he was also putting those thoughts into actions and policies on a state and national level. He encouraged interaction with the natives in order to win them over to the American cause and assimilate them into American culture, as well as to study them and acquire their land. As governor and custodian of the land claimed by Virginia, Jefferson sought the most effective means of using the land to increase the wealth and power of the state. Jefferson was reflecting the personal experiences of Thomas Walker, who had confronted the issues of the land and the Indians throughout his life, as he set governmental policies.

It was Jefferson's duty as governor to protect the sovereignty of Virginia over its lands. Because he was also involved with the formation of a new, independent country, he also had to consider how the state could work cooperatively for the good of the union. In November 1779, the Indiana and Vandalia companies presented petitions to Congress for grants of land in the Ohio Valley "denying the right of Virginia to the soil."[31] To deprive these non-Virginian speculators from profiting from the sale of Virginia land and to retain some control over the direction the central government would take in the west, Jefferson and other state officials began to look for a way to cede land to the central government. John Walker, one of Virginia's delegates to the Continental Congress, addressed this issue in a July 1780 letter to Governor Jefferson. "Do you not think it would be advisable in Virginia to give up her exclusive claims beyond the Ohio, to be guaranteed in all her Territory on this side?"[32] However, because a clause, in the original bill of cession, concerning private purchase of Indian lands that was not in the best

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[31] Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, 225.
[32] John Walker to Thomas Jefferson, 11 July 1780.

interests of any land speculating company outside or within Virginia, John Walker voted against the legislation.[33] This, and subsequent discussions in Congress over western land, highlighted the struggle over power and sovereignty between states as well as between the states and the central government that would continue with the Louisiana Purchase. Governor Jefferson could not afford to concentrate on this issue at the time as the British army had invaded Virginia.

Turncoat Benedict Arnold landed with a British army in Tidewater Virginia around Christmas 1780. The Virginia legislature adjourned from Williamsburg and did not reconvene until May when it met in Richmond. It could only meet there a short time as another British army under General Cornwallis was threatening from the south. Governor Jefferson suggested that the government seek safe haven in his home county of Albemarle. Technically, Jefferson was no longer governor of the state as his term ran out on June 2, but, with the Assembly on the run, they were unable to elect a new governor. Cornwallis then ordered Lieutenant Colonels Simcoe and Tarleton to capture the Assembly. On June 3, a young Virginian, Jack Jouett, spotted Tarleton and his men at a tavern in Louisa County and, guessing their objective, rode forty miles through the night to warn Jefferson of the impending attack. With Jefferson at Monticello were fellow politicians Patrick Henry, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr. Richard Lee, and Edmund Randolph. Tarleton passed through Louisa County to Albemarle and, by early morning, reached Thomas Walker's home where other members of the Assembly were staying. Walker offered a leisurely breakfast to Tarleton and his men, allowing Jefferson

[33] Selby and Pallen, *Revolution in Virginia*, 258.

and the others to make their escape. Even in the final days of Jefferson's governorship, the paternalistic Thomas Walker protected the young man he had guided through life.[34]

Over the next few years, as Thomas Walker moved toward retirement and Thomas Jefferson continued his political career, they both continued to look westward. Later in the summer of 1781, the new governor of Virginia appointed Walker the Commissioner of Virginia to settle all accounts of disbursements and claims in connection with the western part of Virginia, including Kentucky. He declined saying, "he was advanced considerably beyond his grand climacteric," thinking it "must make great difference, as well in his mental as bodily ability."[35] Jefferson also ended 1781 on a sour note. Many Virginians criticized Jefferson's pursuit of the war. They claimed that he was so intent on supporting George Rogers Clark and the war in the west that the British were able to attack Virginia from the east and south. The Virginia Assembly investigated these claims to determine if censure was appropriate. The Assembly not only exonerated him, but also voted the thanks of the state for his actions during the war.[36] Both men were worn by the demands of serving the state.

The end of the war allowed Jefferson to continue his work on *Notes on the State of Virginia* and to return to the original goal of Virginians-exploration for a northwest passage to the Pacific. Since he was nearly seventy years old, Dr. Walker could not undertake this task. Therefore, in 1783, Jefferson asked George Rogers Clark, another Virginian with considerable knowledge of the west, to consider leading such an

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[34] "Thomas Jefferson Diary Extracts, 1780-1781," The Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; accessed 10 April 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjser1.html; Internet; John Cook Wyllie, ed., "New Documentary Light on Tarleton's Raid: Letters o f Newman Brockenbrough and Peter Lyons," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 74, no. 4 (Oct. 1966): 452-466.

[35] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 38.

[36] "Thomas Jefferson Diary Extracts, 1780-1781."

expedition. "I find they have subscribed a large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Missisipi to California. They pretend it is only to promote knolege. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonising into that quarter. Some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making the attempt to search that country. But I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. How would you like to lead such a party?" Clark declined the opportunity, writing, "Your proposition respecting a tour to the west and North west of the Continent would be Extreamly agreable to me could I afford it but I have late discovered that I knew nothing of the lucrative policy of the world supposing my duty required every attention and sacrifice to the Publick Interest but must now look forward for future Support."[37] Jefferson continued to demonstrate his interest in exploration of the continent by creating a list of recommended books in 1785, which included: *Voyages du Baron de LaHontan dans l'Amerique Septentrionale* by Baron Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce de Lahontan (Amsterdam, 1705), *A concise Account of North America: containing a Description of the Several British Colonies on That Continent, Including the Islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, &c.* by Robert Rogers (London, 1765), and *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina* by Antoine Simor Le Page du Pratz (London, 1763). This list also featured *A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards Call'd Florida, and by the French La Louisiane* by Daniel Coxe (London, 1741), which was the book that inspired Peter Jefferson, Joshua Fry, James Maury and Thomas Walker to formulate their plans for a westward expedition in the 1750s.[38] While minister to France in 1786, Thomas Jefferson proposed another trip of exploration to his new acquaintance,

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[37] Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 6: 371 and 15: 609.
[38] Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains*, 89-91.

John Ledyard. Unfortunately, as Ledyard was attempting to find a northeast passage around Russia, he was captured by Catherine the Great's forces and died in captivity.[39] In 1793, the American Philosophical Society, at Jefferson's urging, sponsored Andre Michaux, a French botanist, to "find the shortest and most convenient route of communication between the US and the Pacific Ocean."[40] The project was abandoned due to political intrigues that were a result of the French Revolution. It was not until he became president that Jefferson was able to see this mission fulfilled by Lewis and Clark.

Thomas Walker was still interested in the commercial aspects of the lands in the west and revived the Loyal Companies claims in court. In the Court of Appeals held at Richmond in May 1783, Walker, representing himself and other members of Loyal Land Company, referred to their original grant from July 12, 1749 and its subsequent confirmations in 1751, 1753, and 1773. The court ruled that all surveys made by a county surveyor or his deputy, according to law previous to 1776, were confirmed with patents.[41] Immediately Walker sent a letter to his representative in the field asking him to inform settlers that they now owed patent fees on the land.[42] Walker, however, could not continue to run the company and in 1793, he turned over control to his attorney and his son Francis.[43] Walker had overseen almost every facet of running this company for nearly fifty years.

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[39] Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains*, 49.

[40] Thomas Jefferson to Andre Michaux, 23 January 1793, The Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; accessed 10 April 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjser1.html; Internet.

[41] "Loyal Company Correspondence, 1763-1832," Special Collections, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

[42] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company,* 86-87 quoting "Thomas Walker to William Preston, 9 May 1783."

[43] "Loyal Company Correspondence, 1763-1832."

As partners in the Loyal Land Company and other real estate ventures, Thomas Walker and Thomas Jefferson continued to rely upon each other in land disputes. In the fall of 1785, Thomas Walker posted two separate notices, signed by legal witnesses, that Thomas Jefferson and another had empowered him to make a title to certain lands in Montgomery and Botetourt Counties, which he had surveyed in 1753.[44] Due to wars and politics, Jefferson had never received a clear title to this land, which he inherited from his father. In turn, Thomas Walker asked Thomas Jefferson for legal advice concerning the land disputes in "respecting a grant of 8000 acres of Land made Under the regal government to your Father & myself on the western waters."[45] All the appropriate paperwork had been filed, but Walker had never received title. Some settlers wished to purchase the land from Walker, but they were hesitant because he did not hold a clear title. Jefferson replied that he was not sure what to do about the disputed land claims. He hoped that the situation would become clear once "the independence of the Western county (Kentucky) shall be acknoledged."[46] As had been the case throughout Walker's career, the more people wanted land, the more land was liable to dispute.

On one of the last times they were able to act together in an official government capacity, Thomas Walker and Thomas Jefferson tackled the issue of state boundaries. In 1782, the Virginia House of Delegates appointed Walker and Jefferson as part of a committee to prepare and publish a defense of Virginia's western claims north of the

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[44] Abraham Trigg to Thomas Walker, 28 September 1785, Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, microfilm, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; D. May to Thomas Walker, 20 October 1785, Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, microfilm, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[45] Thomas Walker to Thomas Jefferson, 7 June 1790, Dr. Thomas Walker papers, 1744-1835 as part of the William Cabell Rives Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, microfilm, original in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[46] Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Walker, 23 June 1790.

Ohio as something to be discussed and settled prior to peace treaty between United States and Great Britain.[47] They were trying to clarify boundaries between states as well as determine ownership of lands in the west the states claimed by virtue of their colonial charters. By the 1783 treaty of Paris, the Mississippi River was the western boundary of Virginia. Dr. Walker had already helped to delineate the southern boundary of Virginia, but the lands north of the Ohio River remained in dispute.

After England had ceded the lands between the Ohio and Mississippi to the United States, Jefferson continued to work on the issue of Virginia's lands while a member of Congress. When he had written the Virginia constitution, Jefferson recognized the possibility of new states forming in the western territory as distant governments became less effective. He also wanted to keep states smaller to retain republican characteristics. Congress finally accepted lands Virginia had first offered in 1780 and the land north of the Ohio River was known thereafter as the Northwest Territory.[48] As part of the transfer of ownership, Thomas Jefferson proposed the 1784 Land Ordinance, which developed the process for territories to become states and their admission into the Union. This was only a starting point for how the new nation would handle its ownership of lands and how to accept new states into the union. As the government refined its ideas of how to govern the western lands, the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 eventually replaced Jefferson's 1784 ordinance.

Even though the Americans were coming to some resolution on how to handle the lands north of the Ohio River, the Indians had never ceded all these lands to the

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[47] Henderson, *Doctor Walker and the Loyal Company*, 38; William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., *The Papers of James Madison,* 17 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 4: 198, note 8.

[48] Volwiler, *George Croghan,* 318.

Euramericans. The Americans rationalized their claims of ownership by believing the Indians lost their rights to this land by backing the British, who lost the war. At the end of the eighteenth century, American policy for acquiring Indian land shifted from making treaties and purchasing the lands to taking it by conquest.

Jefferson, who had always backed plans to acquire more lands in the west, felt that Indians would accept the take-over by the Americans, if they assimilated American culture. According to a popular theory of the day, there was a progression of civilization from hunter to farmer to city dweller. In his political policies with the Indians, Jefferson wanted to help the Indians advance along this line of progression and to assimilate them into American farming culture so the United States could acquire more land. Whereas Jefferson never visited an Indian village, he followed long tradition and often invited them to seats of American power. When he was Secretary of State, he wrote his friend, and Dr. Walker's son-in-law, George Gilmer about some Creek Indians who were visiting the government in New York. "We are in hopes this visit will ensure the continuance of peace with them."[49] He also wanted to learn from the natives. When Kaskaskia chief Jean Baptiste DuCoigne, who had visited Jefferson while he was governor of Virginia, came to Philadelphia in 1792, Jefferson introduced him to Andre Michaux to learn what he could about exploring the west.[50] As president, Jefferson pushed his policy of peaceful interaction and assimilation of the Indians. In his December 1801 address to Congress, Jefferson said,

> Among our Indian neighbors, also, a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails; and I am happy to inform you that the continued efforts to introduce among them the

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[49] Thomas Jefferson to George Gilmer, 25 July 1790, The Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; accessed 10 April 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjser1.html; Internet.

[50] Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains*, 71 and 75.

> implements and the practice of husbandry, and of the household arts, have not been without success; that they are becoming more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence for clothing and subsistence over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing; and already we are able to announce, that instead of that constant diminution of their numbers, produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.[51]

To maintain the Indians' dependence on manufactured goods, Jefferson advocated the expansion of trading houses. In their eagerness for these new luxuries, the Indians might run up debts. When the debts were more than they could pay, he argued, they would be willing to settle them by a cession of land.[52] Thomas Jefferson used a lifetime of learning about the Indians in order to win their lands away from them.

After watching and learning from Thomas Walker over a lifetime, when Thomas Jefferson became governor of Virginia, they were able to work together to achieve common goals. Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* detailed information gleaned through Walker's exploration of Virginia territory. The Virginia Land Office and the state's cession of land to the central government were measures intended to protect the sale of Virginia's real estate. Jefferson demonstrated his trust in Walker by sending him to survey Virginia's border with North Carolina to stave off future land disputes. Walker's surveying trip was extended to include surveying the site of Fort Jefferson to defend Virginia's borders against hostile Indians. While governor, Jefferson encouraged visits from friendly Indians to build peaceful relations, to study their culture, and to persuade them to assimilate American culture. Jefferson was using Walker's experience to develop official government policies.

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[51] Thomas Jefferson, "Annual Message, 8 December 1801," The Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; accessed 10 April 2005; available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjser1.html; Internet.

[52] Logan Esarey, ed., *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison* 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1922), text-fiche, 1: 69-73.

Thomas Jefferson's most ambitious land deal occurred in 1803 when he purchased the Louisiana territory from the French. In 1801, Canadian fur trader Alexander Mackenzie published his account of his trip of exploration across Canada to the Pacific. His concern that the British were interested in obtaining the land west of the Mississippi and thereby surrounding the fledgling United States was the impetus Jefferson needed to revive his ideas of coordinating an American trip of exploration. Taking his cue from Britain's Captain James Cook, Jefferson was determined to make this trip not just one to find the Northwest Passage, but one of scientific discovery as well. Originally, he sent fellow Virginian and Secretary of State James Monroe to France to purchase only New Orleans and the right to access the Mississippi for trade. However, the opportunity arose to buy the entire Louisiana territory and thereby double the size of the United States. Even before the purchase was finalized, Jefferson began assembling his Corps of Discovery.

For leaders of this expedition President Jefferson chose two young men from Albemarle County, Virginia. In 1801, Jefferson had recruited Meriwether Lewis, a former army captain, to be his personal secretary at the White House. Jefferson had known Lewis since birth. His father William Lewis was a member of the Albemarle County Independent Volunteers that formed immediately after the start of the Revolution. He was killed during the war, so his brother, Nicholas Lewis, became young Meriwether's guardian much as Dr. Walker had been guardian to Thomas Jefferson. Dr. Walker was related to several members of the Lewis family through marriage including his son-in-law Nicholas. Meriwether Lewis' widowed mother Lucy soon married John Marks, a cousin of Thomas Jefferson. As Jefferson was the president of the American

Philosophical Society and interested in the scientific potential of the trip, he sent Lewis to the society's headquarters in Philadelphia to receive the scientific training necessary for a trip of discovery. When he returned from his expedition, this organization housed the artifacts gathered during the trip. The other leader of the journey, William Clark, was the younger brother of George Rogers Clark, who had met with Dr. Walker in 1780 to fulfill Governor Jefferson's orders and whose success in the west aided the defeat of the British in the Revolution. Just like Dr. Walker, Clark's parents were born and raised in King and Queen County, Virginia and moved west to Albemarle County. After the Revolutionary war, the Clarks moved farther west to Kentucky. While serving in the army, Clark fought at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, the last major battle with Indians east of the Mississippi. The men were in St. Louis completing preparations for the trip when news arrived of the transfer of power from France to the United States in February 1804.

Although the primary objective of the journey was to find the Northwest Passage, the goals returned to the same themes echoed throughout the lives of Walker and Jefferson. These included scientific exploration of the land, determination of the commercial resources of the area, and the creation of an accurate map for use in determining boundaries between the United States and their British and French neighbors. While the United States had secured Louisiana's ownership from France, the expedition needed to be aware of "the Indian rights of occupancy." In his January 1804 letter of instruction Jefferson asked Lewis to "propose to them in direct terms the institution of commerce with them" and to assure them that "they will find in us faithful friends and protectors."[53]

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[53] Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis, 22 January 1804, Thomas Jefferson and Early Western Explorers, Transcribed and Edited by Gerard W. Gawalt, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; accessed 18 August 2006; available from http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field(DOCID+@lit(je00060)); Internet.

Trade remained, for Jefferson, the first step in the Indians' assimilation into American society that would eventually lead them to acknowledge American sovereignty over the land. Jefferson had become, like Walker, a true frontiersman whose focus was on the west rather than the east.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Thomas Jefferson first learned about the importance of land and interactions with Indians from his father. Peter Jefferson was a major landowner and founder of Virginia's newest county, Albemarle. He served as a surveyor locally and helped determine boundary lines between Virginia and her neighbors. The Jefferson home hosted a delegation of Cherokee Indians on their way to Williamsburg to seek trade agreements. When Peter Jefferson died in 1757, Thomas Walker fulfilled Thomas Jefferson's need for a male role model, continuing to demonstrate the importance of land and interactions with Indians. After Jefferson became president of the United States, he took the ideas he learned from Walker to give direction to the Lewis and Clark expedition. Even though the size of the Louisiana Purchase was a surprise, Jefferson immediately knew how the United States should handle the acquisition.

The first step after purchasing land was to explore in order to determine its value. Thomas Walker had been a member of the 1748 party to explore land for the Greenbrier Company and two years later headed the team of exploration for the Loyal Land Company. While on this journey, Walker kept a journal recording what the land had to offer. As Thomas Jefferson was writing *Notes on the State of Virginia*, he turned to Walker as a source of information about the nature of the land in the west. Jefferson, however, wanted to explore further west. The goals of British exploration in North America had always been to find sources of gold or silver and to find a Northwest Passage to the Pacific. Once Jefferson became a member of the American Philosophical Society, he tried several times to coordinate trips to accomplish these goals, but the

opportunity to attempt them did not present itself until he was President. Unlike Dr. Walker, Jefferson never had any desire to explore on his own. He was more interested in the scientific value of the data accumulated and so instructed the Corps of Discovery to keep accurate records in multiple journals and, when possible, to send back specimens.

The purpose of exploring the land was determining how its assets could be exploited commercially. Thomas Walker knew that the way to gain wealth and thereby political power was through the acquisition of a large personal estate run by slave labor to raise surplus goods for export. For him, the main asset of the land was not in any particular resource, but in the land itself. This was why he joined large land companies in the mid-eighteenth century. By working in concert with others, he was able to increase his personal landholdings as well. Therefore, he was interested in land laws--from how ownership was determined to how land could be sold. Thomas Jefferson inherited membership in the Loyal company as well as personal property, making him one of the wealthiest men in Albemarle County. When the Royal government began making it difficult for land companies to realize profits from their grants, he wrote the legal treatise *A Summary View of the Rights of British America.* In this pamphlet, he claimed that the right to disperse and govern lands in Virginia belonged to the Virginia Assembly, not Parliament. The land office he created as governor of Virginia was designed to raise capital the state badly needed during war. After the war, Jefferson initiated the cession of Virginia lands north of the Ohio River to the national government. Part of the Land Ordinance of 1784 included provisions for the sale of those lands to raise revenue for the United States. With the acquisition of the Louisiana territory, the United States had vast land resources it could sell, but Jefferson wanted Lewis and Clark first to pursue the

original commercial goal of finding a Northwest Passage for commerce. Farmers would only be interested in buying the land in the west if they were able to get their goods to markets.

Because many people and many nations valued land, it remained important to determine boundaries for its owners. As vestryman within his parish, Thomas Walker processioned, or surveyed, lands to confirm the property rights of fellow parishioners. This experience gave him the qualifications needed to become agent and surveyor for the Loyal Land Company. Jefferson was familiar enough with his father's profession of surveyor for Goochland and Albemarle Counties and his experiences in surveying the Fairfax grant and Virginia's southern boundary that he briefly held the position of county surveyor. As an attorney, he specialized in cases involving land disputes. When he became governor, the Land Office he developed did not just sell land for state profit, but also resolved disputes over land. Jefferson sent Walker as part of a commission to complete the survey of Virginia's southern boundary and, in later years, they worked together to support the states' claim on its western boundary. In order to avoid the disputes he had witnessed during his life, Jefferson admonished Lewis and Clark to keep careful records mapping their route through the Louisiana territory. He sent Lewis to Philadelphia to learn from members of the American Philosophical Society the proper way to record geographical position by longitude and latitude. Jefferson warned Lewis to locate durable markers to avoid the confusion the Walker party encountered when searching for markers that Fry and Jefferson had left. In addition, he was aware that compass variations were possible as they had been in surveying the Walker line between

North Carolina and Virginia. Jefferson hoped that the more accurate Lewis' records, the stronger the United States' claim to Louisiana would be.

An immediate concern in unlocking the wealth of the land in the Louisiana territory was developing peaceful relationships with the natives of the area. The first step was the development of trade. Both Peter Jefferson and Thomas Walker welcomed Cherokees into their homes in 1751 as they were on their way to Williamsburg for trade negotiations. The Cherokees trusted them and hoped the British would offer more lucrative trade and safety than the competing French would. Later, the Ohio Valley Indians demonstrated their trust in Dr. Walker when they accepted his offer to bring their children back to Williamsburg for an American education. However, Walker was willing to defend himself and his country if the Indians were not trusting and proved hostile. In the 1750s, he put forth bills in the Virginia assembly for bounties on scalps of hostile Indians and in the 1770s told the Ohio Valley Indians that any hostility on their part would be answered with hostility. Thomas Jefferson welcomed delegations of Indians as governor, secretary of state, and president. He wrote about his interest in them scientifically as both the source of information and as a subject of study in *Notes on the State of Virginia.* He believed that the Indians had the same innate talents as whites, but that they needed cultivation, or assimilation, into American society. Part of that assimilation involved the Indians' increased dependence on American trade goods. Jefferson wanted to encourage this dependence even to the point of encouraging the Indians to accrue debt. He believed that if the debt became great enough, the Indians would be willing to part with their land. Many of the Indians that Lewis and Clark met had already encountered Euramericans. Therefore, it was important to Jefferson for this

expedition to demonstrate how Americans were different and better as trading partners. Although the expedition party consisted of military men who had trained to answer hostility with hostility, its ultimate success depended on developing a good relationship with the natives. Jefferson instructed Lewis to persuade them to the benefits of trade with the United States, to honor them by conferring on points of scientific interest, and to arrange for them to visit in order to assimilate them and their children into American culture. The more willing the Indians were to interact on Jefferson's terms, the sooner settlers would move west into the Louisiana territory.

With the purchase of the Louisiana territory, President Jefferson was able to transform his ideas about the land and interactions with the Indians into practice. Jefferson believed the west was the land of possibility and sent the Corps of Discovery to determine what possibilities the Louisiana territory held. In keeping with eighteenth century Virginian values, he knew that the United States could derive wealth and subsequently power from the acquisition of land. Knowing that there would be competition from other nations for the wealth and power the land would bring, Jefferson was careful to instruct the expedition to map the territory precisely to preserve the rights of the United States. Jefferson was sensitive to the fact Indians already claimed and inhabited the land. He knew that the relationship the natives and Americans developed would have an affect on developing the west for settlement and commerce. Doctor Thomas Walker, through his life, showed Jefferson how to develop the possibilities of the west. It was through the influence of Walker, a lesser-known man, that Thomas Jefferson sponsored settlement of the west with the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition.

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