NYLAND, Keith Ryan, 1941-

DOCTOR THOMAS WALKER (1715-1794) EXPLORER,
PHYSICIAN, STATESMAN, SURVEYOR AND PLANTER
OF VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1971
History, general

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DOCTOR THOMAS WALKER (1715-1794) EXPLORER, PHYSICIAN, STATESMAN, SURVEYOR AND PLANTER OF VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
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The Ohio State University
1971

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CHAPTER I
THE EARLY YEARS

According to the old family Bible, Thomas Walker's ancestors emigrated from Straffordshire, England to Virginia in the mid seventeenth century. The father of Doctor Thomas Walker, also named Thomas Walker, married Susanna Peachy in 1709 and settled in King and Queen County, Virginia where he became a leading citizen and the county's sheriff in 1718. Impressing the Colonial government with his ability to cultivate lands for development and expansion, Thomas Walker was given leave to take up a five thousand acre tract of land in the county of King William.

Doctor Thomas Walker was the third child and second son of Thomas and Susanna Peachy Walker. Born 25 January 1715, near the hamlet of Wallarton on the Mattaponi River near Hillsboro, Virginia, the young lad suffered a major family catastrophe when his father died. His older sister, Mary Peachy Walker who had married Doctor George Hall.

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2Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 5.
Gilmer, became his guardian and moved to Williamsburg where the youth received a background in medicine by working in his brother-in-law's drug store.\textsuperscript{3}

Though many of the records have been destroyed, young Thomas Walker is said to have attended, and some say even graduated from William and Mary College during his stay in Williamsburg.\textsuperscript{4} His college courses consisted primarily of English and Mathematics, though later he studied medicine and surgery in preparation for a medical practice at Fredericksburg, Virginia.\textsuperscript{5}

In 1741, at the age of twenty-six, Doctor Thomas Walker married the widow of Nicholas Meriwether. The marriage gave Doctor Walker rights to an estate of more than eleven thousand acres near the city of Charlottesville, Virginia in Albemarle County.\textsuperscript{6} His marriage to Mildred Thornton Meriwether was substantiated by much more than a desire to acquire the property, as evidenced by the fact that the happy couple had twelve children.

Doctor Thomas Walker became distinguished in colonial American society as a very well-traveled public

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{5}Marion Rust, A Bit of Pioneer American History, his Journey (Kentucky, 1950, Typed Manuscript for the Walker bi-centennial celebration at Walker State Park, Barbourville, Kentucky.) p. 16.

\textsuperscript{6}See page 117 for further explanation of ownership.
servant. Various public missions took him as far north as Albany, as far south as Charleston and nearly to the Mississippi in the west. His wide range of varied activities and enterprises was remarkable for an eighteenth century Virginian. Wyndham Blanton wrote in *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century*, "if ever there was a man with many irons in the fire it was Thomas Walker."\(^7\)

One of his more prominent interests was medicine, a profession that he may have inherited from his father who is also said to have been a physician.\(^8\) Though he did not study medicine at William and Mary College, the young Doctor Walker achieved a fine reputation for being an eminent surgeon when he practiced at Fredericksburg. He prescribed medicines, bled patients, sawed off legs and arms without anesthetic when the occasion required and engaged in the business of importing and exporting supplies for a general store he ran in Fredericksburg until he moved to Albemarle County. Though it is uncertain exactly when he left Fredericksburg or where he obtained his medical training, Doctor Walker is remembered for the distinguished service he performed during the colonial wars.\(^9\)

\(^7\) Blanton, p. 243.

\(^8\) Ibid.

He also achieved lasting fame in medical textbooks for being the first American to trephine bone for suppurative osteomyelitis in 1757.\(^\text{10}\)

Despite various advances made in medicine, the profession remained primitive in colonial America. Botany was considered the most important course in the aspiring physician's training, and doctors feared the possible loss of business from any competition within a fifty mile radius. A Scotsman visiting the county of Culpepper sought to establish a practice until he inquired about the distance to the nearest physician; when told Doctor Walker was about forty miles away, he indicated that was too close and left for another location.\(^\text{11}\)

Another way in which Doctor Walker distinguished himself in colonial medicine was to teach the trade to relatives and associates who were later inspired to make major contributions of their own to the profession. Doctor Walker's nephew, George Gilmer, Jr., became one of his most eager pupils. After attending William and Mary College, the young Doctor Gilmer studied medicine under his uncle's guidance and finished his professional training

\(^{10}\)Blanton p. 19.

in England at the University of Edinburgh.  

Doctor William Baynham was another of Doctor Walker's notable apprentices who finished his medical education in England. After a five year apprenticeship with Doctor Walker, the aspiring young physician sailed for London to study at Saint Thomas Hospital and practice surgery. He returned to Virginia in 1785 where he became internationally known as one of the finest anatomists of his century. Other notable physicians who served apprenticeships with Thomas Walker included his own son John Walker, and George Conway Taylor.

Perhaps another indication that medical practices in colonial Virginia lacked the influence of the modern profession, is the fact that Doctor Walker made house calls. He made several visits to Peter Jefferson at his home and was with him when he died. Being a long-time friend, neighbor and business associate, Thomas Walker was made executor of his estate and guardian of his son Thomas Jefferson.

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14Blanton, p. 79.

Records indicate that Doctor Walker visited many patients who were not easily reached.\textsuperscript{16} For patients who could not be visited, such as his friend and business associate Colonel Preston during the Revolution, the doctor often sent instructions on bleeding and various supplemental potions to be used at regular intervals.\textsuperscript{17} Walker would often suggest the use of Glauber salt as a cathartic for patients with high fever or pains in the head or stomach.\textsuperscript{18}

On occasion, Doctor Walker performed his services free of charge. There is a story that a young invalid man came to his house at night while en route to visit Doctor Gilmer, Walker's nephew and son-in-law. Walker learned that the man was Robin Hemsberger, a blacksmith from Augusta County, who was recently married and had nothing with which to support himself and his wife but his own labor which was at the time impaired seriously by his health. He had expended most of his previous earnings without the least benefit, and as a last resort was going to consult Doctor Gilmer. Doctor Walker examined the case and told him he could effect a cure as well as Doctor Gilmer and could afford to do so for nothing, while Doctor Gilmer would necessarily need more remuner-

\textsuperscript{16}Medical bills, Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.

\textsuperscript{17}Draper MSS, 4QQ183.

\textsuperscript{18}Letter from Bartlet Bennet, October 10, 1785, Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
ation. The patient placed himself in Walker's care and remained at Castle Hill a couple weeks. He left the house, partially recovered and supplied with medicines and was instructed on how to use them, nothing being charged for himself or his horse, medicines or advice. Hemsberger fully recovered, became wealthy and died at an old age.¹⁹

Seemingly miraculous cures were sometimes discovered by accident in the Walker household. One patient came to Doctor Walker complaining of numerous ailments and was given some pills. The pills were prepared by Walker's son John, who often helped his father as an office assistant. Instead of making the pills as ordered, John picked up some lamb droppings, rolled them in flour, put them in a box and gave them to his father. After a few weeks the man returned and asked for more, saying that they did him more good than any medicine he had ever taken.²⁰

Doctor Walker's daughter Lucy often aided her father in his medical profession. Thomas Walker often consulted her, as a woman of uncommon sense and book learning, on difficult medical cases. Her avid interest in medicine was continued when she married Doctor George Gilmer Jr., her cousin and a former apprentice to her father.²¹

¹⁹Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p.15.
²¹Draper MSS, 13229.
Though medicine in Colonial Virginia was crude and lacked the professionalism of modern times, colonial society had a warm feeling toward their faithful physicians, as exemplified by the poetic verse:

The brave old doctor,
the good faulty old doctor,
the faithful country doctor.
His bones are dust,
his lancet rust,
his soul is with the saints we trust.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{22}William Scott Wadsworth, "Medicine in the Colonies." Paper read before the Pennsylvania Society of the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, January 14, 1910. p. 15
CHAPTER II

THOMAS WALKER THE EXPLORER.

Virginia charters of 1609 and 1612 gave the colony claim to the area from the east coast to the sea in the west and northwest. Though in 1624 the charters were abrogated by King James I, it was understood that the action affected only the government and not the physical existence of the colony.

Doctor Walker was not the first explorer of the wilderness of Virginia's western frontier, but he was the first to leave a record of his travels and discoveries in a detailed account. In 1654 Colonel Abraham Wood is said to have visited the area now known as Kentucky as an explorer, but little is known of the trip or the route.\(^1\)

Sir William Berkeley, a colonial governor interested in expansion and development of the western frontier, was captivated by the possibilities of western exploration and looked forward to being able to visit the area himself.\(^2\)

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It was as late as 1716, however, before Alexander Spotswood, another Virginia governor, was able to claim that he was actually the first white man of record to cross the Blue Ridge Mountains.³

Governor Alexander Spotswood wrote to the Board of Trade in 1710 concerning his intention to push for occupation toward the Ohio River to cut the communication lines between the French settlements of Canada and the Mississippi.⁴ The governor led a party of mounted gentlemen to a peak of the Blue Ridge Mountains, where he made sweeping proclamations of ownership of all the territory that lay in their view. The expedition was remembered, however, far more as a social event than as an historical accomplishment.⁵ It was customary to toast the King's health in champagne and fire a volley, then the Princess' health with burgundy, and any others that could be thought of were toasted with Virginia red wine and white wine, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, rum, canary, punch, water or cider.⁶

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⁴ Ibid.


⁶ Johnston, First Explorations, p. xi.
John Salling, known as a "bold Weaver" of Williamsburg, made a trip into western Virginia as part of an expedition by John Marlin, a pack-peddler, who had a thriving trade in small articles with settlers on the east slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the vicinity of Winchester. Around 1730 they went to the waters of the Roanoke River where they met a party of Cherokees. Marlin escaped but Salling was captured and carried to Indian land on the upper Tennessee River. Salling remained there three years, until he proceeded with a party for the salt licks of Kentucky in search of buffalo. There his party met Indians from Illinois and he was attacked, beaten, taken prisoner and carried off to Kaskaskia where he was adopted by an old squaw as her son. He identified with the tribe for two years, accompanying parties on expeditions that extended as far as the Gulf Coast. Salling was later purchased from the squaw by an exploring group of Spaniards, who later returned him to the Indians. Accompanying his Indian friends on a trip to Canada, Salling was redeemed by the French governor and sent to New York. Salling eventually returned to Williamsburg and told stories of the western lands that gave vigorous impulse to other settlers to venture to the Virginia frontier. Salling was probably the first Virginian to visit the present area of Kentucky.

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near the Cumberland Gap, but his journey was not voluntary and he cannot be credited with discovering the territory as an explorer.

More than a decade later, John Howard and John Peter Salley received a commission from Sir William Gooch to explore the back country of Virginia and float down the Mississippi. They organized a group in 1742 to effect an eventual settlement but were captured as suspicious characters and taken to New Orleans by Frenchmen of a settlement on an island in the Mississippi. When finally permitted to return to Virginia, Howard and Salley made a report to the English Board of Trade saying that they "saw more good land on the Mississippi than they judged was in all the English colonies as far as they are inhabited." 8

The reports of the land in the west, as well as a desire to colonize the territory with greater numbers than the French, led the English to a policy of encouraging westward penetration and fulfillment of Sir William Berkeley's prophesy: "Westward the course of empire takes its way." Colonel James Patton was probably the first English subject to visit Woods River and the New or Kanawha River area west to the Holston 9 and Clinch Rivers

8 Draper MSS, 1C120-121.
9 The Holston River was discovered by Stephen Holston of Pennsylvania, an early Swedish settler who built a cabin at the head fork of the river that was visited by Patton.
prior to 1743. Patton was an Irish gentleman experienced in the British Navy and the British army and as captain of a merchant vessel that made more than twenty voyages from England to Virginia. He applied for a grant of land but was refused until 1745 when the Council granted him and his associates, Colonel James Wood, Colonel John Buchanan, Captain George Robinson, William Parks, and John Taylor one hundred thousand acres on the Woods River and two rivers to the westward. An organization was formed called the Woods River Land Company which gave public notice in 1746 that they would sell the land to actual settlers at the rate of four pounds five shillings for every hundred acres. As soon as the company could complete the sale they were promised an additional grant of the same acreage in a similar region. The company organized a trip in 1748 to the southwest territory of Virginia. Colonel James Patton led a group of explorers that included his son-in-law John Buchanan, Charles Cambell, Thomas Walker, James Wood, and an undetermined number of servants, hunters and woodsmen, horses, and hunting dogs.10

During the 1748 explorations the group crossed to the west side of the New River and reached the head of what is now the middle fork of the Holston River. It was there that Doctor Thomas Walker named Walker's Creek,

10Draper MSS 10122-123.
a western tributary of the New River,\textsuperscript{11} and made the acquaintance of Samuel Stalnaker, a trader with the Cherokee Indians who was to become very important as a resource for the later explorations of Doctor Walker in the 1750's.\textsuperscript{12}

Following a meeting with Stephen Holston, the group followed the Holston River Valley into Tennessee near the site of Bristol and surveyed a tract of land called the Saplings. They crossed over to the north fork of the Holston River and located a three hundred thirty acre basin which later became the town of Saltville. Proceeding up the north fork of the Holston River, they located a large fertile land area and continued to Burke's garden where they stayed for one night. Because of an impending heavy snowfall, they curtailed further exploration activities and returned home.\textsuperscript{13}

Following the trip in 1748, Thomas Lee, the President of Virginia Council, Robert Dinwiddie, then serving as surveyor-general for the southern colonies, and a London merchant, petitioned the King for a grant through which they hoped to carry on an extensive Indian trade. The plan


\textsuperscript{12}Klaus, Wust, \textit{The Virginia Germans} (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969) p. 41.

met with English approval and the Crown sent instructions to the governor of Virginia in March, 1749, to grant half a million acres within the colony between the Monongahela and the Kanawha Rivers, two-fifths of which was to be settled within the next seven years by a minimum of one hundred settlers.14

As the leader of the Loyal Land Company, Doctor Thomas Walker organized a group of adventurers to make the initial exploration of eight hundred thousand acres of land granted to the company, July, 1749. Each of the explorers had a horse for riding and two pack horses for baggage. There were no servants, hunters or woodsmen, but they did have hunting dogs. Whether it was for medicinal purposes or social occasions, Walker considered rum to be necessary for the trip and mentioned it as one of his first necessities.15

Doctor Walker's 1750 exploration was not the first group to visit the western area of Virginia that is now Kentucky, but they were the first to leave an authentic record of their route, discoveries, and daily activities. Each day, Thomas Walker made entries in his diary which was later published as a journal of the exploration.16

14 Draper MSS, 10124.
16 See appendix details on the publication of the Journal.
After leaving Albemarle County, Doctor Walker and his group followed a southwesterly course through the present counties of Nelson and Amherst until they crossed the river near the present location of Lynchburg. They entered Buford's Valley east of the Blue Ridge, and crossed the Blue Ridge easily at Buford's Gap. Doctor Walker noted in the Journal March 14th: "The ascent and descent is so easie that a stranger would not know when he crossed the Ridge." Entering the Roanoke Valley near Bonsacks, they went to the great Lick [present site of Roanoke] and bought corn from Michael Campbell for their horses. They proceeded up the river above Salem, where they lodged at James Robinson's, and then followed the stream to William Ingles on Draper's Meadows. After crossing the river they met a group of people from a religious sect known as the Brotherhood of the Euphrates, commonly called Dunkards. As a matter of religious custom the Dunkards did not shave their beards, use beds, eat flesh, or baptize their young. Doctor Walker and his companions, however, found them very hospitable during the several days they stayed in their community before moving toward the Holston Valley.  

After the group had camped on the Holston River, Thomas Walker and Ambrose Powell set out to look for

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Samuel Stalnaker. Since the time that Walker had seen him in 1748, Stalnaker had moved to the north side of the Holston River. Thomas Walker hoped that Stalnaker, an experienced Indian trader, could guide the group through the area, but his duties prevented him from joining the expedition. Walker's party did, however, remain long enough to receive directions to Cave Gap and to help Stalnaker raise his cabin. The Fry-Jefferson map of 1751 noted the cabin as being the extreme western outpost. Hutchin's map stated that Stalnaker's homestead was the farthest western settlement of Virginia in 1755. On the 18th of June 1755, however, Adam Stalnaker, Mrs. Stalnaker, and three others were killed by Indians on the Holston River. Samuel Haydon and Samuel Stalnaker were made prisoners but the latter soon escaped. He was subsequently spoken of as Captain Stalnaker and his residence became a prominent frontier station.

After leaving the Holston River, Doctor Walker's expedition took a northwesterly course past the Clinch Mountain and the Clinch River toward the Cave Gap, which they renamed the Cumberland Gap. At the foot of a mountain

18 Wust, p. 41.
20 Thwaites and Kellogg, Dunmore's War, p. 58.
21 Draper MSS, 10428.
near the gap, they found an Indian path leading from the Cherokee towns on the Tennessee River to the Shawnee Indian towns on the Ohio. The path led them down Yellow Creek to an old ford of the Cumberland River. They left the Cumberland River near Flat Lick, turning toward the north where they crossed some of the head branches of the Kentucky River. The poor land and hill countryside led Doctor Walker to the conclusion that there was no good farmland in the entire region, so the group took an easterly course over the rough mountains and nearly impenetrable laurel thickets, having to cut the thickets with tomahawks in order to continue. 22

The group returned through the Greenbriar territory of what is now part of the counties of Mercer and Summers in southeastern West Virginia, and proceeded through the present counties of Wise, Dickenson, Buchman, and Tazewell in Virginia; all of which was a part of Augusta County, Virginia at the time of the expedition in 1750. 23 The final portion of the trip followed substantially the present route of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad, crossing the Allegheny divide and passing through Hot Springs. They reached Augusta County Court House, the present site of Staunton, on the eleventh of July; crossed the Shenandoah

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23 Pendleton, Tazewell County, p. 179.
Valley and passed over the Blue Ridge at Rock Fish Gap, and arrived back home in Albemarle on the sixteenth of July.\textsuperscript{24}

Other than Thomas Walker, the most prominent member of the 1750 expedition was Ambrose Powell, the surveyor of Culpeper County.\textsuperscript{25} Very little is known of Doctor Walker's other companions, William Tomlinson, John Hughes, Colby Chew, and Henry Lawless. John Findley, the man who guided Daniel Boone through the territory thirty years later, was reported by a biographer of Thomas Jefferson to have been along on the expedition;\textsuperscript{26} but, there is no evidence in Doctor Walker's \textit{Journal} to substantiate the claim.

While attempting to locate land the company could develop and sell to inhabitants, the 1750 expedition of Doctor Walker and his associates resulted in the naming of several new geographical sights they encountered. Tomlinson's River is the middle fork of the Kentucky River, Lawless River is the north fork. A large eastern tributary

\textsuperscript{24}Lewis Preston Summers, \textit{Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800} (Abingdon, Virginia: Lewis P. Summers, 1929) p. 25.

\textsuperscript{25}Perrin, et. al., \textit{History of Kentucky}, p. 108.

\textsuperscript{26}John DosPassos, \textit{Thomas Jefferson, the Making of a President} (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1964) p. 23.
of the north fork of the Kentucky River was named after John Hughes. Whether or not the Powell Mountain and river valley were named during Walker's expedition in 1750, has been questioned by historians. Lewis Collins claimed in volume two of his History of Kentucky that a group of nineteen Virginia and Pennsylvania hunters visited the area in 1761 and named them at that time because they saw Powell's name on a tree.

The Louisa River, a main fork of the Big Sandy River, was named after the sister of the Duke of Cumberland for whom Doctor Walker seemed to have a great affinity. The Big Sandy River was previously known as the Chatterawah, and the Cumberland Mountains were formerly called the Waseoto mountains. The reason a number of the names were changed is that the Shawnee Indians had abandoned the area for the most part as a place of residence and the area was then a border fighting ground between the Indians of the north and the Cherokee and other tribes of the Tennessee

27 Draper MSS, 10138.


29 Draper MSS, 10142; Draper MSS, Boone Appendix p. 9; Summers, Annals of Southwest Virginia, pp. 22-23; Walker was reportedly commissioned around 1758 to take certain Cherokee chiefs to England; and while there, organize a land company of which the Duke of Cumberland was to be the patron, for settling the wild lands of the western frontier in Virginia and Carolina. There is, however, no record that the task was ever accomplished.
Valley. Since Doctor Walker had no chance to learn the aboriginal names, he renamed several geographical features. The Cherokee were friendly toward American settlers in the 1750's and even sent volunteers to the early portion of the French and Indian War. They were deadly enemies of the Shawnees and other tribes north of the Ohio River. During the entire expedition of Thomas Walker and his companions, Indians were of no concern. There was no attempt to conceal campfires or deviate from the trail. Tracks were discovered, and the dogs became disturbed by various sounds in the night. Doctor Walker actually hoped to be able to contact some Indians and therefore did not consider their presence a threat.

Walker named the Cumberland River, Mountain and Gap after the Duke of Cumberland, William Augustus, the second son of King George II of England. Though he was known in Scotland as "Willy the Butcher," the Duke apparently impressed Walker by his victorious battle in 1746 over the forces of the Pretender. Lyman C. Draper verified the naming by Walker's affidavit referred to Judge Hall, Walker's statement to Isaac Shelby and John Brown, and the declaration of William Tomlinson, one of the companions on the expedition, to Colonel Cave Johnson, of Kentucky, who

30 N.S. Shaler, Kentucky, p. 60.
communicated the fact to Draper. Previously the Mountains were called Waseoto, the River was the Shawanoe, and the Gap was known as Cave Gap.\(^32\)

Theodore Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West*, stated that Thomas Walker found and named Cumberland Gap, but, it was named in 1748 when James Patton and Colonel Thomas Preston, Thomas Walker and others went there. The story is based on reports from descendants of Charles Campbell and Colonel John Buchanan who were with Colonel Patton and Walker on the expedition of 1748. There is evidence in Doctor Walker's *Journal*, however, that he had first called it Cave Gap when he entered the territory for the first time April 13, 1750.\(^33\) The term Cave Gap referred to the large cave in the vicinity of the channel forced through Pine Mountain by the river leaving large heaps of limestone on each side.\(^34\) The gap was first traveled by prehistoric mammoths searching for feeding grounds. Paths were worked deeper by the heavy hoofs of buffalo that crossed between the cane breaks and salt licks in the valleys of the Cumberland River on the north and Powell's, Clinch, and Holston Rivers to the south.

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\(^{33}\) Pendleton, *Tazewell County*, pp. 176-177.

\(^{34}\) Draper MSS, 10136.
Later, the Indians used it as the "Great Warriors Path." After passing through the Cumberland Gap, Doctor Walker and his associates split into two groups. Ambrose Powell, Colby Chew, and Thomas Walker explored to the north of the Cumberland Mountains in order to find an area desirable for settlement. They searched for three days and thirty-five miles but became discouraged when it seemed they could not find productive meadows. By a quirk of fate, the party had actually skirted the fertile blue-grass region for several days but saw only the rough country of the mountain region. Some suggest the reason Walker and his companions stayed in the rough mountainous country was that he was under the impression that the Ohio River was located northeast of his position and followed an erroneous course which kept him in the mountains until he passed the Kentucky River.

During their stay on the north side of the Cumberland Gap, the expedition of Doctor Walker built what many regard as the first house erected in the area that is now Kentucky. A map in the London edition of Washington's Journal, printed


37 Perrin, et. al., Kentucky, p. 108.
in 1754, which marked "Walker's settlement, 1750," on the Cumberland River. 38 A French map by Robert de Vaugondy in 1755, also noted the tiny settlement which he called "Walker's establis Anglais." 39

There were many who benefited from the geographical knowledge that Doctor Thomas Walker obtained during the expedition of 1750. John Mitchell, Lewis Evans, Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, and Robert de Vaugondy used his assistance, but only Evans, Fry and Jefferson acknowledged it. 40 Lewis Evans, maker of the highly acclaimed "General Map of the Middle British Colonies," acknowledged the help he obtained from Walker's contributions. Evans wrote: "as for the branches of the Ohio, which head in the New Virginia, I am particularly obliged to Mr. Thomas Walker for the Intelligence of what names they bear, and what rivers they fall into Northward and Westward." 41 Doctor Walker's information was also the basis for the Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson map of 1751. When their map was

38 Perkins, Annals of the West, p. 111n.


sent to the Lords of Trade by President of the Council, Lewis Burwell, acting Lieutenant Governor, together with an account of the bounds of the colony of Virginia and the back settlements of the lands toward the mountains and lakes, Colonel Fry included a statement that he based his information on descriptions by his neighbor Thomas Walker, and John Peter Salling.42

The map of Robert de Vaugondy, Geographe Ordinaire du Roi, 1755, located several rivers and streams which the Walker group had discovered and named, all of which, with one exception, de Vaugondy incorrectly depicted as flowing into the Ohio, rather than the Cumberland River. The notation of Walker's settlement on the Cumberland River was correct as to latitude, but located too far to the west. De Vaugondy's map was made one year before the outbreak of the Seven Years War in Europe, and the same year as the Great Meadows Massacre of July 1755, which began the American phase of the French and Indian War. The map, being obtained while information was still being exchanged freely, became the basis for French operations on the American frontier.43

A great myth has been perpetuated by a number of historians that Daniel Boone was the first explorer into the region of the present state of Kentucky. Lewis Collins wrote, for example:

Neglecting the obscure visit of Doctor Walker to the Northeast portion of Kentucky in 1758, and the equally obscure, but more thorough examination of the country by Finley in 1767, we may regard the Company headed by Daniel Boone in 1769, and by Knox in 1770, as the earliest visits to Kentucky worthy of particular attention.⁴⁴

While noting Doctor Walker's brief and rather obscure visit to northeastern Kentucky in 1758, Collins failed to mention Walker's 1750 expedition which was significant for its discoveries and accomplishments.

According to his own autobiographical account, Boone never crossed through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky until he reached the area in 1769, under the guidance of John Findley, and associate of Doctor Walker who had previously explored the territory.⁴⁵ Boone's Autobiography is a questionable historical source, however, since it was not written by Daniel Boone, but by John Filson, who made Boone as romantic a figure as possible.⁴⁶

The 1750 exploration was more widely acclaimed in

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⁴⁵Ibid. II p. 416.
later decades when the discoveries and adventures of Doctor Walker and his associates became more well known. Isaac Shelby, the first governor of Kentucky, stated in 1770 that he was with Thomas Walker and others that year on Yellow Creek, within a mile or two of Cumberland Mountain, when Walker told him of having been there twenty years earlier. "Yonder beech tree contains the record of it," stated Doctor Walker, "Ambrose marked his name and the year upon it, and you will find it there now," The governor examined the tree and found large legible letters "A. Powell-1750."  

In 1845, a youth named Stopher found a fine tomahawk, a leather shot pouch, the remains of a powder horn and an Indian pipe, sticking under a rocky bank of Salt River at the mouth of a small drain on the west side, about two or three hundred yards below the mouth of a river in Mercer County, Kentucky. The weapon of Thomas Walker, lost nearly one hundred years before when the streams flooded, had apparently been found by Indians in the swollen branch east of the Big Sandy River, and left behind after an Indian raid on the town of Harrodsburg. Still sharp and in perfect condition, the tomahawk had the name Thomas Walker engraved in plain letters on one of its sides.

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48 Draper MSS, 1C143.
Thomas Walker's expedition of 1750 is also noted for being the first to discover the great coal deposit in the Flat Top region near the present city of Pocahontas, Virginia. Doctor Walker noted in his Journal the fine quality of the coal he found in the area. What he actually discovered was the easternmost outcrop of the Appalachian coal field; which, when later investigated, was found to contain thirteen veins of coal, and in some areas was more than ten feet thick.\(^9\)

The entire expedition took four months and one week, during which time Doctor Walker and his associated had reached as far west as Rockcastle River, and as far north as the area now known as Paintsville, Kentucky.\(^50\) Despite the fact that the explorers found the easiest passage to the west, had charted many of the previously unknown regions of the Ohio River tributaries, and could list in the Journal that they had killed thirteen buffaloes, eight elk, fifty-three bear, twenty deer, four wild geese, and one hundred fifty turkeys, the trip was not successful in finding a proper place for settlement.\(^51\)


\(^51\) Johnston, "First Explorers," p. 75.
Throughout the decade of the 1750's, Doctor Walker made several excursions to Virginia's western frontier in search of the potential land for settlement that he had missed on the first expedition. When he heard of the travels of Christopher Gist for the Ohio Company, and the stories of the fine upland plain of the bluegrass region, Thomas Walker formed a new exploring party to make another trip in 1751. Though little was recorded concerning the expedition of 1751, it is known that James Patton and others stopped at Doctor Walker's in Albemarle County to pick up the supplies consisting of liquors, butter, salt, corn meal, beef, tobacco, and brown linen. The trip was of relatively short duration from August 8th to September 18th. The group passed through the Cumberland Gap and was successful in discovering more suitable lands for settlement on both sides of Dick's River, a northerly flowing tributary of the Kentucky River that Walker named after a friendly old Indian Chief he discovered in the area.

The present area of Kentucky was called "Kuttaawa" by the Delaware and Shawnee tribes, meaning "great wilderness."

52 William P. Palmer and Sheawin McRae, eds., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond, 11 vols. (Richmond: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1885) I, p. 244.

The Iroquois word "Kentake" meant "place of the meadows" of the "hunting grounds." The Cherokee called the area "the dark and bloody ground," for reasons that became all too obvious to the early settlers. Walker is said to have been told by Attakullakulla, or "Little Carpenter", as the Cherokee Chief was called, that whenever the Cherokee went into the lands the territory ran with blood. The Iroquois territory lay to the north of the Ohio River and the Cherokee claimed the area to the south. Since each was warlike in pursuing their interests, the conflict was so consistent that no permanent settlement could be established by either.

Indian Creek, a tributary of the Cumberland River, passed through a wide valley of productive soil. It obtained the name from savage massacres near Paint Ridge in the spring of 1751. Indians scalped all but two who happened to be absent on a hunting trip. One young woman, being temporarily concealed, witnessed most of the attack from a distance, but was later found and taken to a high point known as "Paint Hill" where she was scalped and her blood was painted on a large rock near the crest of the mountain.

54McElroy, Kentucky, p. 9.
56McElroy, Kentucky, p. 9.
Her scalp, hung on the trail, left a grim warning to future settlers. Two hunters returned to Virginia to report the disaster, but the Indians stayed in the area, however, to make settlers anxious to locate near fortifications. 57

Doctor Walker made at least one additional visit to the area of Dick's River in either 1758 or 1760. 58 He was also selected to lead an expedition to the Pacific coast. Colonel Fry had read a book by a geographer named Cox that convinced him passage to the Pacific was possible using the western tributaries of the Mississippi. Fry and Walker planned the venture, but it never materialized. Reverend James Maury, the rector of Walker's Church, told of the grand scheme whereby persons would search for the Missouri River to see if it had any connection with the Pacific. The project was so near actual undertaking that Thomas Walker was appointed chief conductor of the affair and was making preparations when the plan was halted by French and Indian hostilities in the region of their passage 59. The fact that Doctor Walker was chosen to lead such a vast project, however, was indicative of the personal trust he enjoyed from his contemporaries as well as their confidence in his leadership and ability.

57 Rust, Bicentennial pp. 15-16.
58 Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 9.
59 Blanton, Medicine in Eighteenth Century Virginia, p. 244; Dos Passos, Jefferson, pp. 25-27.
CHAPTER III

THOMAS WALKER THE SURVEYOR AND LAND SPECULATOR

Despite Walker's continued dedication to explorations and his medical activities, surveying and land speculation were much more lucrative endeavors in the eighteenth century. Virginia law required that land must be "seated and planted" within three years after a patent was issued; it was possible, however, to acquire land for a year or two and sell it at a profit before the "seating and planting" time expired and the owner would have to erect a house and clear three acres for every fifty acres held. Thomas Walker became a master at the art of land speculation. No other Virginian in the era had as many political connections among both the tidewater leaders and among the magnates of the valley. From the end of the French and Indian War to the conclusion of the Revolution, he dominated the land speculating interests in Virginia.

One of the first large land tracts recorded under the name of Thomas Walker included a four thousand acre grant in Brunswick County that he received in April, 1742,

\[1\text{Charles Wilder Watts, "Land Grants and Aristocracy," Papers of Albemarle County Historical Society(1947-48) VIII, p. 17.}\]
along with his colleague William Holliday. In 1743 Doctor Walker received a personal grant of one thousand acres in Goochland County, and in the 1750's he received large tracts of three thousand to ten thousand acres as part of the English government's policy to colonize the western frontier by granting large tracts of land to select individuals who could procure large groups of people to build permanent settlements. On August 27, 1754, the King instructed the Virginia government to grant large tracts of western lands free from the payment of quitrents for a period of ten years and without the usual fee of five shillings for each fifty acres.

The policy of granting lands to and beyond the Allegheny Mountains was repeatedly exercised by Virginia governors and the Councils. Most Virginia governors from William Berkeley to Lord Dunmore regarded the western territory as part of Virginia and an act of the Assembly in 1752 declared that the banks of the Mississippi were

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2 Executive Journals, V, p. 84.
3 Ibid., p. 123.
5 Clarence W. Alvord, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics (Cleveland: 1917) I, p. 89.
In addition to the land grants he received, Doctor Walker made a private purchase of more than twenty-three hundred acres in the 1750's for his own speculation in Louisa County. Through these and other similar transactions, Thomas Walker became one of the most prominent figures in the history of Virginia land speculating and development.

In one of his land speculating operations, Doctor Walker allied with another of colonial Virginia's prominent figures, George Washington to form the Dismal Swamp Company. Washington and Walker were actually related in a distant, though often repeated connection. Walker's three brothers-in-law married cousins of George Washington; Mrs. Walker's nephew married the daughter of Washington's half-brother; in addition, the grandmother of both of Thomas Walker's wives was the grandmother of George Washington.

Washington had toured the Dismal Swamp area in its southern region in North Carolina and concluded that the area had excellent potential if proper drainage was provided.
He formed a company around 1763 that consisted of himself plus his brother-in-law, Fielding Lewis, William Waters, John Syme and Samuel Gist to secure rights to one hundred forty-eight thousand acres of the Dismal Swamp region of southeast Virginia. John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, and Anthony Bacon and Company of London became members of the organization at a later time. In November, 1763 the Council resolved that each of the one hundred forty-eight applicants could take a patent for one thousand acres upon giving legal notice to proprietors of the contiguous highlands that they would not interfere with any previous entries. Seven years later, the initial option was renewed for another seven year period. Despite the renewal, nothing was heard again from one hundred thirty-eight of the original petitioners, leaving the organization with only ten active members shortly after the original rights had been acquired.

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Walker were selected to make surveys and begin drainage of the swamp as soon as the proper authority could be obtained. Each of the remaining active members pledged a number of able-bodied servants, tools, and assorted necessary items to begin the task in July, 1764.\textsuperscript{14}

Though elaborate schemes were developed to obtain laborers from Baltimore, import three hundred workers from Germany and Holland, and obtain a substantial loan from Amsterdam to construct a huge drainage canal, the plan never materialized.\textsuperscript{15} The Revolution discouraged digging the small canals required for the proposed drainage, the organization of the company became feeble and records were lost, forgotten or scattered. The canal proposed by the Dismal Swamp Company did not materialize until 1821, long after the original company had abandoned their efforts.

Throughout the lifetime of the Dismal Swamp Company, George Washington continued to believe that the timber in the area could be turned into a profitable cash crop. He visited the region at least seven times between May, 1763, and October, 1768; investing at least one hundred fifty-seven pounds cash and the labor of his slaves.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Freeman, Washington, VI, p. 32.}
Perhaps what thwarted the venture more than anything else was the company's lack of organization. After the company had failed to have a meeting for several years, Washington asked Walker in April, 1784 to set up some sort of a business meeting by issuing the necessary summons and naming a time and place. An extremely slow post office may have been partially responsible for lack of frequent communication among the company's membership. A letter from Washington to Walker took nearly three months. After receiving no reply from Doctor Walker, Washington wrote again in August to request the establishing of a meeting time and place. A meeting was advertised in Richmond for October, 1784 but there is no proof that a gathering actually took place at that time. Another meeting was scheduled for the following May, because of Washington's insistence that "it is indespensably necessary to put the affairs of the company under some better management."

Later, in the 1790's when the membership and the records of the company had become more scattered, it became impossible for even the principal parties to recall how the company was organized. Replying to an inquiry by Doctor Walker's son Francis, George Washington detailed what he recalled of the company's existence by 1797:

17Ibid., XXVIII, p. 127.
Some years ago before, it my memory serves me, I was called to administer the government of the United States, Mr. John Lewis, as executor of his father Col. Fielding Lewis' will, informed me that the circumstances of that estate required that his father's interest in the lands which were bought by him, your father and myself, lying as above, should be sold - In reply, I told him that any bargain for it that Doctor Walker and himself would make, I would abide by, and since which I have never heard a title from either on the subject nor do I know in whose possession, or under what circumstances the lands now are. That they are not sold I am inclined to believe, because the title papers are still in my care, and no application has ever been made for them... but I have no disposition to become the purchaser, having lately sold my share of the company's property in the Dismal Swamp; and formerly a tract adjoining thereto, held by the deceased Col. Lewis and myself. I shall be willing; however, at any time, to join you and Mr. John Lewis in disposing of them to any other purchaser with esteem and regards.

I am Sir.
Your most obedient & humble Servant.

George Washington

Most of Thomas Walker's transactions in land development and speculation, however, were accomplished through his position with the Loyal Land Company. In the first few years of the company's existence, Doctor Walker became the organization's principal agent, explorer, and surveyor.

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18 Ibid., XXXVI, p. 47.

19 It is generally believed that the Loyal Land Company was organized in 1749 with a membership of thirty-nine to forty-five from substantially two areas. John Lewis represented the Shenandoah Valley interests; Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Walker and a number of others represented the Albemarle County group. Records that were retained of letters from members that could not attend specific meetings indicate that the membership also included James Mercer, William Jackson, Francis Corbin, William Pollard, Charles Barret, Fielding Lewis and James Power.
By the end of 1754, he had surveyed two hundred twenty-four tracts of land containing forty-five thousand two hundred forty-nine acres of land scattered throughout the territory of southwestern Virginia. Continuing his efforts with a great sense of dedication for the next two decades, by 1773 Walker had surveyed an additional one thousand seven hundred fifty-six tracts containing enough acreage to boost his total to two hundred one thousand, five hundred fifty-four acres.

In making each of his surveys, Doctor Walker made copious notes in a small notebook with pages six and one-half inches by four and one-quarter inches.

More than thirty-five years later, Abraham Trigg resurveyed some of Doctor Walker's original plots and found them to be very accurate. "The distance," according to Trigg, "was generally within half a pole in each line, (and) never in the longest course varied more than the length of one chain, in short I never went round such exact surveys in my life."

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20Pendleton, Tazewell County, p. 180; Bodley, History of Kentucky, I, p. 52.

21Bodley, History of Kentucky, I, p. 83.

22See Appendix for typical entry.

In 1760, Doctor Walker used the following printed form contract for customers of the Loyal Land Company who purchased tracts he had surveyed:

Know all men by these presents, that I Thomas Walker of Louisa County, General Agent to the Loyal Company, am held and firmly bound to ______ in the sum of _____ current money of Virginia to the payment whereof, well and truly to be made to the said ________ His Executors, administrators or assigns. I bind myself, my heirs Executors or administrators firmly by these presents. Sealed with my seal, this ____ day of _____ in the year of our Lord, 17 and ____. Whereas the above named Thomas Walker, hath this day surveyed for the above named ______ one hundred acres of land, part of the grant obtained by the Loyal Company, and hath put the said _______ in possession thereof (he having paid down the surveyors and patent fees and money to purchase rights for the same) now the condition of the obligation is such that if the said Thomas Walker, the agent for the Loyal Company for the time being shall make a good title in fee simple, in and to the said land to said ________ his heirs, upon his or their paying to the said Thomas Walker, or his successor in the agency aforesaid, the sum of 3 pounds current money with lawful intent thereon, to commerce and be computed from and immediately after the Expiration of 18 months from the date hereof of if the said ________ make default in payment of the said sum of money, and interest as aforesaid, for four years from this time. Then the above obligation to be void; otherwise to remain in full force and virtue,

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

As Doctor Thomas Walker and the Loyal Land Company surveyed and developed the western frontier, they often came into conflict with claims of rival companies. A feud developed with the Ohio Company when the Loyal Company sent

24 Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
Thomas Walker to the wilderness in 1750 to explore an eight hundred thousand acre grant they had received the previous year. The College of William and Mary, whose duty it was to certify all public surveys, refused to license the Ohio Company's appointee Christopher Gist. In retaliation, the Ohio Company interrupted the progress of the Loyal Company by challenging the validity of their surveys. The rivalry that developed between the Ohio Company interests on the one hand and the Albemarle valley group in the Loyal and Greenbriar Companies on the other created a long-lasting cleavage that was conspicuous in eighteenth century Virginia politics.  

The feud between the companies became particularly pronounced in 1752 when Robert Dinwiddie was Lieutenant Governor of Virginia. He was one of twenty stockholders in the Ohio Company. Dinwiddie selected George Washington as his official herald. George Washington was half-brother to Augustine Washington, President of the Ohio Company, and Lawrence Washington, one of the Ohio Company's leading stockholders.

25 Abernethy, Western Lands, pp. 7-8.
26 McElroy, Kentucky, p. 8.
The Loyal Company, however, was able to exert equal and opposite political pressure during the administration of Francis Fauquier. On several occasions Fauquier showed preference for the Loyal Land Company over the interests of the Ohio Company during the decade he served as Virginia's governor from 1758 to 1768. Following the French and Indian War, Fauquier even approached the Board of Trade on behalf of the Loyal Company's interests in re-settling lands on the Greenbrier and New Rivers.

The Greenbrier Land Company, organized by Speaker Robinson and Thomas Nelson in 1751, was a separate land company organization, though closely allied with the Loyal Company. The majority of the Greenbrier Company's tracts were established in the northwestern frontier in what is now West Virginia. On one of his explorations for the Loyal Company, Thomas Walker visited many of the holdings of the Greenbrier Land Company and reported to their agent, Andrew Lewis, that the area "had a great deal of very good land."

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27 Abernethy, Western Lands, pp. 10-11.


29 Abernethy, Western Lands, p. 8.

30 Rice, Trans-Allegheny Frontier, pp. 29-30.
As the agent for the Loyal Land Company, Thomas Walker called all the meetings of the organization and directed the company's expansion into western Virginia. Advertisements such as the following were printed in the *Virginia Gazette*:

The members of the Loyal Company or their representatives, are desired to meet at Hanover Courthouse about noon, on the 24th day of April next; and, if any of the parties cannot attend, they are desired to write to me, empowering those that do meet to act for them. Given under my hand, the 24th day of March 1775.

Thomas Walker, Agent

Another popular meeting place for the Loyal Company was the Anderson Tavern in Richmond Virginia; thus, efforts were made to accommodate the members outside of Doctor Walker's home county.

In an attempt to stimulate the expansion of the western frontier, Walker made an agreement with several adventurers that they might secure one thousand acres if they made a settlement in Powell's Valley, east of Cumberland Gap. A group of twenty-one prospective settlers led by Joseph Martin attempted to claim the prize, but they were challenged by another group known as the Kirtleys. Thomas Walker let it be known that whichever group arrived at the location first could have their

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31 *The Virginia Gazette*, April 8, 1775, p. 3.
32 Abernethy, *Western Lands*, p. 83.
choice of one thousand acres for each member of the party, but the other group could not claim any of the territory. Martin's group arrived first and produced the letter from Walker indicating they were entitled to twenty-one thousand acres. After the initial dispute, the Kirtleys went home without making any further search for land. Martin's community lasted until the fall of 1769 when it was abandoned because of Indian depredations. Martin returned, however, in 1775 to reestablish his claim. "Martin's Station" as it was called became essential for further exploration as a line of communication with the settlements on the Holston River and as protection against Indian attacks from the rear during the explorations of Daniel Boone and the Transylvania Company.33

The business activities of Thomas Walker and the Loyal Land Company were curtailed somewhat by the Proclamation of 1763. The historical justification for the proclamation came from the ancient English legal concept that the King was the owner of the colonies and the landholders were acting as his tenants.34 King James I, however, had allowed the Virginia Company to dispose of land, and the Virginia governors continued to allow land companies to

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34Hening, Statutes, I, pp. 80-89.
perform that function long after the Virginia Company dissolved. Later the policy was confirmed by the Privy Council as being established English procedure. Then Charles I ordered the governors to issue grants according to the rules of the "late company," most officials did not know what those rules were. They assumed freed servants were to obtain land on an equal basis with their masters. Governor Wyatt was ordered to follow that practice in 1639, and all governors after that time received similar instructions, but few obeyed.  

In many other ways the instructions of the English government were violated during the colonial period of "salutary neglect" when the British ignored American governmental administration. Clerks in the Secretaries office began selling off fifty acre headright certificates processed under fictitious names. Under the regime of Governor Norborne Berkeley, large land parcels were granted to companies and entrepreneurs, the governor even taking some for himself. Berkeley reasoned that since King Charles gave away land to his friends, as a governor, he should follow suit.  

Most English officials were ignorant of the Virginia situation until it was exposed in a report by Commissary  

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36 Ibid.
James Blair entitled "The Present State of Virginia."
Numerous investigations followed with various degrees of intensity until 1720. The result was that the governor was to have control over all surveys in excess of one thousand acres. The simplest method of avoiding the issue, however, was to not have the acreage of the grants reported. Governor Francis Nicholson attempted to make land hoarding unprofitable by charging small quitrents to landholders. The enforcement of the plan broke down because local officials could not confiscate the land, but only personal property. As Nicholson made repeated attempts to reform the system of land grants by initiating a homestead plan, his efforts were met with a smear campaign by his Council against what they called "gross immoralities" of his administration.

Governor Spotswood arrived in Virginia in 1710, dedicated to developing the Board of Trade's homestead plan calling for the patentee to cultivate three of each fifty acres he received within three years after obtaining the grant. The plan failed when a clause was added permitting the owner to turn cattle loose upon the land rather than cultivating it. Governor Spotswood then attempted

\[^{37}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp.} \text{ 503-504.}\]
\[^{38}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp.} \text{ 504-506.}\]
to make applicants receiving more than four hundred acres obtain the governor's permission before surveying. Later in his administration, Spottswood became more lenient in his enforcement and other governors ignored the proposal. In addition, with the cooperation of courts and other officials, ways were found to exempt most unoccupied and underdeveloped grants from surrender in the event of quitrent default. 39

All early colonial efforts to reform the land granting system faltered and soon grants of ten to twenty thousand acres became common, despite English orders and local regulation. Common people and the Burgesses often knew nothing of the governor's instructions, and were powerless to act if they so desired. 40 When it became necessary to encourage enlistment for the French and Indian War, Governor Dinwiddie issued a proclamation in 1754, "that over and above their pay, two hundred thousand acres of his majesty the King of Great Britain's lands on the east side of the River Ohio shall be laid off and granted to such persons who by their voluntary engagements and good behavior in said service shall desire the same." 41

39 Ibid., p. 507-509.
40 Ibid., p. 512.
41 Bodley, Kentucky, I, p. 45.
The British Proclamation of 1763, prohibiting settlement on lands beyond the fall line of the Appalachians, was expected to be only a temporary measure. In 1764 plans were formulated by Lord Shelburne for fixing a new boundary. John Stuart, of the Southern Department, began the negotiations for the task in 1765. Sir William Johnson did the same in the Northern Department, but moved more slowly than Stuart. Before the end of 1766, Stuart had completed his line in western North Carolina and Georgia, and was anxious to finish the same task for Virginia. Shelburne encouraged Stuart to proceed with haste, but insisted that Johnson wait for the completion of the southern boundary because the lines separating Indians and whites of northern colonies were defined or restricted, while the boundaries of many southern colonies were indeterminate.42

The Proclamation of 1763 was disregarded by the Loyal Company. Doctor Walker had repeatedly requested a renewal of an original grant of eight hundred thousand acres given to the company in 1749, but the request was denied because the Board of Trade was of the opinion that they were restrained by the King's instructions from confirming or renewing the grant.43 In reality, however,

43 Executive Journals, VI, p. 257.
the government could have noted that all surveys made on
the Holston and Clinch Rivers in the original eight hundred
thousand acre grant departed from normal procedure because
the Indian titles to the land had not been extinguished.\textsuperscript{44}

Undaunted by this official rejection, the company
urged settlers to return to their claims or face forfeiture
of their lands by the company. The measure by the Loyal
Company received the support of William and Thomas Nelson
of the Council and apparently that of the governor, Francis
Fauquier, as well.\textsuperscript{45} The fact that the company had disre­
garded the Proclamation of 1763 did not offend Fauquier
since he had also ignored the pronouncement. When the
boundary line for North Carolina had been arranged as
far as Chi'swell's Mine on the New or Kanawha River, John
Stuart was anxious to complete the work by arranging with
the Cherokee for its continuation northward. Stuart wrote
several letters to that effect to the Virginia governor,
but received no reply. Fauquier probably noted that it
was not in Virginia's interests to have the boundary
fixed as John Stuart would have established it, and
failed to reply for that reason. During the following
year, 1767, the Earl of Shelburne instructed Stuart to
establish the Virginia boundary, but Fauquier wrote to

\textsuperscript{44} Bodley, Kentucky, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{45} Journal of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1777-
1780, p. 88; Abernethy, Western Lands, p. 12.
Stuart that he knew nothing of the Proclamation of 1763 or other orders regarding the completion of the line. Within two months, the governor received a direct communication from Shelburne insisting that the line be completed fromGISwell's Mine to the northern provinces. \(^46\)

Further complications to the English enforcement of the Proclamation of 1763 developed when settlers refused to pay quitrents because the proclamation denied their right to settle where they were. Following Fauquier's administration, other governors ignored the proclamation. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia from 1772-1776, often collaborated with George Washington and other colonists on illegal surveys of western lands in the Old Dominion. \(^47\)

The English government took an increasingly antagonistic view toward violations of the proclamation. On May 1, 1768, the President of the Virginia Council, acting as governor, addressed the council:

> By letters from his excellency, General Gage, commander in-chief of his majesty's forces, from Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian affairs, it will appear that a set of men, regardless of the laws of natural justice, unmindful of the duties they owe to society, and in contempt of royal proclamation, have dared to settle themselves upon the land near Redstone Creek and Cheat River, which are the property of the Indians; and notwithstanding the repeated warnings of danger of such lawless proceedings and

\(^46\) Abernethy, Western Lands, pp. 60-61.

possessions, they still remain unmoved, and seem to
defy the orders and even powers of government.\textsuperscript{48}

The attempt at more stringent enforcement by the
English officials merely brought increased revolutionary
activity on the part of the colonists. Thomas Jefferson
protested against the English land policies in the Declaration
of Independence:

He [George III] has endeavored to prevent the population
of these States; for that purpose, obstructing laws
for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass
others to encourage their migrations hither, and
raising the conditions of new appropriations of land.

Doctor Walker was forced to borrow more than five
hundred eighteen pounds from Andrew Lewis at the end of
1763.\textsuperscript{49} When his son John wanted to marry Elizabeth Moore
in 1764, Doctor Walker wrote to her father "my affairs are
in an uncertain state..."\textsuperscript{50} Thus, the Proclamation of 1763
apparently had an effect on Walker's company and personal
income for a brief period.

Thomas Walker spent much of the spring of 1771 in
Williamsburg attempting to ascertain when surveying might
continue on the frontier. He learned that many had settled
illegally on western lands belonging to the Loyal Company,

\textsuperscript{48}Perrin, et. al., Kentucky, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{49}Promissory Note to Andrew Lewis, December 28, 1763,
Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
\textsuperscript{50}Letter to Marnard Moore, from Thomas Walker, May
27, 1764, Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
but declined to eject them because he felt it would not be in the best interest of the company to leave the land vacant; in addition, it was possible that others might settle on the land at a later date, making a second or third evacuation necessary. In the meantime, the land could not be made less valuable by having inhabitants settle in the territory.\footnote{Draper MSS, 2QQ125.}

The following spring, Doctor Walker advised Virginia authorities that many settlers had moved into western Virginia territories claiming lands already granted by patents to others, in open contradiction of the Proclamation of 1763, Walker tried to take precautions against his company's territory "being thrown open to the occupation of the first adventurer." Dunmore and the council took his advice and proclaimed that those persons should evacuate their possessions immediately.\footnote{Executive Journals, VI, p. 458.} Following the renewed recognition of their rights, the Loyal Company continued to expand their settlements of more than one hundred fifty thousand acres and added another forty-five thousand acres to their total of surveyed lands by the time of the American Revolution.\footnote{Rice, Trans-Allegheny Frontier, p. 78.}
When the interests of his company's settlers were threatened by takeover from soldiers returning from the French and Indian War, Thomas Walker petitioned on behalf of the Loyal and Greenbrier companies that soldiers should not interfere with the original grants to settlers already established in the western frontier. An act of December 16, 1773, granted his request by stating that officers were not allowed to interfere with established legal surveys or actual settlements. 54

The Virginia land policy was changed significantly under Thomas Jefferson's administration as governor of the state in 1779. All speculators were invited to present their claims for final settlement, quitrents were abolished, and squatters occupying their lands could obtain titles. 55

When petitions were filed by settlers against the holdings of the Loyal Company, Thomas Walker defended his and the company's position by noting that he had explored the country far west of their settlements in 1750, bargaining for the land at three pounds per hundred acres. Doctor Walker further asserted that he had always endeavored to prevent persons having more land than they could soon settle from obtaining further land from the Loyal Company.

54 Ibid., p. 553.
he had insured that no man would sell his land before using or making a crop on it, he had never destroyed any person for lack of money to pay for the lands, and that when disputes arose he had endeavored to accommodate settlers in an equitable manner.56

Doctor Walker tried to rest the uneasiness of the settlers who feared takeover or other harsh action from the company agents. Walker agreed he would not distress any man who had acted and continued to act fairly while making payment in a reasonable time. The patent fees of six shillings eight pence for fifty acres had to be paid within a period of six months.57

Thomas Walker's legislative influence was also important. On many occasions Walker was able to secure favorable legislation in the House of Burgesses to aid his company. The House of Burgesses claimed to be on the side of settlers against the great land companies. Thomas Walker and friends, however, pushed for legislation against settlers entering caveats against the Loyal Company. Legislation was passed that forced settlers who lost cases against the land company to stand the court costs and post a security to guarantee such payment. Another act required anyone questioning a land company survey to post a security

56Letter to William Preston, March 23, 1778, Draper MSS, 4QQ164.

57Letters to William Preston, January 17, 1783 and May 9, 1783, Draper MSS 5QQ114+118.
During the controversy over the ratification of the Articles of Confederation following the Revolution, the Virginia delegates placed the western lands issue in the hands of the state General Assembly which appointed Thomas Walker, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, Edmund Randolph, and Arthur Lee as a committee to enunciate Virginia's position against being deprived of the territory they secured before entering the Confederation. The fervor with which the committee enunciated Virginia's contentions, convinced Congress that a compromise, leaving the Old Dominion with the trans-Allegheny territory south of the Ohio River, was essential to preserving the Confederation. The fact that Doctor Thomas Walker was chosen to serve on such a committee that would participate in a decision on the most critical issue of the time, was indicative of his political influence and the esteem rendered by his colleagues.

By 1785, Thomas Walker's son Francis took over many of the duties of administering the company business in the Albemarle area. In October 1789, Doctor Walker took

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58 Hening, Statutes, X p. 59; Abernethy, Western Lands, p. 68.
59 Rice, Trans-Allegheny Frontier, pp. 125-126.
60 Draper MSS, 5QQ120.
official action to make Francis Preston the chief agent of the Loyal Land Company. Another agent, George Conway Taylor of Orange County, was appointed November 1793. Thomas Walker, though delegating many of the activities to other members of the organization, continued his active interest in the administration of the Loyal Land Company until his death. In the early 1790's Edmund Pendleton contacted Walker to inform him of the recent transactions, and to solicit his expert counsel on financial and administrative procedure.

Francis Preston was born in Ireland in 1729. He moved to Augusta County, Virginia when still a lad. In 1752 he became secretary to the commissioner that drew up the Logstown treaty with the Indians. He participated in the Sandy Creek expedition of 1756, became surveyor and deputy sheriff of Augusta County until 1767 when he moved to Botetourt County and held similar offices. In 1774 he was part of Andrew Lewis' expedition to repulse the Indians at Point Pleasant. He served for several years as chief surveyor of Fincastle County, embracing most of the Kentucky lands, and became closely associated with Doctor Thomas Walker in the development of the Virginia frontier.

French soldiers from Detroit attacked Pennsylvania traders in 1752 and killed Wyandotte and Miami Indians who aided the traders defense. The following year, news reached Virginia that French moving southwest from Niagara and Presque Isle, near present Erie, Pennsylvania, built new fortifications called Fort Le Boeuf south of Leke Erie near a tributary of the Allegheny River. Governor Dinwiddie became alarmed and called up two companies of militia totaling one hundred fifty nine men and named George Washington as Lieutenant Colonel and commander. They marched to an eastern tributary of the Monongahela River and surprised a detachment of French troops.

Washington, only twenty-one at the time, was selected to deliver a sealed letter of warning to the French commander. With a party of border men and Indian guides, Washington traveled by horseback, canoe, and foot across the Alleghenies in the winter, without receiving any compensation except for the promise that the colony of Virginia would meet all expenses. When he returned to Dinwiddie in January 1754,
Washington concealed the hardships of his journey and how he nearly lost his life in the icy waters of the Allegheny River near "the Forks." The journey failed to produce the desired result and the French commandant indicated he refused to withdraw, adding that he had two hundred canoes at the fort ready to carry soldiers down stream in the spring.¹

By 1754, Virginia had granted more than three million acres west of the mountains despite protests from the natives². Aware of the importance of keeping open the west for English immigration, Dinwiddie saw the design of the French to surround English settlers with a line of forts from Canada to Louisiana. When Washington, acting as agent for Dinwiddie, learned that the French rejected the governor's protests, he recommended that a fort be built at the forks of the Ohio. An attempt to garrison the fort forced a skirmish with the French in which Coulon de Jumonville was killed and further hostilities were inevitable.³

²Perrin, et. al., Kentucky p. 106.
Governor Dinwiddie named Charles Dick and Thomas Walker as "Commissaries of Provisions and Stores" in December, 1754. Walker labored incessantly to procure supplies and transportation for Washington, Braddock, Forbes, Byrd and Stephen. Though often short of funds, Walker used his extensive acquaintance and great energy of character to succeed far better than probably any other in Virginia could have done.

As Commissary for the Virginia troops, Doctor Walker served with the rank of major throughout the war. In the performance of his duties, Walker secured many materials from a variety of sources. Supplies often included horses, wagons, corn, oats, wheat, flour, and rum. On occasion, Thomas Walker also was commissioned to buy prisoners from the Indians.

Walker was present at Braddock's defeat at Monongahela 9 July 1755. Indians from Canada, Ohio and New York aided the French at Fort Duquesne and became an effective part of the French force in the summer of 1755.

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5 Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 8.
7 Receipts to Joseph Flint and Thomas Cresap, in Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
8 Executive Journals, VI, p. 189.
when they ambushed two thousand English soldiers under Edward Braddock. A supposedly "invincible English Army" became disorganized within minutes when their commander and many officers were shot. Doctor Walker told tales of the incident, particularly of how Braddock courted defeat against an enemy that was believed to be outnumbered. Against the counsel of George Washington and other officers, Braddock did not allow a single man to leave ranks. They were subsequently shot down in mass. The men finally threw down their arms and ran. According to Walker, it was the coolness of Washington that saved any part of the expedition from total elimination.

In the flight after the battle, Thomas Walker was in the company of a soldier to whom he offered a large sum in gold if the soldier would stop long enough to aid him in removing his boots. The soldier, fearing Indians more than he desired the gold, left Walker in a ravine till the swarm of Indians had passed. Finally being able to remove his boots, Doctor Walker found a horse tied to a baggage wagon. Using the horse he made his escape. When he reached a band of fugitives, Walker made inquiries concerning his servant, a favorite Negro slave, but was told that he

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10Freeman, Washington, II 101-102; Dos Passos, Jefferson, pp. 31-32.
had been killed. The slave did appear later, however, with a retreating army.\footnote{Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 7.}

Many of Walker's friends were happy that the doctor had returned safely from the ordeal. Robert Jackson, one of Walker's neighbors, wrote when he learned of his return, "please to tender my compliments to your old lady and tell her I am glad she has got you back again."\footnote{Letter from Robert Jackson to Thomas Walker, September 25, 1755, Rives MSS, The Library of Congress.}

On October 31, 1755, Doctor Walker petitioned the House of Burgesses for additional money to compensate for his personal losses during the battle. Walker claimed that he entered into the service "with no other view but the service thereof." He noted that the smallness of the reward proposed was not sufficient to compensate for the many losses and expenses he had sustained, and that he had lost a considerable sum of money. Walker claimed that many of his debtors had become unattainable, some died, and others were ruined. In addition, Walker had sustained the loss of horses, clothes, and the expense of supporting persons who had business at Fort Cumberland during his stay there. Walker estimated that his losses and expenses in the service amounted to £170 1s., and petitioned that the House would order the sum to be paid
to him "as he has executed in his office faithfully, and undergone many hardships without the hopes of any extraordinary reward."\textsuperscript{13}

Action on his petition was taken by the House of Burgesses November 4, 1755:

Resolved that it appears to us, that the said Thomas Walker lost at the late engagement on the Monongahela, two horses, a saddle, and furniture, and sundry wearing apparel, to the value of £ 63 15 s., which we are humbly of opinion he ought to be paid for by the public; But whether he ought to be paid for sundry articles mentioned in account, annexed to this report, expended by him at Fort Cumberland, we humbly submit to the consideration of this House.\textsuperscript{14}

The House paid the sum of sixty-three pounds fifteen shillings, but rejected payment of any of the other annexed account.

Returning to his duties as commissary in November, 1755, Walker received orders from George Washington to travel to Winchester where he was to advertise to procure pork from nearby inhabitants, paying them the market price, salt the meat well and supervise its packing in barrels.\textsuperscript{15} When Thomas Walker wrote Washington concerning numerous difficulties in obtaining the proper provisions, Washington advised the commissary that he knew of the bad situation.


\textsuperscript{14}Journal, p. 328.

\textsuperscript{15}Writings of Washington, I, p. 235.
Washington also noted that money might be a problem in Maryland so he advised Walker not to hire any more men than necessary.  

At the beginning of 1756, Washington asked Doctor Walker to provide provisions of flour, horses, forage for horses, tallow for officers, and three women. Washington instructed Walker that "three women are to be allowed each Company and provisions drawn for them; on condition of their behaving well, and washing for the men: Nor more women will be allowed to draw provisions."  

Doctor Walker attempted to help Washington comply with Governor Dinwiddie's order to economize. While Walker was discharging his duties of obtaining wagons, he made the suggestion to Washington that some fees might be reduced if they were to hire wagons by contracting with various sources for established prices. In a letter of February 1, 1756, Washington commended the suggestion as a step toward reducing the exorbitant prices.  

There were times in 1756, however, when relations between George Washington and Thomas Walker became strained. Washington became increasingly dissatisfied at the manner with which Commissary Walker carried out his duties. In

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16 Ibid., p. 245.
17 Ibid., pp. 282-283.
18 Ibid., p. 240.
a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen in November of 1755, Washington wrote that he was disturbed at the length of time that it took Thomas Walker to travel from Williamsburg to Winchester. Noting that Walker's specific orders were to proceed immediately, Washington angrily stated that "such disobedience of commands as I have generally met with is insufferable, and shall not go unpunished."\(^1\)

The rather explicit threat of punishment was apparently unknown to, or unheeded by, Walker. In any case, relations between the commissary and Washington worsened. In a letter of September 28, 1756, to Governor Dinwiddie, Washington observed that Walker had declined to serve further, and urged the absolute necessity of immediately appointing another commissary "who should have express orders where, and for what number of men to lay provisions; and should be furnished with cash before he sets out, as everything will be got with less trouble and cheaper by that means...."\(^2\) Washington, however, received no satisfaction from the governor; in fact, no answer to his request for a new commissary. November 9 he reminded Dinwiddie by letter of his frequent communications "desiring you would appoint a commissary in lieu of Mr. Walker, who

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 240.
\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 473-474.
has declined acting, and has been absent for many months."\(^{21}\)

Washington's appointment of William Ramsey, merchant from Alexandria to fill Walker's place as commissary, without an official resignation by Thomas Walker, or action of the governor, finally brought a reply from Dinwiddie, supporting Walker and obliging the young officer to justify his conduct. "I should not." Washington asserted with some spirit, "have appointed this gentlemen or any other to serve as commissary, had not Mr. Walker in repeated letters desired it, and his absence from and neglect of duty rendered another highly necessary. "This," he concluded, "I presume, you were unacquainted with, when you desired his continuance. Nor may you know that Mr. Walker intends to reside at home and act by deputy, which, if I may be allowed to say, is equally inconsistent, as if I were to do it."\(^{22}\)

By December, Washington was convinced that Walker had abandoned his duties as commissary. He informed Dinwiddie that "Mr. Walker has been here (Fort Laudcun), settled his accounts and gone home again, fully resolved no longer to continue commissary. I acquainted him with the contents of your Honor's letter of November, and he has wrote you (he tells me) his reason for resigning."\(^{23}\)

\(^{21}\)Ibid., p. 498.

\(^{22}\)Ibid., Letter to Dinwiddie, November 24, 1756, pp. 509-510.

\(^{23}\)Ibid., p. 523, Letter, December 16, 1756.
But Walker apparently had no real intention of resigning, or perhaps he was seeking the governor's support in his controversy with Washington. In any case, that support was forthcoming, and continued in spite of Washington's complaints. In a letter of January 12, 1757, Washington replied at length to Dinwiddie's suggestion that Walker's "discontinuing was for want of countenance," and observed that even Walker "will do me the justice to declare, that I have uniformly treated him with all respect and complaisance in my power." But Walker had "never done a day's duty since the last of June or 1st of July... The part I have acted with that Gentleman, I should have acted with my brother had he been in his place." Washington denied "the least disagreement between Mr. Walker and myself, either in words or actions before he left the service," but, in fact, Walker had not quit the commissary post. In June, 1757 Washington again wrote Governor Dinwiddie, informing him that beef at Port Cumberland was destroyed "in an unwarranted manner," as a consequence of Walker's absence.

Although the above communication is the last known between Washington and Dinwiddie on the subject of Walker

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25 Ibid., p. 51.
as commissary, it did not close the books on the affair. Thomas Johnson, a member of the House of Burgesses, attempted to censure Doctor Walker for irregularities in his conduct in supplying the Virginia troops in October 1757. On Saturday, February 24, 1759, Doctor Thomas Walker informed the House of Burgesses "that his conduct as contractor for provisions for the forces in the Pay of the Colony stationed in the County of Augusta had been censured, and praying that it might be (publicly) enquired into." Upon a motion being made, the Committee of Privileges and Elections began an inquiry into the accounts of Thomas Walker for the provisions furnished by him for the militia stationed in Augusta.

Major Andrew Lewis was charged with aiding Commissary Thomas Walker in the fraudulent supply of meat to officers and rangers in Augusta County. The committee acquitted Walker of dishonesty but condemned Lewis for being party to the contract, though no oppression of the soldiers or hardships appeared to have resulted from the transaction.

Much of the legislative controversy over Thomas Walker's affairs as commissary had arisen from the attacks

26 Journal, 1758-61, p. 59.
27 Ibid., p. 165.
28 Ibid., pp. 59, 90.
of Thomas Johnson, who had claimed that Doctor Walker had cheated the colony out of eleven hundred pounds. After lengthy testimony, however, the Committee of Privileges and Elections of the House of Burgesses condemned Johnson for his accusations which they termed "false, scandalous, and malicious."; and resolved that Johnson be instructed to pay Doctor Walker and others maligned by his statements, various sums of tobacco and money.29

In defense of Doctor Walker's activities as Virginia Commissary, it must be noted that there were several problems in obtaining supplies on time and being paid from the proper accounts. Jeffrey Amherst cited several problems in the payment of the recruiting and provision accounts in his letter to the Virginia Governor November 6, 1762.29 The previous year, Thomas Walker had also written to Governor Francis Fauquier because, as Walker explained, "complaints may be made of delays for want of such necessaries being provided in time, I shall endeavor to satisfie you that I am not in falt by giving a just and full account of my proceedings and the authoritie on which I proceeded." Walker explained that he discovered in April that Colonel Byrd had requested that he was to provide for troops, but had not sent any money nor mentioned any method of supplying

29 Ibid., p. 114.

30 Executive Journals, VI, pp. 238-239.
him with money for the service. This, coupled with the fact that Doctor Hugh Mercer of Fredericksburg was also asked to perform the same task, made Walker believe that they were not in earnest. Doctor Walker noted the risk and expense of sending to Pennsylvania for necessities without the assurance that money would be forthcoming from either the governor or the treasurer. He had only vague and inconsistent orders with which to proceed. When he applied to the suggested sources of supply in Philadelphia, Doctor Walker found that they were willing to deliver some of the items, but claimed that they had no authority to provide carriages or other of the necessary provisions until General Monkson came to Philadelphia. After a long delay, the general arrived and a bargain was concluded; but, it was not until June 14, and at a distance more than five hundred miles from the fort where the supplies were to be delivered. Thomas Walker concluded his explanations to Governor Fauquier by writing:

I hope what I have wrote will fully satisfy your Honour, that I have done as much as the agents, General Amherst, or any other person or persons had a right to expect from me, and if you should be satisfied of that, I make a candid representation of those in the proper place, which will be adding a great obligation to the many favours already confirmed on Your Most Obliged Humble Servant.

Thomas Walker. 31

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31 Letter from Thomas Walker to Governor Francis Fauquier, July 4, 1761, Fauquier MSS, The University of Virginia.
Many accounts for provisions would not be accepted for payment unless there was a note of urgency connected with the request from the military authority. The Council approved payment to Doctor Walker for tents and kettles he purchased in Philadelphia only after Colonel Washington wrote the governor that thousands of troops in the field would be without cover if the items could not be obtained. Many of Walker's other accounts from the French and Indian War were not settled until 1763. Colonel Cresap, another commissary and an associate of Thomas Walker, never did receive payment for some of his services and supplies for which he had paid because he submitted accounts after the commissioners had settled the affairs of the campaign.

Despite Washington's claim of Walker's alleged resignation of the position, Thomas Walker did return as Virginia Commissary near the end of the year 1757. The governor stated in November that Walker would do the job of providing provisions for Virginia troops in the counties of Augusta, Frederick, and Hampshire.

32 Executive Journals, VI, p. 96.
33 Ibid., p. 249.
34 Letter of Thomas Walker to Thomas Cressap, September 30, 1765; Walker MSS, The University of Kentucky.
35 Executive Journals, VI, p. 70.
Continuing his duties the following year, Doctor Walker wrote to Colonel John Buchanan, October 6, 1758:

I desire you will provide provisions for your company of men to the first day of May at least. I would rather you should provide for a month more than fall short of week of that time. The allowance is one pound and half of beef or one pound of pork and one pound of flower [sic] per day. You are not to allow more than six women to one hundred men and so in proportion for a greater or less number. You are to keep an account of the candles used in the garrison you command. If you have neglected heretofore you must from your future consumption judge what your past has been and render me an account in your provision returns which ought to be monthly. I intend to be in Augusta County next month where I purchase provisions before that time. I depend on your diligence in purchasing provisions for which you may depend on a reward according to merit from

Your Humble Servant
Thomas Walker

During the French and Indian War, Thomas Walker served at least one year in the Virginia Assembly representing Louisa County in 1758. There is evidence, however, that he still continued his commissary duties throughout the year. John Blair, acting governor of Virginia, wrote to Walker in June, 1758, "I have sent a chest of medicines from Mr. Pasteur's shop, with instruments; but cannot yet hear of a surgeon for you which gives me much concern."
At the end of the month, Doctor Walker was called upon to prepare a convoy for a detachment from North Carolina. In July, he was engaged to provide supplies for Colonel Henry Bouquet, and during the months of August and September Walker accompanied a convoy of one hundred wagons of provisions on a perilous journey down Rays Town Road to Pearsall's. 39

Despite apparent differences between George Washington and Thomas Walker during the French and Indian War, the dispute did not affect their personal relationship. The point of contention was Washington's dedication to duty and efficiency from a military standpoint, and Walker's typically colonial civilian attitude toward the pursuit of those goals. When Washington exclaimed in his letters to the governor that he would have treated his brother, in similar circumstances, precisely as he dealt with commissary Walker, he was attempting to reinforce his famous principle of inflexible justice to all officers. The fact that George Washington and Thomas Walker were good friends before the incident and were also good friends when they served together in the General Assembly of 1759, demonstrated that the disputes of 1756 and 1757 arose from a conflict over duty and responsibility, but did not affect their personal mutual respect and friendship. 40

40 Ibid., p. 371; Washington Writings, III, p. 3.
In 1764, after the conclusion of the French and Indian War, Thomas Walker was appointed along with George Carrington, William Cabell, Thomas Lewis and Peter Hogg to act as commissioners for the counties of Augusta, Louisa, Orange, Albemarle, Amhurst, Bedford, and Halifax, to examine and settle the accounts for provisions and arms of the militia in their counties.  

Despite the fact that the French had been defeated in the war, the Indians found that their grievances against English settlers had not been redressed during the conflict. The Indians objected to Virginia granting lands in their territory before 1754 and encouraging settlement by passage of legislation in the Virginia Assembly enacted in 1758. The Treaty of Niagara and subsequent conference at German Flats did not affect a change in the Virginia frontier, but the German Flats Conference was designed to prepare the way for Virginia settlement of the area west of the mountains. Thinking what had been proposed was actually granted, settlers moved rapidly into the Indian territory lost during Pontiac's rebellion and once more endangered peace on the frontier by their unwarranted intrusion into Indian lands.

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41 Hening, Statutes, X, p. 10
The colony of Virginia had maintained friendly intercourse with the Cherokee prior to the settlement of many boundaries necessitated by the number of people brought in by the Loyal Land Company. The Cherokee grew jealous of movements to deprive them of their hunting grounds. Previously, hunters and Indian traders had passed through Cherokee settlements on the western frontier and were hospitably received.¹

One of the main reasons for the Iroquois resentment of English settlers from Virginia was the Indians' dissatisfaction over the Treaty of Lancaster, July, 1744, in which they gave away all claims to any territory in the colony of Virginia for a minor sum of four hundred pounds Pennsylvania currency plus some cheap whiskey, gunpowder,  

¹Pendleton, Tazewell County, p. 34.
and tobacco. During the following decade many other agreements were made to confirm the lands obtained from the Lancaster Treaty; but, the necessity of later meetings demonstrated wide-spread dissatisfaction with the original agreement.

Late in the spring of 1752, Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie attempted to settle the Indian tribes near the Ohio River at a meeting at Logstown, south of Fort Pitt. Representatives of Virginia met with Shawnee, Delaware and Iroquois. The Indian thoughts at the meeting were summed up by one Delaware Chief who stated, "The French claim all the land on the one side of the Ohio, and the English claim all the land on the other. Where is the Indian land that came down to us from our forefathers." A treaty was signed, 13 June, 1752, that was similar to the Treaty of Lancaster, but it was soon broken.

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Thomas Walker was appointed a trustee and director of Indian trade along with Peter Randolph, William Randolph, Richard Bland and Archibald Cary in April of 1757. The Virginia government deemed it necessary to trade goods with the Indians at a greater volume than could be accomplished by private adventurers. The immediate interest, to keep the Indians from extensive commerce with the French, prompted the Assembly to appoint trustees to direct and manage a trade that would stimulate Indian friendship toward the colony. The trustees were instructed to carry on such duties as necessary for the following five years, taking special care not to deliver spirituous liquors. A sum of five thousand pounds was appropriated for the trustees' expenses.  

By act of the Assembly, March 1760, the trustees were ordered to sell the goods they had intended to use for the Cherokee trade to whoever would buy them for the public benefit. Hostilities against English subjects had prevented the delivery of the goods to their intended destination. The goods were sold, but at a great loss to the public.  

In March, 1763, Doctor Walker was again sent on a

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5 Ibid., p. 354.
mission for the Virginia government to meet with the Cherokee to settle differences. Walker wrote a letter to Governor Francis Fauquier suggesting that he and several of his acquaintances were willing to make a trip down the New River to the Ohio River and meet with the Cherokee if proper arrangements could be made to insure their safety. Fauquier indicated to Thomas Walker and the Virginia Council that he would send a belt of wampum which had been long since promised to the Cherokee by Walker; the governor was of the opinion that it would be sufficient protection to Walker and his associates.6

An act of the Assembly in October, 1765, re-commissioned Thomas Walker and Archibald Cary as trustees and directors of Indian Trade on the southwest frontier.7 Again, goods were appropriated for the Cherokee trade; but, as in 1760, the goods could not be delivered because of hostile activities against intruders in the Cherokee territory. The goods were eventually sold for sixty percent of their invoice price.8 A major conference was

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6Executive Journals, VI, pp. 245-250.
7Hening, Statutes, VIII, p. 115.
8Executive Journals, VI, p. 284.
scheduled with the Indians in 1768 for the purpose of establishing a western boundary. Virginia stood to considerably extend her western territory and attempted to exploit the possibility to the fullest. John Blair, who acted as governor after the death of Fauquier in 1768, appointed Thomas Walker and Colonel Andrew Lewis to represent Virginia.\(^9\)

By official action of the Council, June 15, 1768:

Colonel Andrew Lewis and Colonel Thomas Walker were this day nominated commissioners in behalf of Virginia for continuing the Boundary Line; and the Council advised the President to order their commissions to be prepared, and that they be instructed to proceed on that service as soon as they conveniently can, and that they meet with Sir William Johnson and the Indians of the several Nations concerned the 25th of July, at Shamokin on the East Branch of the Susquehannah in Pennsylvania.\(^10\)

Walker and Lewis began their journey on July 16, 1768, but when they arrived at Shamokin they learned that there was no provision for meeting with the Indians and no person in that part of Pennsylvania had heard that such an event was intended. With some measure of surprise, Walker and Lewis sent a letter to Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northern Department, asking for instructions to be sent soon since

\(^9\)Abernethy, *Western Lands*, p. 34.

\(^10\) *Executive Journals*, VI, p. 293.
both would be attending a meeting with the Cherokee at Chiswell's Mines on the twenty-fifth of October.  

A reply came from Johnson, August 8, 1768, saying that the conference was intended to be in late July but the dispatch to the Indians was retarded so the conference would have to be postponed several weeks until the Indians could come to Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk River near the present site of Utica, New York. The exact date of the conference and other details remained unknown to Walker and Lewis, however, for another ten days until they received a communication from Alexander McKee, one of Sir William Johnson's associates, informing them that the conference was to be opened the first of September, and that they would receive further information when they reached Johnson Hall.

According to the report of Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis submitted to the House of Burgesses after the conference was concluded, there were several more changes made


regarding the date of the meeting. When they arrived at
Johnson Hall, Sir William informed them the Indians could
not be assembled until the twentieth of September. Walker
and Lewis waited in what they described as "a dirty tavern
near the hall" until September fourteenth when they pro­
ceeded to Fort Stanwix. 13

In addition to their appointments as Virginia
commissioners for the Fort Stanwix conference, Thomas
Walker and Andrew Lewis were also selected to act as
commissioners representing New York. 14 When they arrived
at Fort Stanwix, Johnson wrote to John Blair that he
judged it necessary that both Lewis and Walker stay there
until the conclusion of the conference even if it might
prevent their attending the other conference in the south­
west. If they left, Johnson wrote, "it might appear odd
to the Indians and would defeat the object of their
journey here." 15

After weeks of waiting, however, Andrew Lewis finally
wrote to the governor that he had remained at Fort Stanwix
until the twelfth of October; but finding the Indians could
not be there until the twentieth, it was thought advisable
by Johnson as well as Walker, and himself, that he proceed

13 _Journal, 1766-1769, December 14, 1768, p. xxx-xxxi._
14 _Page, Genealogy, p. 213._
15 _Johnson Papers, VI, pp. 406-407._
to the other conference at Chiswell's Mines to meet with the Cherokee and leave Walker to conclude the settlement at Fort Stanwix. Lewis set off on a journey of more than seven hundred miles and accomplished it in seven days.  

Sir William Johnson believed that it was very unfortunate that simultaneous conferences were scheduled with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix and the Cherokee in the southwest. In addition to necessitating a rapid journey for Andrew Lewis, it was thought that a more favorable settlement could be negotiated with the Cherokee if an agreement had been previously written with the Iroquois. Johnson wrote a letter from Fort Stanwix to John Blair saying, "I am of opinion, it were best to deferr coming to a conclusion with the Cherokees till we hear what will be done at this Congress which will I hope be terminated within a fortnight, and during which my best endeavors shall be made use of for obtaining an advantageous and satisfactory boundary."  

A similar letter from Johnson was written the same day to John Stuart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern Department, except that the letter to Stuart did not contain the phrase concerning Johnson's attempt to

16Executive Journals, VI, pp. 302-304.
secure a favorable boundary for Virginia.  

Having his own ideas on the boundary with the Cherokee, John Stuart rushed to complete a treaty eleven days before the scheduled meeting at Chiswell's Mines. The Treaty of Hard Labor, negotiated on October 14, 1768 was particularly offensive to western settlers in the vicinity of the Clinch and Holston Rivers because the boundary ran east of both rivers. Stewart's line ran from Fort Chiswell, near the present site of Wytheville, Virginia, to Point Pleasant on the Ohio River near the mouth of the Kanawha River. Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis were upset when they heard of the negotiation because it would put within Indian territory much of the land they had explored for the Loyal and Greenbrier land companies.

This surprising negotiation having been completed with the Cherokee, Virginians took increased interest in the Fort Stanwix conference with the Iroquois. There were three thousand one hundred two Indians at the conference that convened on the twenty-third of October. In addition to Thomas Walker, Sir William Johnson and two of his deputies, other notables in attendance included William Franklin, the Governor of New Jersey; Richard Peters and James Tilghman, commissioners from Pennsylvania; and Frederick

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Smyth, Chief Justice of New Jersey.  

The Virginia Gazette reported that the meeting "was conducted with such regularity and good order that no person sustained the least damage either in his person or property." There were, however, some administrative problems. Doctor Walker reported in his fragmentary notes on the conference that the various commissioners only asked questions about respective claims, there being no actual conference held between the Indians and the commissioners. Because of that fact, Doctor Walker considered himself to be signing the document only as a witness rather than as a commissioner.

Another problem that Doctor Walker described in his experiences at the conference, was the fact that he never saw a full copy of the minutes of the meetings. In a statement to the House of Burgesses after the conference was concluded, Walker indicated that he had applied to Johnson for permission to take a copy of the minutes during the conference, but was refused. Johnson indicated that certified copies of all essential parts of the minutes would be delivered; but according to Walker, none was

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20 Sir William Johnson Papers, XII, p. 627.
21 The Virginia Gazette, December 1, 1768, p. 2.
rendered. Doctor Walker was also promised a copy of all authentic documents relating to the conference, but received only a copy of the deed of cession. He made a notation that he received a copy of the treaty "from gents at [a] bar."  

Despite these problems, however, the treaty obtained from the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix was good from the viewpoint of settlers on the Virginia frontier. The Indians ceded land as far west as the Tennessee River and agreed to withdraw from the area south of the Ohio River. Thomas Walker and his associates believed that the boundary would give the colony room to extend settlements for the next ten or twelve years, in addition to raising substantially the revenue received from quitrents and the sale of rights. 

While returning home following the conference, Doctor Walker took a rather indirect route through New York and Pennsylvania. A small item in the *Virginia Gazette* indicated that Doctor Walker had passed through New York City and Philadelphia on his way to Virginia, returning from his duties as commissioner at the "very important con-

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gess at Fort Stanwix."26 After he arrived in Virginia, the Council agreed to pay Thomas Walker three hundred pounds, and Andrew Lewis two hundred pounds, "for service rendered in Indian affairs."27

Opposition to the terms of the Fort Stanwix treaty developed at the end of 1768 from members of the Ohio Company who recalled many incidents in two previous decades of Thomas Walker's dealings with speculators that had been unfriendly to their organization. They criticized severely Walker's signing of a document that they claimed gave aid to the Indiana Company at the expense of the Ohio Company. Doctor Walker's only defense to their charges was to point out that he was not a part of the private conferences at Fort Stanwix, and to reiterate his claim that he signed the treaty only as a witness; a contention that the membership of the Ohio Company failed to accept since they believed he was the fully accredided Virginia agent at the treaty negotiations and signed the document in that capacity.28

In England, there was opposition from Lord Hillsborough to the Fort Stanwix agreement. The colonial secretary contended that the treaty was premature, if not illegal, since he had not approved the proposed colony west of the Alleghenies and south of the Ohio River. Hillsborough

26 The Virginia Gazette, December 1, 1768, p. 3.
27 Executive Journals, VI, p. 310.
28 Abernethy, Western Lands, p. 38; Couper, Shenandoah Valley, I. p. 545.
declared that Sir William Johnson acted without jurisdiction in establishing a boundary in territory outside his domain as Indian agent for the Northern Department. Johnson replied that Thomas Walker signed the treaty as a witness, and the negotiations could be undone if not acceptable. 29

The Fort Stanwix agreement also came under attack by the Cherokee who were disturbed that their claims were not properly recognized. According to the Cherokee, the Iroquois had given lands to the English Crown that were actually part of the Cherokee territory. John Stuart backed up the Cherokee claim by writing to Johnson:

... the Province of Virginia hav not failed to avail themselves of your purchase in opposition to the claims of the Cherokees, and in virtue thereof are making settlements beyond the line pointed out in the report of the Board of Trade, and agreeable to the King's Orders, Ratified by me in October Last at a Congress of the Cherokees. What appears very extraordinary is that during the correspondence of three years with the Lt. Governor and President of Virginia on the subject of a boundary line, when the pretensions of the Indians were explained in many letters they never made the least objection to the line proposed till after it was ratified by express orders from home. Lord Botetourt wrote me about it in December last by Colonel Lewis and Doctor Walker, and says, 'By the line you have ratified with the Cherokees, you have determined a great body of land, ceded to the province by the Northern Indians held by Sir William Johnson, to be Cherokee Hunting grounds.' 30

29 Couper, Shenandoah Valley, I, p. 545.
30 Sir William Johnson Papers, VI, pp. 693-694.
Wanting to preserve the gains they had made in the Port Stanwix treaty and minimize the effect of the Treaty of Hard Labor, the Virginia Council attempted to persuade John Stuart to renegotiate the settlement with the Cherokee. Doctor Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis played a leading role in obtaining a new treaty that changed significantly the boundary that was established in the Treaty of Hard Labor. In a report to the Virginia Council on December 16, 1768, Walker and Lewis stated that they were of the opinion that the boundary line as established by Stuart was "highly injurious to this Colony, and to the Crown of Great Britain, by giving the Indians an extensive tract of land, a great part of which they never had, or pretended a right to, but actually disclaimed." Herborne Berkeley, the new governor of Virginia, asked Walker and Lewis to proceed with all possible expedition to South Carolina to meet with Stuart and discuss a just boundary with the Cherokee.

John Stuart wrote to the Virginia governor on January 19, 1769, indicating he had conferred with Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis on the matter of a new boundary line; but, having confirmed his Majesty's commands by treaty, he was precluded from entering into any new ne-

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31 Governor Berkeley was also called Lord Botetourt or Governor Botetourt.

32 Executive Journals, VI, pp. 308-309.
gotiations without orders for that purpose. Awaiting further instructions, Stuart indicated he would take proper steps to facilitate business with the Indians and he was not without hope of success. At the first opportunity he would submit the matter to the Earl of Hillsborough.\textsuperscript{33}

While traveling to meet Stuart, Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis attempted to keep the Virginia Council informed of their adventures. On February 3, 1769, they reported that they had met two Cherokee Chiefs at Fort Johnson. Being informed they were going to John Stuart on affairs relative to their nation, the chiefs readily agreed to accompany them. Judd's Friends, one of the chiefs, expressed his pleasure with the good talks they had at the time and indicated he would not fail to communicate his satisfaction to the chiefs at home. Understanding that the people of Virginia would, contrary to the intentions of the Cherokee, be injured greatly by the running of the line established by the Treaty of Hard Labor, the Cherokee were willing to join in negotiations to expedite a new boundary that could provide peace and reconciliation.\textsuperscript{34}

When Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis reached John Stuart's headquarters in Charleston, South Carolina, Stuart

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Executive Journals}, VI, pp. 311-312.
\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Ibid.}
informed them that their demands for any territory near the Tennessee or Mississippi Rivers were refused. Stuart did, however, agree to negotiate with the Cherokee for a new treaty to move the southern boundary westward from Fort Chiswell in order to protect the settlers already located in that vicinity.

Despite assurances that a new treaty would be negotiated, more than a year passed before any action was taken. Meanwhile, Thomas Walker attempted to venture into the realm of personal diplomacy by sending presents and communications to the Cherokee, indicating that the Treaty of Hard Labor was to be ignored and a new one established. John Stuart did not appreciate Walker's overtures to the Cherokee. In a letter of April 27, 1770, to the governor of Virginia, Stuart stated that Sir William Johnson's negotiations at Fort Stanwix were contrary to the Board of Trade and His Majesty's orders, and that it would be impossible to obtain a settlement from the Indians favorable to the wishes of Virginians. Stuart further noted that Thomas Walker had sent a letter with presents to Chief Sal loue advising him that the former treaty was to be set aside. Walker intended to reside at the foot of a mountain where he could give information of enemies approaching the towns of the Indians, and also near enough to assist them "in any
other respects." Stuart claimed that the spot mentioned by Thomas Walker was thirty miles from Chote, and offered his opinion that Walker was "premature in his declaration."

Wherever Walker made his habitation, according to Stuart, "he would find very uncomfortable lodgings." 

The fact that Stuart opposed the efforts of Walker to negotiate separately with the Cherokee was not surprising to the governor or the Virginia Council. In view of recent difficulties with the Cherokee, however, it was somewhat unexpected for them to receive a letter dated 14 June, 1770 from Chief Oconostota, saying that although Stuart and the people of Carolina opposed it, the Cherokee were willing, and always had been, to sell part of their land on the Holston River. The chief indicated his suspicion that many of the previous talks had not been fairly reported. He suggested a meeting with the Virginia people at Stalnaker's on the Holston River, rather than in Carolina, as they might be better supplied with provisions, and should be on the spot where business was to be done. It seemed strange, the Chief concluded, that business with Virginians should be negotiated in Carolina, and for that reason he was resolved to hear of no other place. 


36 Ibid., pp. 361-362.
Despite the length of time already taken without any success in negotiations, Stuart continued to demand a part in any agreement between the Indians and the Virginia government. Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis became upset, particularly over Stuart's handling of the affair. Lewis wrote to Governor Berkeley on July 6, 1770 charging that Stuart was guilty of many misrepresentations in his statements and correspondence. Lewis concluded that if matters were negotiated by another channel than through John Stuart, a very advantageous boundary could be obtained. 37

That Lewis' contention had some merit, was supported by statements made by Chief Salloue, the Young Warrior of Estatoe, who spoke before the Virginia Council on August 17, 1770. The warrior stated that he was confused by the delay in establishing a new boundary line since the Cherokee were willing to let Virginians have their land. According to Chief Salloue, Stuart had told the Cherokee that Virginians intended to delay paying for the land to give their people time to settle it and have the power to do as they pleased. Indicating his lack of trust in a possible settlement through John Stuart, the chief stated that trade had suffered during the long talks with Stuart, and the Cherokee were anxious to open negotiations with the Virginians. 38

37 Ibid., p. 363.
38 Ibid., pp. 363-364.
In answering Chief Salloue, Governor Berkeley was careful to suggest remaining within the established channels in conducting any agreement. The governor indicated that the reason the new boundary line had been so long delayed was because the former line was so limited as to exclude a number of Virginians who had settled in those parts. Berkeley assured the chief that he had made application to the Crown to have the matter reconsidered; in consequence, Stuart had been directed to meet with the Cherokee nation at Lochaber on the fifth of October. Virginians would welcome trade with the Cherokee, the governor insisted, but goods which were to have been sent were delayed because the path was difficult and dangerous. The merchandise was disposed of at great loss because of fears that it would otherwise become spoiled and useless. Berkeley concluded his remarks by noting that it was the duty of John Stuart to superintend all cessions of land between the Crown and Indians living in his department; thus, it was out of the governor's power to appoint any other person to transact the business. 39

The Treaty of Lochaber, concluded on October 18, 1780, in spite of the presence of John Stuart, partially satisfied the demands of the Virginia land speculators by

39 Ibid., p. 364.
moving the boundary westward to include much of the territory around the Clinch and Holston Rivers. The compromise line ran from Long Island on the Holston River to the mouth of the Kanawha River at Point Pleasant on the Ohio River. The treaty was relatively short-lived, however, because the following spring Colonel John Donelson, who later became Andrew Jackson's father-in-law, surveyed the boundary and persuaded the Cherokee to sell additional land westward to the Kentucky River.

In business dealings with the Indians, Thomas Walker bought, rather than appropriated, Indian land. One of the largest transactions with which he was associated was a purchase of six million acres of land on the Ohio River for himself and eight associates. The portions for the Walker family included John Walker receiving one-sixth, Thomas Walker Junior receiving one-seventh, and Thomas Walker receiving one-eighth of the land. According to the agreement, "the residue of three shares to be divided among Thomas Walker, Nicholas Lewis, George Gilmer, Mathew Maury, Reuben Lindsay, Henry Fry, and Joseph Hornsby, two shares to the said Thomas Walker and the others one full share each." The land was purchased from the Iroquois on July 10,

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40 Sosin, Whitehall and the Wilderness, pp. 172-180.
41 Hemphill, et. al., Caviller Commonwealth, p. 145.
1775, at Fort Pitt, and transferred to Walker and his associates in a deed dated July 30, 1777. George Orogham, a native of Ireland who settled near Harrisburg as an Indian trader acted as agent for the group. He became an agent for the colonies among Indians because of his knowledge of Indian language and affairs. The land was purchased for approximately five thousand Spanish dollars.

With satisfactory boundary lines fairly well established, Doctor Walker's negotiations with Indians shifted from an emphasis on territorial boundaries to attempting to keep the Indians neutral during the American hostilities with the British. On one occasion Doctor Walker and one of his sons set out on an expedition in the company of various Indians to show them the strength and activities of the American volunteers in the back counties of Virginia. The incident was a success according to the report in the Virginia Gazette which stated that the Indians "expressed great astonishment at the sight, and gave the gentlemen who conducted them sufficient tokens to believe that they never would take up the hatchet against us." 43

42 Page, Genealogy, p. 204; Couper, Shenandoah Valley, I, p. 586.
43 The Virginia Gazette, September 14, 1775, p. 3.
Because of Doctor Walker's experience and inter-colony reputation for fair dealings with the Indians, he was appointed by the Continental Congress in September 1775 to serve as a Commissioner for Indian Affairs in the Middle Department. Preservation of Indian neutrality was the principal goal of the department, and Thomas Walker had already demonstrated his ability in that pursuit. Walker did not, however, allow his inter-colonial position to overshadow his duty to the Virginia House of Burgesses when they called upon him to serve as a commissioner to negotiate a treaty with the Ohio Indians.

Virginians distrusted any negotiation that might be concluded between Lord Dunmore and the Indians. The Assembly therefore appointed its own commissioners to meet the Indians at Fort Pitt. The commissioners included Thomas Walker and his son John Walker, Andrew Lewis, Adam Stephen, and James Wood. George Washington was also appointed, but could not attend because of his trip to Boston, where he assumed command of the Continental Army.

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45Journal, 1773-1776, p. 282; Abernethy, Western Lands, p. 141.
When the conference began in September of 1775, Thomas Walker was selected to preside over the meetings because he was a member of both the Congressional and the Virginia commissions. The gathering was not a complete success despite the fact that it brought together the largest Indian delegation ever seen at the frontier post. Indian tribes attending included the Ottawa, Wyandot, Mingo, Shawnee, Delaware, and Seneca. The peace that emerged from their efforts was only temporary, but it did spare some barbarities and gained precious time necessary to build forts for border warfare. One tribe did, however, adhere to the principles of the meeting. The Senecas were so strict in their neutrality that they refused to allow either belligerent to cross their lands, thus preventing the British from using Fort Niagara for mounting an attack on Fort Pitt.

Returning from the conference at Fort Pitt, Doctor Walker stopped at Williamsburg and published in the Virginia Gazette an article stating that "all the different nations who attended the treaty are peaceably disposed; notwithstanding the endeavors of several persons from Fort Detroit to set them against this colony in particular." The article

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46 Couper, Shenandoah Valley, I, pp. 684-585.
47 Rice, Trans-Allegheny Frontier, pp. 90-91.
went on to note that Thomas Walker had brought back with him a young Indian, the son of the famous Bawbee, to be educated at William and Mary College.\textsuperscript{48}

In the summer of 1776, the Virginia Assembly again dispatched Thomas Walker to Pittsburgh to converse with Indians, including Chief Logan, to discuss the preservation of peace on the frontier. Efforts must not have been completely successful because the following year he was once again commissioned to the same place to conciliate the Indians during the Revolution. Though other commissioners were appointed by the Continental Congress to attend the conference in 1777, it is notable that once again Thomas Walker was selected to preside over the meeting.\textsuperscript{49} Walker was, in effect, a representative of both Virginia and the Continental Congress.

According to the stories of those who knew him best, Thomas Walker was friendly and very much at ease in talking with Indians. A colored lad named Thomas Wilkes lived at Castle Hill and was subsequently employed by Thomas Walker as his body servant. Wilkes, who became affectionately known as "Uncle Tom," died around the year 1860 at an age of about ninety years; but being the companion of Doctor Walker for several years, he was able to relate many

\textsuperscript{48}The Virginia Gazette, November 18, 1775, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{49}Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 10; Page, Genealogy, p. 213.
stories about the life at Castle Hill during the eighteenth century. He remembered particularly Thomas Walker's frequent talks with Indian chiefs that often took place under an old cherry tree that stood near the rear of the house.

Uncle Tom also recalled a time when the doctor was absent among the Indians for a period of seven years. Upon the evening of his return to Castle Hill, Doctor Walker's dog, who had not seen him during the entire time, recognized his master's voice and broke through a shutter in getting out of a room to meet him. Though it is unfortunate that few other details of Doctor Walker's seven year experience with the Indians have been recorded and preserved, the incidents mentioned by Thomas Wilkes demonstrated that Walker maintained a unique rapport with Indians.

50 Page, Genealogy, p. 216.
51 Ibid., p. 217.
CHAPTER VI

WALKER'S LINE—THE VIRGINIA-NORTH CAROLINA BOUNDARY LINE

In the second charter of Carolina, King Charles II decreed that the northermost boundary of that province be drawn at the latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. Efforts were made in 1710 to locate the boundary, but the commissioners could not agree on the starting point. The project was abandoned for eighteen years until Colonel William Byrd, William Dandridge, Richard Fitz Williams, with Thomas and Mayo, as surveyors, ran a line westward in 1728 from the east coast to Peter's Creek.\(^1\) In 1749, Peter Jefferson and Colonel Joshua Fry extended the line westward to Step Rock Creek, now called the Laurel Fork of the Holston River in Washington County.\(^2\) Governor Dunmore of Virginia, acting without the consent of the North Carolina government, attempted to extend the boundary line in 1775 to incorporate the gains made in negotiations with the Cherokee in the early 1770's, but the survey was voided.

\(^1\)Page, Genealogy, p. 213.
Seeking to end the lengthy dispute, the governments of Virginia and North Carolina established commissions in October of 1778 to locate and survey the thirty-six degree thirty minute north latitude boundary. The line was to be established by astronomical observation to extend the former line of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson due west to the Tennessee River. Each commissioner was to be paid fifty shillings per day for services rendered.3

Doctor Thomas Walker and Reverend James Madison, cousin of the fourth President of the United States, were appointed December 19, 1778 as commissioners for Virginia.4 Reverend Madison found it impossible to leave William and Mary College at that time, however, and declined to serve on the commission. To fill the vacancy, Governor Thomas Jefferson appointed Daniel Smith, a prominent frontier leader who had served as Doctor Walker's attorney in the sale of lands around Abingdon.5

The North Carolina commissioners, led by Judge Richard Henderson, and the Virginia commissioners began their task in the fall of 1779. There were various

3Hening, Statutes, IX, pp. 561-564.
disputes concerning the location of the line and the proper use of some of the instruments, but the biggest problem to be overcome was the weather. The hard winter of 1779 caught them in the wilderness. Enough snow fell that it became necessary to leave the wilderness area in order to pitch tents. The cold was so severe that immense log fires were maintained continuously for more than forty days, yet the snow did not melt from around their shelter. Ice became so thick it was necessary to chop it away from their tents every morning. Being without bread, the group existed entirely on venison and other wild meat. Doctor Walker's son Francis, the youngest on the trip, was made the cook.

According to one of the members of the expedition, the severe winter began in early November and continued until March. The turkeys all died and there was almost no corn in the country. Some of the members of the crew died of frostbite; others died for want of solid food.

The political problems between the two groups were enumerated in a letter from Thomas Walker and Daniel Smith to the Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Delegates in 1780. The Virginia commissioners claimed that the North

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6 Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, pp. 10-11.
7 Draper MSS, 1ZZ11+12.
8 Draper MSS, 57J13.
Carolina gentlemen did not meet them as soon as had been agreed. Many accidents occurred while traveling to the site of the old line. When they arrived at the scene, they found that an abundance of dead timber obscured the area where the former line was thought to have ended. Attempting to fix a spot on Steep Rock, they agreed finally on an observation with the North Carolina delegation on Monday the sixth of September 1779. After the line had been extended forty-five miles west of the Steep Rock Creek, the commissioners from North Carolina contended that the boundary was running further south than that which they believed to be correct. According to the sun's meridian altitude, the line was not too far south, but there was found to be a minor error in the needle of an instrument because of the proximity of some iron ore. The observers from North Carolina, still not being convinced, proposed that surveyors from each state should observe and fix the latitude.

Thomas Walker and Daniel Smith claimed to have made every concession to the delegation from North Carolina. When the North Carolinians claimed that the boundary line was being established two miles south of the proper latitude, Walker and Smith agreed that at least one of the Virginia commissioners would proceed directly north for two miles and turn back east from that point to recheck all previous observations from
a more northerly latitude. An observer from North Carolina went along to superintend the procedures, while the other parts of both delegations continued the survey to the west in order to expedite the business of completing the boundary.

The Virginia commissioners indicated in their report that when the group had back-tracked twenty miles on the northern latitude, "The judgment was unalterably fixed that this line was wrong, although the Carolina gentlemen would not seem to be of this opinion." The gentlemen from North Carolina returned and overtook his colleague on the west near Black Water Creek. 9

When both groups were reunited, they agreed that since the surveyors from North Carolina could not agree with the observations of Thomas Walker and Daniel Smith, each group should continue to establish the line they thought to be correct and let future observers decide which was to be the true boundary. The agreement was shortlived, however, because Richard Henderson and his delegation discontinued their operations when they reached the Cumberland Mountains. At that point the activities of the North Carolina delegation diminished to merely protesting against the work of the Virginians.

9Hening, Statutes, IX pp. 562-4.
Undaunted by the letters of complaint they received from Richard Henderson, Thomas Walker led the group of fifteen who continued the survey westward to Clear Fork, more than one hundred twenty-three miles from the starting point of Steep Rock Creek. Marking a poplar and two hackberry trees with initials and the date November 22, 1779, the Virginians entertained serious thoughts of turning back. They reasoned, however, that since better land was available to the west, it was of great importance to establish the boundary line further in that direction where people were more likely to settle. They pushed on to the Cumberland River where they built canoes to carry luggage and rest the horses, but they were stopped for forty days because the river was frozen, despite the fact that it had never before been known to freeze.

Doctor Walker, who was seldom content with devoting all his energies to only one enterprise at a time, took the opportunity to follow the Cumberland River to create what his contemporaries believed to be a tolerably good map of the waterway. He and Daniel Smith reported that the Cumberland was "a fine river navigable at least seven hundred miles from the mouth upwards."10

10 Ibid., p. 564.
After passing the heads of the Green River and Red River, marching through the barrens, and crossing the Cumberland River once again, they reached the bank of the Tennessee River on March twenty-third 1780. Not only were they encouraged by the extent of their lengthy and tedious travels, but they had seen Richard Henderson, who had been examining their line. Henderson indicated to Doctor Walker and Daniel Smith that he believed that North Carolina would establish the boundary as the Virginians had marked it.\footnote{Fragment of the Walker-Smith Report to the General Assembly and Virginia 1780, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.}

In addition to their tenacious dedication to the task for which the expedition was created, the group that completed what became known as "Walker's line" had a cohesive spirit of congeniality which contributed to their success by allowing them to find pleasure in what might otherwise have been a tedious assignment. Benjamin Stephens, from Orange County in Virginia, carried on his horse a very short rifled gun with a long strap so he could swing it to his back. Throughout the trip the group made much fun of the weapon because of its size and supposed inefficiency. When they went down a spur of the Cumberland Mountains, Doctor Walker called for the man with the short gun and waited for him. Walker told Stephens "we don't think
much of your short gun, but here's a chance to test it - a target for you; hit it if you can." Without much hope of success, Stephens leaned the gun against a tree and took aim at a wild turkey high up on a limb overhead at a distance of about one hundred yards. The turkey fell, much to everyone's amazement. Doctor Walker told Stephens "if his father had risen from the dead and told him he could kill that turkey with that thing, he would not have believed it." ¹²

Doctor Walker also delighted in telling stories concerning his explorations in some of the same territory in 1750. A few of the members of the group did not believe, however, that it was possible that anyone could have traveled part of the same paths thirty years earlier. When the expedition approached "Yellow Creek," Walker showed them proof that was indisputable. Pointing to a birch tree on the left of the path, Doctor Walker said "upon that tree Ambrose Powell marked his name and the year." One of the skeptics examined the tree and reported that it did indeed have legible characters reading "Ambrose Powell, 1750." ¹³ The fact that Thomas Walker had previously explored some parts of the territory, was probably one of

¹²Collins, Kentucky, II, p. 759.
¹³Draper MSS, 170065.
the factors that influenced Governor Thomas Jefferson's decision to select the sixty-four year old doctor to lead the Virginia delegation; it may have been also one of the reasons for the success of the expedition.

In addition to establishing the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia, there was another reason of almost equal importance for surveying the line at that time, Governor Jefferson instructed Doctor Walker to locate the point on the Mississippi River intersected by the latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, the southern limit of the state of Virginia. General George Rogers Clark was then to select a position on that point to be fortified in order to substantiate Virginia's claim to the territory. This was perhaps the reason Doctor Walker believed the mission was of sufficient importance that he resign his position on the Executive Council.

The fort was built at the mouth of Mayfield Creek and Virginia's claim to the territory was subsequently recognized by the British by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The land area of the fort, however, became a scene of bitter

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15 Resignation of Thomas Walker from the Executive Council, 11 June 1779, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia; Doctor Walker has served on the Executive Council since December 16, 1776.
hostilities because it had not been purchased from the Chickasaw Indians, the undisputed rulers of the area. Families that settled near the fort were butchered in numerous skirmishes. Colbert, a Scotsman who gained leadership of the Indians, led a siege on the fort, starving the hapless victims of the garrison. The principal food for the fort was pumpkins. A courageous group in the blockhouse withstood an attack with a swivel gun loaded with rifle and musket balls.

General George Rogers Clark arrived with reinforcements and provisions from Kaskaskia and the Indians retreated. The fort was soon abandoned, owing to the difficulty of supply in such a remote location; but, it had served the purpose for which it was created.16

When Doctor Walker's expedition was completed in the spring of 1780, he visited the settlement at French lick, now the site of Nashville, Tennessee. Walker wrote to Colonel Preston, his long time friend and business associate, that he was still hearty despite the hardships of the winter and his advanced years.17

Despite the fact that the boundary had apparently been settled and assurance had been received from North Carolina that they intended to recognize Walker's line,

17Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 10-11.
desputes arose throughout the 1780's over the territory between the line established by Thomas Walker and that established by Richard Henderson. The area became very popular for settlement because the inhabitants could tell the Virginia authorities they resided in North Carolina, and tell the North Carolina government that they resided in Virginia; meanwhile, they paid no taxes to either government and refused to serve in a state militia.

It was not until December 7, 1791, that the Virginia Assembly accepted officially the results of the survey made more than a decade earlier. They resolved at that time "that the line commonly called and known by the name of Walker's line, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be the boundary line of this state." Regarding the disputed territory, the act stipulated that claims lying between Walker's line and Henderson's line "shall be decided in favour of the oldest title whether derived from this Commonwealth or from the state of North Carolina." The operation of the act commenced on the first day of March in 1792. There was a problem, however, in getting the news to the people in the counties affected by the legislation. Governor Henry Lee, acting with the advice

18 Calendar of Virginia State Papers, I, p. 613 and IV, p. 351.
19 Hening, Statutes, XIII, p. 258.
of the Council of the state, decided to issue a proclamation "making known the said act to all persons whom it may concern." The governor required that the act be proclaimed at two successive courts in each of the courthouses in the region of the southern boundary. The survey of Thomas Walker eventually became the basis for part of the southern boundary of Kentucky and the northern boundary of Tennessee. The act of the Virginia Assembly that established the boundary with Kentucky was not passed until December 13, 1796; yet, the portion of the line east of the Cumberland Gap was still noted in the legislation as Walker's line.

The map that Doctor Walker and Daniel Smith had submitted with their report to the Virginia General Assembly in 1780 was lost during the following two decades. During the administration of Governor James Monroe, Virginia and Tennessee appointed commissioners to resurvey the boundary from Cumberland Gap to the Tennessee-North Carolina border. Governor Monroe went to great lengths to procure a copy of the Walker-Smith map to aid the commissioners, but was frustrated in his search. He wrote

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21 Calendar of Virginia State Papers, VIII, p. 408.
to the Speaker of the General Assembly deploring the imperfection of the public archives. "The General Assembly well knows," the governor wrote, "how perishable such documents are, and how necessary their preservation is, to the rights of property and other important issues of society." Monroe added that "should the Legislature deem it expedient to adopt any plan for the preservation of those memorials, I shall be happy to do everything in my power to promote its execution." 22

Governor Monroe apparently believed that the elusive map was of sufficient value to justify continued efforts to seek its location. His persistence was rewarded finally in 1802. Monroe wrote a letter to his friend, President Jefferson, that he had obtained from Francis Walker a copy of the survey of his father. 23 "Walker's line," Monroe explained, was "established with North Carolina but presumably after the separation of Tennessee from that state." 24

The Walker-Smith map was discovered in time to become an important guideline for the survey conducted by


23The Walker-Smith Map is now preserved in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

24Letter to Thomas Jefferson, August 31, 1802, Writings of Monroe, III, p. 358.
the commissioners from Virginia and Tennessee. Joseph Martin, who led the expedition, was a long-time friend and neighbor of Thomas Walker. With the help of Walker, Martin established a settlement of a large tract in Powell's Valley. He later moved to Long Island on the Holston River and became a potent influence against British intrigues during the American Revolution. Following the war, Joseph Martin served in the Virginia Legislature, from which he was selected to lead the expedition. 

CHAPTER VII

THOMAS WALKER AS A LEADING CITIZEN, PLANTER, AND
ENTREPRENEUR OF ALBEMARLE COUNTY

Many citizens of Albemarle County in the eighteenth century were content devoting their life work to one enterprise or profession in which they hoped to be able to make a living. Doctor Walker did not, however, fit into that image of the typical colonial Virginian. He was a man of many talents and interests who was willing to take calculated risks in any enterprise that challenged his curiosity and promised a fair return for his investment. His entire life was an epoch of variety.

Thomas Walker, along with four associates owned an iron works in Albemarle County. William Cabell, Edward Carter, Alexander Trent, and Doctor Walker each contributed initially five hundred pounds for a one-sixth share in the enterprise. John Wilkinson contributed one thousand pounds for a one-third interest in the company which was started in 1766 for the purpose of making pig and bar iron plus common and flask castings. In the year 1744, Thomas Walker
made an attempt to but out the interest of Wilkinson and increase his interest in the company, but John Wilkinson refused to sell. The company continued in business until 1792, but in April of 1777, Thomas Walker and Edward Carter sold their shares and left the organization. Walker received one ton of bar iron and Carter obtained one-half ton. The stipulation was made that neither could call for his proportion of the money advanced until five years from the date of the transaction.¹

Doctor Walker was, for many years, a merchant in Albemarle County. He ran a type of general store.² On March 18, 1777, Walker attempted to expand his business by entering into an agreement with his sons Thomas Walker Junior and John Walker, along with Reuben Lindsay, to form an association for trade. It was noted in the agreement that during the first year of operation they would use Doctor Walker's storehouse.³

In other business ventures, Thomas Walker once owned and operated the saloon of Bentivoglio, near Cobham, Virginia. He also became one of the major stockholders of the Albemarle Furnace Company which worked mines along the Hardware River in the 1770's.⁴

¹Documents of the Albemarle Iron Works in the Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
²Page Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
³Patton Family Papers, The University of Virginia.
⁴Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
Doctor Walker engaged in many agricultural pursuits at his home of Castle Hill. He raised and sold quantities of wheat for the domestic market, and sold his tobacco crop in England. In his dealings with the English tobacco market, Walker proved to be a shrewd bargainer, carefully picking the agents with whom to do business and only selling when the market was high. On one occasion, he capitalized on a flurry of alarm over a suspected increase in the duty on tobacco in England.¹

Until the 1790's, Doctor Walker was able to use profitably the British market for imports as well as exports. Keeping advised on the price of commodities in England and in America, he often imported sugar from England and sold it at a profit. The threat of war between England and Spain in 1790, however, advanced the price of sugar in England to a point where it negated his profits.²

Albemarle County became known among apple growers and connoisseurs for the celebrated Albemarle Pippin. Not only did Thomas Walker grow the apple on his Castle Hill estate, he was responsible for its introduction to

¹Rives MSS, The Library of Congress
²Ibid.
the fields of Virginia. The fruit was really the Newton
Pippin of New York, discovered and brought to Albemarle
County following one of Doctor Walker's numerous trips.
The apple was coveted for its particularly juicy fruit.
It was, however, extremely delicate and had to be wrapped
carefully in clean hay to preserve its quality. 7

Castle Hill, the home of Doctor Walker, became
a landmark and a social and cultural center of the county,
in addition to its function as the family estate. The large
tract of land was originally part of a grant to the elder
Nicholas Meriwether from the Crown during the reign of King
George II. 8 In 1734, Meriwether gave sixteen hundred fifty
acres of the land to his grandson, Nicholas Meriwether
the younger, who married Mildred Thornton. A daughter
was born to the couple in 1739, but the young Nicholas
died the same year leaving no will. The young daughter,
Mildred Meriwether, inherited her father's property.

Though it has been asserted that Thomas Walker
obtained title to Castle Hill through his marriage in 1741

7 Page, Genealogy, p. 215; William Henry Tappes
Squires, The Days of yesteryear in Colony and Commonwealth
(Portsmouth, Virginia:1928) p. 275; Robert A. Lancaster Jr.
Historic Virginia Homes and Churches (Philadelphia: 1915)
p. 396.

8 Page, Genealogy; p. 215.
to Mildred Thornton Meriwether, his wife did not own the property. In the legal agreement, she did, however, have a life right to tenancy; thus, Thomas Walker settled on the estate and worked the land as though it were his until he purchased the property nearly two decades later. Further complications developed when Thomas Walker's step-daughter, Mildred Meriwether, grew up and married John Syme. The couple had three children: John Junior, Nicholas, and Mildred; but Mildred Meriwether Syme died without leaving a will, and the estate passed in primogeniture to John Syme, Junior.

Not being able to tolerate the position of working the land belonging to his infant step-grandson, Doctor Walker made arrangements with the child's father to purchase the estate for four hundred pounds in 1762. According to the deed at that time, it was necessary to negotiate a further conveyance and assurance when the lad reached the age of twenty-one years, in order to confirm the estate in fee simple. Thus, in 1780, another deed was

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11Hening, Statutes, VIII, pp. 55-56.
written to convey the sixteen hundred fifty acre tract on the east side of Turkey Run Mountain to Thomas Walker for a fee of only six shillings. If it had not been a mere formality to reinforce the former transaction, it would have been the best land bargain since the sale of Manhattan.

In the early 1760's, Thomas Walker began construction on the main house at Castle Hill. He paid great attention to detail in the surroundings and appointments. Small panes of glass and brass door locks that Doctor Walker obtained from London, can still be seen by visitors at the estate. The extensive gardens, heavy shrubbery, tall boxwood and a grape arbor, were other features for which his home became famous in the eighteenth century.

Located about fifteen miles east of Charlottesville, Virginia, Castle Hill was always an open house that drew many and varied guests. On various occasions, Jefferson played the violin and James Madison danced. Madison remarked that Castle Hill was "the Chimborazo of our Andes," because of its location. Other notable friends that frequented Doctor Walker's home included: George Mason, Benjamin Harrison, John Robinson, Edmund Pendleton,

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13 Gertrude River Potts, "Castle Hill," *Historic Gardens of Virginia* (Richmond: 1923) p. 266.
Joshua Fry, William Preston, Patrick Henry and the Marquis de Lafayette.\textsuperscript{14} George Washington always had a standing invitation to visit Castle Hill whenever he was in that part of Virginia.\textsuperscript{15} In addition to the fact that Walker and Washington were good friends, Thomas Walker's second wife was George Washington's cousin.

The location of Castle Hill was known to many in Virginia during the eighteenth century. It served on occasion as a landmark that neighbors could use to identify the location of their land. Charles Douglas ran an advertisement in the \textit{Virginia Gazette} concerning the return of a stolen horse. He concluded by adding the following words at the bottom of the block: "I live in Albemarle County near Doctor Thomas Walker's."\textsuperscript{16}

In the decade from 1763 to 1773, Doctor Walker continued to increase the land area of his estate by purchasing several tracts adjacent to his property. He accumulated eventually an area of more than ten thousand acres.\textsuperscript{17} Separate tracts were separated from the original lot of Castle Hill for settlement by Doctor Walker's

\textsuperscript{15}Robert A. Lancaster Jr. \textit{Historic Homes}, p. 399.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{The Virginia Gazette}, December 22, 1768, p. 3.

children and grandchildren. The estates of Turkey Hill, Peachylorum, Belvoir, Kinloch, and Keswick were still part of Castle Hill during the eighteenth century; it was not until 1818 that Keswick became a plantation of significance, when a member of the Page family married a daughter of Francis Walker and settled there.  

Doctor Walker maintained one of the largest estates of the region, even after several sub-plots had been removed from the original purchase. According to the Albemarle County tax records of 1782, Thomas Walker paid more than forty-seven pounds in taxes, the most paid that year in his district. He owned eighty-six slaves, twenty-two horses, and a herd of ninety-three cattle. In all but one of those categories, Walker led the district; he was second to a neighbor who owned ninety-five cattle.  

As Thomas Walker grew older, Francis Walker, his youngest son, took over more of the administrative duties of operating Castle Hill. In order to acquaint Francis with the boundaries of the estate, Doctor Walker took him one day to a tree in the woods where he gave him several harsh blows with a horsewhip. When Francis demanded the

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18 Davis, Gilmer's Life and Learning, p. 12; Page, Genealogy, p. 215.

reason for the incident, his father replied, "my son, that is one of the corner trees of your estate, and I wanted you to remember it." Francis never forgot the boundary or the flogging. He was later married to Jane Byrd Nelson of Yorktown, and inherited Castle Hill.

Thomas Walker's location at Castle Hill was within ten miles of Thomas Jefferson's estate of Monticello. Their geographical proximity often brought the families together socially, professionally, and politically.

Peter Jefferson, the father of Thomas Jefferson shared with Thomas Walker an interest in surveying, land speculation, and the development of the western territory of Virginia. The Fry-Jefferson Map, created when Peter Jefferson and Joshua Fry surveyed the southern boundary of Virginia, was recognized by many as the first accurate map of the Old Dominion.

Doctor Walker served faithfully as the Jefferson's family physician. When Peter Jefferson suffered from illness in the summer of 1757, Doctor Walker visited him professionally late in June, three times in July, and nearly every day in August. Walker was attending him at the time of his death on August 17, 1757.

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20 Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, pp. 16-17.
21 Lancaster, Historic Homes, p. 401.
was a lad of only fourteen years when his father passed on because of what Doctor Walker diagnosed as a combination of general sickness and over-exertion. In order to care for the lad and provide the assistance that his father might have otherwise rendered, four were chosen by the family to serve as guardians to Thomas Jefferson. Doctor Walker was selected because of his association with the family and their trust in his ability to serve in that capacity. Others who were chosen included: Colonel Peter Randolph, Thomas Turpin, and John Harvie. Colonel Peter Randolph was the cousin of Thomas Jefferson's mother, Thomas Turpin was Peter Jefferson's brother-in-law, and John Harvie was a lawyer and associate of Peter in many of his land speculations. Only Thomas Walker and John Harvie did any real work as guardians, and both played a considerable role in the life of Thomas Jefferson.

When a decision was made to send Thomas Jefferson to a boarding school, Doctor Walker arranged to have him attend the school of Reverend James Maury located near Castle Hill. Many clergymen during the period of the late 1750's and the early 1760's found that after attaining elaborate prerequisites for the ministry, they needed

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further income. Like Reverend Maury, many operated boarding
schools to supplement a meager income that was often paid
in crops because of the lack of specie. In a famous test
case of a Virginia law, Reverend Maury became noted as
the protagonist of the "Parton's Cause" that was argued
vehemently, but somewhat unsuccessfully, by Patrick
Henry as a protest to English authority over the American
Colonies. 24 It was not his fame, however, that attracted
Thomas Jefferson to his school. Maury had invited friends
and neighbors to send their sons, and Doctor Walker was
the uncle of Reverend Maury's wife. 25

In addition to the formal education he received,
Thomas Jefferson often solicited scholarly advice from
Thomas Walker, his well-traveled friend and guardian.
Walker was among the chosen friends to whom Jefferson sent
his manuscript of Notes on the State of Virginia for
suggestion and revision in 1783. 26 During the same
year, Jefferson attempted to refute the thesis of Monsieur
de Buffon, a noted naturalist from France, who believed
that animals and aborigines of the New World were small
and generally degenerated in comparison with their
European counterparts because of the greater heat and

24 Marie Kimball, Jefferson. The Road to Glory 1743-
1776 (New York: Coward McCann Inc., 1943) p. 36.
26 Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia,
drier climate of Europe. Jefferson attempted to prove that there was no apparent difference in the size or weight of animals in America or Europe. Before he submitted his table of comparisons, Jefferson sent the chart to Doctor Walker, asking him to supply the missing answers. "You will observe," wrote Thomas Jefferson, concerning the tables of animals he had sent for Walker's review, "that the American columns are almost entirely blank." Attempting to explain his apparent lack of initiative, Jefferson continued:

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 them actually weighed, and those not weighed you can probably conjecture pretty nearly.27

Other material contained in Jefferson's letter referred to the physical characteristics of Indians, another subject for which Doctor Walker could have been classified as one of the leading contemporary experts. Jefferson wrote, "if you could be as pointed as possible as to those circumstances relating to the Indians I would be much obliged to you as I think it may happen that this may be the object of further discussions." The only other major request contained in the letter was a stipulation that the answer be returned within nine days of the date of Jefferson's letter. In an attempt to soothe the impact

of that request, Jefferson concluded, "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." 28

Thomas Walker and Thomas Jefferson served together in the Virginia House of Burgesses as the two representatives of Albemarle County from 1769 until 1772. Doctor Walker had served in the House since 1752, and had represented Albemarle County since 1761.29 In 1769, Jefferson replaced Edward Carter as the junior representative of Albemarle County. 30 Thomas Jefferson and his former guardian continued to represent the county until February 10, 1772, when Thomas Walker abandoned his seat temporarily in favor of his son John Walker, who continued to serve with Jefferson through 1775.

Reentering the political arena in 1774, Thomas Walker was, for the second time in his career, elected by two counties to serve as their representative in the House of Burgesses. 31 Though honored by the respect and confidence

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28Ibid.
29Journal, 1752-1755, 1756-1758, p. viii; 1761-1765 p. 3.
30Ibid., 1766-1769, p. 135.
31Not until 1830 did an amendment to the Virginia Constitution make it necessary to reside in the place from which a candidate was elected.
demonstrated by his election from two different counties, Walker was forced to make a decision on which county he intended to represent. He decided to serve from Louisa County along with Thomas Johnson, allowing John Walker to continue to serve from Albemarle County with Thomas Jefferson. 32

Thomas Walker and Thomas Jefferson corresponded often concerning various legal questions regarding Peter Jefferson's estate, for which Doctor Walker served as the executor. In 1790, when Thomas Jefferson was attempting to settle matters relating to his father's accounts, he solicited the advice of Thomas Walker. Problems had arisen from expenses incurred during Jefferson's experience as a student at William and Mary College. His expenses which included gambling, entertaining at the Apollo Room of Raleigh Tavern, and card playing, were greater than expected and it was agreed to charge the estate with the excess. Jefferson asked Walker to estimate reasonable expenses for the period and charge the balance against his share of his father's estate. 33

32Draper. MSS, Boone Appendix, pp. 16-17; Journal, 1772-1776, p. 163.

Thomas Jefferson did not share his father's or Thomas Walker's great interest in land speculation and development. He did, however, receive an inheritance of Peter Jefferson's share of the Loyal Land Company; but, the portion never amounted to much, and was even less valuable after it passed through lengthy litigations.\(^{34}\) In 1790, when a European war among England, Spain and France seemed imminent, Jefferson wrote to Thomas Walker, "I hope that peace and profit will be our lot. Perhaps it may dispose both powers to accommodate us in the affairs of the western lands and the Mississippi."\(^{35}\) The letter was a further indication to Walker that although Thomas Jefferson was not an avid land speculator, he supported the claims of American land companies and settlers in their attempt to develop the frontier and expand the western boundary.

The friendship between Doctor Walker and Thomas Jefferson was built on a firm foundation of years of mutual trust and respect. Jefferson seemed quite sincere when he wrote to Walker in 1790, "I have the honour to be with the most grateful sense of your favour and sentiments of the most perfect respect and esteem."\(^{36}\) When news

\(^{34}\)Ibid., p. 183.


\(^{36}\)Letter of Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Walker, January 18, 1790, in Page-Walker MSS, The University of Virginia.
became known, however, of a sordid love affair between Thomas Jefferson and the wife of one of Doctor Walker's sons, Jefferson's relationship with the Walker family became strained, but not broken.

John Walker, Thomas Walker's eldest son, was a boyhood companion to Thomas Jefferson; and the two continued their friendship after John married Betsey Moore and removed to the estate of Belvoir. In 1768, when his father was chosen to negotiate the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, John went along to serve as a clerk to the Virginia commissioners. During his absence of four months, he asked Thomas Jefferson to watch over his wife and family; but Jefferson seized the opportunity to make advances to Betsey. These attempts continued not only at her own home, but at Jefferson's and at the house of a neighbor.  

Jefferson continued to bother Betsey Walker until 1779, despite the fact that he had married another in 1771.  

Betsey is reported to have repulsed these attempts by Jefferson, but kept the incident from her husband until he named Thomas Jefferson as executor of his estate.

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Betsey protested, but John would not submit to her request until she told him the details of the reason. Betsey proceeded in 1784, to tell her husband her interpretation of the events, indicating that she had not related the details earlier because of concern for the consequences it might have had on John's health if she had told him the story.

Henry Lee, a savage enemy of Jefferson, prevailed upon John Walker to make and sign a statement concerning the affair. The statement related that Thomas Jefferson placed a paper in Betsey's sleeve cuff attempting to convince her of the innocence of promiscuous love. Betsey tore the note to pieces but Jefferson continued his attempts. At the home of Colonel Coles, Jefferson stole into her room when Betsey was undressing on the bed; being repulsed "with indignation and menaces of alarm," Jefferson retreated.

Seeking to gain fame and reputation with the Federalists, Henry Lee brought the incident before the public as a political issue. During the election of 1802,

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40 Russell, Jefferson, p. 280.
41 Ibid., pp. 279-280; Malone, Jefferson, I, p. 449.
It was hinted at in Washington, rumored in New York, and generally known in Connecticut where it was spread by Federalist attorney David Daggett, who was supposed to have received the details from Alexander Hamilton. The Massachusetts Legislature discussed the event in January 1805, and a friend of the Walker family, Thomas Turner, wrote a letter for publication in the Boston Journal. In July, 1805, when many charges were levied against Jefferson, who was serving as President of the United States, he made an explanation to friends and Cabinet members. Jefferson wrote to Robert Smith, Secretary of the Navy:

You will perceive that I plead guilty to one of the charges, that when young and single I offered love to a handsome lady. I acknowledge its correctness. It is the only one founded in truth in all their allegations against me.

Some members of the President's Cabinet believed, however, that the crisis had diminished by 1805. James Madison, the Secretary of State, wrote in a note to James Monroe, serving as minister to England, that "the affair between the President and J. Walker has had a happy eclairecissement." Madison added a concern for

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caution, however, when he concluded the note by saying, "even this general communication is for your own bosom as already privy to the affair."44

Because the incident had become an item of public concern, John Walker believed he was entitled to a public apology from President Jefferson. Though Jefferson refused to make a public statement on the matter, believing perhaps that it could only serve to rekindle the fires of his political opposition; he did acknowledge his guilt in a private apology presented to John Walker in 1806.45 Jefferson made every attempt to make amends and relieve John Walker's mind by exculpating Betsey from all blame.46 The incident, however, haunted Jefferson during the pinnacle of his political career, and threatened to obliterate his relationship with the Walker family that had been developed for nearly a half century by Doctor Thomas Walker.

45 Peterson, Jefferson, p. 709.
In a number of instances before and during the period of American Revolution, Doctor Walker proved to be a patriot dedicated to the American cause for liberty. Like many in his position in colonial society, however, Walker believed that it was expedient to take a cautious stand on divisive political issues until the patriot's cause developed into something more than rhetorical opposition to well-established practices. During the decade of the 1760's, when many of his associates turned toward more radical action, Walker joined the mounting crusade of prominent citizens that protested against England's blundering colonial policy.

In opposition to the British taxation policies and restrictions on American manufacturing, Thomas Walker joined with one hundred two fellow countrymen in signing an agreement in November, 1762, to stimulate the production of local wine and silk. Money was collected
by subscription to offer premiums to persons producing large quantities of the best wine and silk "or such other articles as shall appear to the committee most advantageous to the colony." Others signing the agreement included such well-known Colonial leaders as: George Washington, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, Robert Carter Nicholas, and three of the Lee family including: Henry Lee, Richard Lee, and Richard Henry Lee.¹

In his position as a land speculator and entrepreneur, Doctor Walker became keenly aware of the problem of the lack of specie circular in the American colonies. Walker's account books from the 1750's to the Revolution indicate that many settlers paid him with various crops, rather than money, for services rendered in surveying their lands.² In 1767, Thomas Walker was able to use his political position to register a protest. As a member of the House of Burgesses, Walker was placed on a committee of eleven to prepare an address on the resolution to the King that there was a lack of money for the purpose of trade and commerce. The address stipulated that the colony wanted to be permitted to issue sufficient paper currency to overcome

¹Hening, Statutes, VII, pp. 567-570.

the deficiency. The request was denied by the Crown; but it demonstrated the growing dissatisfaction of Doctor Walker and other American Colonists who opposed the economic policies of the English government.³

In May, 1769, Thomas Walker was a member of the Assembly when Patrick Henry's declaration on the rights of the people was passed. Walker gave them his decided support and when, in consequence, Governor Norborne Berkeley dissolved the Assembly, Thomas Walker was among the determined patriots who re-assembled at a private house to form one of the first revolutionary conventions in Virginia. The group renewed their dedication to the principles contained in Henry's declaration, and pledged themselves to refuse taxed articles and manufactured products of Britain until the English returned to a practice of justice.⁴

When the Assembly reconvened in November, Thomas Walker was placed on a committee of the House of Burgesses to draw up a carefully worded address to Governor Berkeley expressing the Assembly's appreciation for his Majesty's attention to the interests of the colony in approving a report from the Board of Trade and

⁴Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 9.
Plantations in favor of a more extended western boundary for Virginia. In the same address, the Burgesses requested further extensions to the west. The resolution that was constructed thanked his Majesty's "kind attention to the interests of this colony," indicating that the Assembly was "convinced that his Majesty's sole motive for so doing, arose from his most gracious inclination to promote the security and happiness of his subjects." Attempting to avoid a personal attack on the Crown, the address to the governor stated, "with all humility and deference to his Royal wisdom, representing to his Lordship our apprehensions, that his Majesty has not yet been made properly and fully acquainted with the true situation of the Frontiers of this Colony." The address indicated that the House of Burgesses would be pleased to transmit a more perfect statement of the matter to his Majesty in an effort to "procure for this Colony such further indulgencies in extending its boundary, in such manner as his Majesty, in his great wisdom, may think just and right." The conclusion of the address assured the governor and his Majesty that the Assembly would at all times be "ready and willing cheerfully to comply with every requisition in our power, that may tend to promote the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty's Crown, the extension of the British Dominions and the true interests
of the Colony. Thus, during the same year, Doctor Walker and his fellow Assemblymen exhibited sympathy for somewhat radical action; but, at the same time, demonstrated caution in their official protests to the government.

In 1775, Thomas Walker served on another committee of the House of Burgesses selected to address the Virginia governor. The committee consisted of twenty-one Burgesses chosen to inspect the public magazine in Williamsburg, "and inquire into the stores belonging to the same and make report thereof to the House." An investigation revealed that fifteen half barrels had been taken from the magazine, and the Burgesses demanded to know the reason. The address to Governor Dunmore stated that since his Excellency had appointed the keeper of the magazine, the House believed they should have access to the accounts concerning irregularities. They requested an immediate replacement of the powder that was taken from the magazine. The message was tempered, however, with a statement that the Assembly was "willing upon all occasions, and especially at this unhappy juncture, to avoid every kind of

5 *Journal*, 1766-1769, p. 265.
6 *Journal*, 1773-1776, p. 189.
controvert. 7

Though Dunmore had earlier rebuked all efforts of the committee to investigate any matters concerning the magazine, he capitulated to their demands. In a message to the Assembly, the governor indicated that "in order to remove every grievance, and by your wisdom to establish the public tranquility on a sure and firm foundation," he would return the powder as soon as the magazine was in a proper state for securing it. 8

During the month of March, 1775, Walker was part of a new convention called in accordance with the recommendations of the Congress in Philadelphia, in 1774. Each county selected delegates to convene at Richmond in a place they believed to be a safe distance from Dunmore. Peyton Randolph was selected as the presiding officer. George Washington, Patrick Henry, Andrew Lewis, and Thomas Walker were among those that met in a little church on top of a hill in Richmond to hear Patrick Henry's immortal words:

7 Ibid., pp. 193-194.
8 Ibid.
Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death! 9

At the time of the convention in Richmond, Edmund Randolph classified Walker among a large group of those associated with the radicals who attended the meeting but had a fortune at stake which could not be jeopardized by "a political speculation in which their souls were not deeply engaged." Therefore, they did not actually participate in the more radical activities but were in sympathy with the cause. 10

When Governor Dunmore dissolved the Virginia Assembly, in the summer of 1775, the freeholders of Albemarle County met on July 26, and named Jefferson and Walker as their delegates to a convention at Williamsburg on the first of August. Because of illness, Jefferson was absent when the convention began; but his influence was noted because of materials he had sent to Peyton Randolph, the presiding officer of the meeting. Jefferson had compiled a set of resolutions for the consideration of the

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delegates, which included an embryo of the Declaration of Independence. The provisions stated that:

His Majesty is no more than the chief of the people...The British Parliament has no right to exercise authority over us...The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.¹¹

In 1776, with independence declared and the war begun, Walker served his state and the new nation in several official capacities. He was appointed by the Continental Congress as one of four commissioners to serve on a newly created Indian Commission for the Middle Department headquartered at Pittsburgh.¹² Walker also served occasionally as a commissary to provide provisions for the troops¹³ and carry battle instructions or secret information to field commanders.¹⁴ From December 16, to June 11, he was a member of the Executive Council of the State of Virginia.¹⁵


¹²Abernethy, Western Lands, p. 174; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography XVII, #3 pp. 250-262; John Harvie, a long-time friend and associate from Albemarle County was the other Virginia commissioner, Jasper Yeates and John Montgomery represented Pennsylvania.

¹³Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia, I, p. 82.

¹⁴Draper MSS, 1700127-128.

Walker, along with Robert Morris, Carter Braxton and Michael Gratz, purchased a privateer vessel in 1776, which they intended to use to plunder British commerce in the West Indies. Despite the fact he was an inexperienced sailor, they invited John Floyd to captain the ship known as the Phoenix. In December, the vessel sailed through Cuban waters without incident. Floyd and his amateur crew enjoyed a temporary success when they captured a rich prize. Attempting to return home, they were captured off the coast of Virginia by a British man-of-war, relieved of their treasure, and made prisoners. The English jailer had an impressionable daughter, and the handsome Captain Floyd soon obtained her aid to allow the group to escape the confines of the British stockade. Meanwhile, the Phoenix under the command of Captain Augustus Conyngham, captured a neutral Portuguese ship, creating an exbarrassing incident for Congress.

Although these activities of the Phoenix were not of great significance to the outcome of the Revolution, Thomas Walker and his associates attempted to participate in the American cause on the high seas.16

Walker played a far more significant role in the military and political events of the Revolution during the British invasion of Virginia in 1781. Lord Cornwallis had crossed the James River in May and advanced to the North Anna River in Hanover County by the second of June. When British sources learned that Governor Jefferson and some of the Virginia Assembly had moved from Richmond to Charlottesville, Cornwallis acted quickly in dispatching Colonel Tarleton to attempt their capture. Meanwhile, others of the Assembly had been detained by bad weather and spent additional days in Orange County. John Walker, Doctor Walker's eldest son, was able to inform the legislators at Orange County that a report prevailed that the British were advancing in their direction. The group believed it would be expedient to travel to Castle Hill, where they would be safe. Early the next morning, however, this hope proved to be false. Doctor Walker went to their chamber to inform them that British soldiers had surrounded the house. 17

When Colonel Jack Jouett observed Tarleton's advance toward Castle Hill, he began a headlong ride from

Cuckoo Tavern to warn the remainder of the Assembly at Charlottesville. Arriving at Castle Hill shortly before Tarleton's troops, Jouett stopped briefly for a fresh mount, and continued his journey. Meanwhile, Doctor Walker and his wife devised plans for detaining Tarleton and his forces as long as possible to allow Jouett more time to perform his mission. Walker had all his hands cooking for the troops while he attempted to entertain Tarleton. When Tarleton grew impatient for his food, Walker is reported to have informed him that the soldiers had eaten several breakfasts and that he could receive none unless a guard was stationed at the kitchen door. This was done and the Colonel finally obtained his breakfast.

Before the troops departed from Castle Hill, one of the Americans was shot trying to escape. Walker's wife went out through all the troops to find Colonel Tarleton. She appealed to him with such emotion that he returned his surgeon to attend and save the victim.

Colonel Tarleton apparently stayed at Walker's home for less than an hour; but in so doing, he lost another opportunity to capture nearly the entire Assembly and the governor. Though seven members of the Assembly and a

18 See appendix for further details on the second Mrs. Walker.
19 Draper MSS, 132237-38.
20 Draper MSS, 132210-11.
brigadier general were captured, the rest fled to Staunton. Jefferson was still gathering papers at his home when Christopher Hudson passed through Charlottesville en route to join Lafayette. Hudson galloped up the mountain to warn Jefferson just in time to allow the governor to send his family and carriage to Colonel Carter's home at Blenheim. Jefferson mounted a horse and saw British forces coming up the mountain while he escaped into the woods and scrambled up Carter's mountain.

Doctor Walker's thoughts on the American Revolution greatly impressed Thomas Anburey, a captured British soldier who was sent to Albemarle County. Anburey wrote that he was fascinated by Walker's mature understanding exhibited during an informal discussion on what would be the state of America in the next century. With great fire and spirit, Walker declared his opinion that:

America would then reverence the resolution of their forefathers, and would eagerly impress an adequate idea of the sacred value of freedom in the minds of their children that if, in any future ages they should be again called forth to revenge public injuries, to secure that freedom, they should adopt the same measures that secured it to their brave ancestors.22

CHAPTER IX

THE QUIET YEARS

In the years following the American Revolution, Thomas Walker returned to the quiet life of the countryside surrounding his beloved Castle Hill. He retired from exploratory activities and most of the administrative duties with the land companies he had so faithfully represented in his earlier years; even the administration of Castle Hill had been delegated to his young son Francis. It was a time when he could at last relax amidst his friends and descendants.

Religious activities were of particular comfort to him in the last decade of his life, though he had always been a faithful man of genuine dedication. Earlier, Walker had become a vestryman of the Fredericksburg Parish and signed the appropriate documents of faith including: an oath of allegiance to the King, an oath of abjuration, an oath of allegiance specifically against the pretenders to the English throne, and the
test act, certifying his disbelief in the doctrine of transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.¹

In his later years, Walker became dedicated to the project of replacing the structure of the old frontier church he attended. He donated two acres of land for the new building; and Thomas Jefferson and Nicholas Meriwether, who were also active vestrymen of the parish, were asked to lay out the site. After the structure was completed, it became known as Walker's Church.²

Walker made a dedicated, but unsuccessful, attempt to publish the sermons of Reverend Henry Skyren of King William, and King and Queen Counties. The Reverend's widow was Walker's sister-in-law, Lucy Moore Skyren. Unfortunately she had allowed neighboring ministers to borrow the sermons and they never returned them; thus, very few fragments were available when Walker attempted to gather them for publication.³

In family activities, Thomas Walker always preferred the simple life. Despite the fact that he was somewhat of

²Ibid., p. 43n; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (LIII, 1945) p. 263
³Meade, Old Churches, II, p. 382.
a frontier aristocrat, he disliked parade and show. He told all his daughters to become buxon lasses and notable housekeepers, rather than fine ladies. Walker never bought a carriage for his daughters, telling them he could never marry them to husbands who could afford them and that they should learn to walk. It was afterwards, however, the boast of all his daughters that they lived to ride in their own carriage.  

On every occasion that it snowed, one of Walker's favorite family activities was a snowball fight. He had a grand time rounding up all the children and guests for a large battle in the yard.

Though his home was stately and Walker's manners were usually refined, his guests learned to expect the unusual when they visited Castle Hill. Walker was particularly fond of rattlesnakes, especially if he caught them himself. His relish for eating the snakes often provoked his family and friends. On at least one occasion, Walker took a rattlesnake and beheaded it and placed it

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4Draper MSS, 13ZZ8-9
5Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 13.
6Ibid., p. 17.
7Draper MSS, 13ZZ6
in a large kettle with some boiling water that was to be made into coffee. When brewed to perfection, Walker served the mixture to his family and guests. After they drank it freely and commented on the flavor, Walker pulled the snake from the pot, much to the horror of his guests.  

On one occasion he sent some of his neighbors what they thought was a nice piece of fat mutton. Meeting one of them a few days later, he was thanked for the present, and the quality of the mutton was praised. Walker wryly informed his neighbor that it wasn't mutton at all; it was a piece of "old fowler," a fat dog well known to the visitors of Castle Hill. His humor was not always so heavy handed, Walker had a fondness for joking that made him the life and delight of every social and fireside gathering.

Though something of an eccentric, Doctor Walker did impress his friends and neighbors with his fine intellect and unpreachable character.  His restless energy,

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8Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 16.
9Ibid.
10Draper MSS, 10NN42; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (VII, 1900) p. 243.
eagerness for travel and exploration, and interest in geography were of great influence and inspiration to his family. How gratified he would have been to be able to inspire his son to write a letter like Francis Walker wrote of his father:

My good father, your old friend, is in better health than he has been in several years. He still possess all the life and good humor by which we were kept alive in the woods. How happy is the man who, at his age, can with pleasure, look on a well-spent life; and without distress, meet the awful moment which is to depreve his dependents of so inestimable a friend.11

Doctor Thomas Walker lived about eighty years before accepting his debt to nature at his home of Castle Hill, September, 1794. During his lifetime, he had seen his country freed from the English, part of his dream for the development of the land he explored was fulfilled when the state of Kentucky was admitted to the Union, his oldest son was a United States Senator, and his youngest son was in the House of Representatives.

11Draper MSS, Boone Appendix, p. 12.
CONCLUSION

Thomas Walker was a man of varied talents and interests. As a physician, he became recognized as an eminent surgeon and teacher. His primary venture, however, was in land development and speculation; a field in which his organizational talent and dedication allowed him to become one of the leading figures of Virginia from the time of the French and Indian War to the conclusion of the American Revolution. Walker and his company were able to capitalize on the British land grant policy and attain substantial wealth. As the agent of the Loyal Land Company, Walker led a number of explorations to the western frontier, for which he became famous as one of the most prominent explorers of his time. Though some expeditions failed in their primary objective, to locate land suitable for permanent settlement, Walker and his associates succeeded in discovering and naming many geographic features. He explored the trans-Allegheny frontier, discovered and named the Cumberland Gap, and led the first recorded expedition into the present area of Kentucky, nearly thirty years before Daniel Boone's first exploration.

Because of his familiarity with the western
territory, Walker was often called upon to serve Virginia and his country as an official representative to negotiate boundaries and quiet Indian hostilities. During the French and Indian War he served as a Commissary for the Virginia troops. When problems developed concerning the appropriation of supplies, Walker had a brief disagreement with George Washington, his long-time friend, relative, and business associate.

Walker served as a member of the House of Burgesses, the House of Delegates, the Convention of 1775, the Committee of Safety, and the Executive Council of Virginia. He represented Virginia at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, and served as a commissioner for both Virginia and the Continental Congress at the Treaty of Fort Pitt. He was also selected to lead an expedition during the American Revolution to establish the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina. Despite inclement weather, Walker proceeded to the Mississippi, where he located the site of a fort that was to become a basis for American westward expansion following the Revolution. In other Revolutionary activities, Walker was a cautious patriot, sympathizing with the cause of the radicals, but having much to lose as a result of impetuous action. After independence was declared, he participated in the war on the high seas by purchasing a privateer vessel, but
his activities near Charlottesville were of greater significance to the outcome of the Revolution. Walker's hospitality at his home of Castle Hill was sufficient to detain Colonel Tarleton and a group of British soldiers long enough to prevent their capture of Governor Jefferson and the Virginia Assembly.

Walker's varied travels, interests, and activities allowed him to associate socially and politically with many of the leading families of Colonial Virginia. The families of Washington, Jefferson, Lee and Madison were friends and associates of Thomas Walker, yet he preferred the quiet life as a frontier aristocrat surrounded by his family at their home of Castle Hill.
THOMAS WALKER'S JOURNAL

Two portions of the Journal became detached from the main contents, and for a number of years the first few days of March 7 to March 15, and April 11 to April 20, representing pages thirty-eight to thirty-nine, and forty-six to forty-seven of the Journal were missing. The Journal, with the exception of the missing pages, was published in 1888 in Boston under the title: "Journal of an Exploration in the Spring of the year 1750 by Doctor Thomas Walker, of Virginia, with a preface by William Cabell Rives, LL.B., Member of the American Historical Association. Boston Brown and Company 1888." William Cabell Rives had received the Journal from his mother, Jane Frances Walker Page, the granddaughter of Doctor Thomas Walker. In the 1890's, Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston made a determined effort to find the missing pages of the Journal. After contacting Doctor William C. Rives, son of William Cabell Rives who published the original parts of the Journal, the missing portion of the original manuscript was located in the possession of the widow of Thomas Walker Page of Albemarle County. Colonel Johnston published the first known edition of the complete Journal in his "First Explorations in Kentucky" for the Filson Club Publication number thirteen in 1898.
October 7th 1753 Surveyed for Francis Carson. Beginning at the level on Little River thence down the R. S. 17 E. 16 poles S. 80 W. 40 poles
N 43 W. 10 Poles N. 92 W. 10 poles
N. 28 W. 20 poles N. 2 W. 30 poles N. 30 poles to a gum on the River Bank.
S. 52 W. 106 poles to a Hickory on the top of a Ridge.
S. 82 E. 24 poles to a white Oak
N. 40 E. 22 poles to a Hickory on the River
S. 25 E. to the Beginning.
THOMAS WALKER'S FIRST WIFE AND HER RELATIONSHIPS TO GEORGE
WASHINGTON

Thomas Walker married in 1741 Mildred Thornton, twenty-one year old widow of Nicholas Meriwether, daughter of Francis and Mary Taliaferro Thornton (1721-1728). Mildred had three brothers, Francis Thornton of Fall Hill who married Frances Gregory, Colonel John Thornton who married Mildred Gregory and Reuben Thornton who married Elizabeth Gregory. Three brothers married three sisters, the daughters of Roger and Mildred Washington Gregory, and were the first cousins to the first President.

Mildred Thornton Walker had two sisters. Mary married Nicholas Bataile of "Hays," now known as Haysfield, Caroline County and Elizabeth married Thomas Meriwether, a cousin of Nicholas Meriwether, the first husband of Mildred Thornton. Colonel Nicholas Meriwether, one son of Elizabeth and Thomas' large family was a soldier with George Washington at Braddock's disaster and helped carry Braddock's officer from the field. Lucy, a daughter, married her cousin William Lewis, and was the mother of Meriwether Lewis, the explorer.

Colonel John Thornton and Mildred Gregory Thornton, brother of Thomas Walker's wife Mildred Thornton Walker, had a daughter, Mildred, who became the second of five wives for Colonel Samuel Washington, another of George Washington's brothers.
The mothers of Thomas Walker's two wives were sisters, who were first cousins of George Washington. Thomas Walker's two wives were themselves first cousins who were second cousins of George Washington.
On January 14, 1781, less than five months before Tarleton's raid, Thomas Walker married Elizabeth Gregory Thornton, who had been the widow of two previous husbands. Doctor Walker was, at the time, the widower of her sister-in-law. Elizabeth's first husband was her step brother, Henry Willis, Junior. There was, however, no common parent. Her second husband was Reuben Thornton whom she married in 1758; but he died in 1768, leaving no will. By 1781, Doctor Walker found her still charming, and wrote to his friend William Preston, "I entered marriage...with an old sweetheart of mine." The Marriage contract stipulated that each was to dispose of their respective inheritances.

Following the death of Thomas Walker, Elizabeth Gregory Willis Thornton Walker still possessed enough charm to attract another suitor, Weston Alcock, a former British officer. Elizabeth died in 1796.
CASTLE HILL

The estate passed eventually to the family of William Cabell Rives (1793-1868), when he married Judith Page Walker, the daughter of Francis and James Byrd Walker, and lived at Castle Hill. Rives became a member of the United States Senate and Minister to France during the Presidential administration of Andrew Jackson. While living at Castle Hill, he built two additions to the house in 1824 and 1840. Rives also reversed the direction of the front of the house. As it was constructed by Thomas Walker, the front faced the mountains to the northwest. With the addition of stately columns and two new wings, the front became the portion of the house facing southeast.

Late in the nineteenth century, the estate became the property of Amelie Rives, a granddaughter of William Cabell Rives. When young, Amelie smoked, drank, and rode hard, and was considered very coarse in her day. She wore heavy boots and pants and was known for fence jumping on horseback; but in more serious moments, she became a novelist of sufficient fame to be listed in Who's Who in America. In 1888, Amelie married John Armstrong Chanler, who contributed an enduring phrase to American speech when, from an insane asylum he telegraphed, "who's looney now?" to his brother on the occasion of his marriage to...
Lina Cavalieri. Amelie and John were shortly thereafter divorced, and Amelie married Prince Pierre Troubetzkoy, a gracious and pleasant gentleman who had become a successful Russian portrait painter. Following his death in 1936, the house and grounds of Castle Hill suffered from a lack of attention and care.

When there were no more members of the Rives family or heirs to claim ownership of Castle Hill, the property of eleven hundred eighty-three acres was sold to Clark J. Lawrence in 1947. Fascinated by the architecture of the house and the challenge of the needed repair, Clark Lawrence and his wife, Eleanor B. Lawrence, devoted a great deal of time and expense to an authentic restoration of much of Castle Hill's charm and elegance.
WILL

I, Thomas Walker, of Albemarle County do make the following disposition of all and singular my estate and interest whatever by this my last will and testament. To my son John Walker, I give the sum of 70 £. 10s, and 9 pence half penny. Together with the sums heretofore charged to him on my books. To my son Thomas Walker, I devise the land on which he now lives, which purchased from Thomas Meriwether and John Lewis, together with all the slaves and cattle which were on them when this said son Thomas took possession and all their increase to him and to his heirs forever. I also devise to my son Thomas the tract of land called Walker's Meadows on the western waters to him and to his heirs forever, for which suit is now pending in the General Court against William McClung. But if the said tract of land should be adjusted to the said McClung, then I give to the said Thomas the sum of $500. To my son Francis Walker, I devise my Castle Hill tract of land and all my lands adjoining the same, also all my slaves, stocks, household furniture, books, utensils and instruments, to him and to his heirs forever, reserving to Mary Boirn [?], her life, in two hundred [?], acres of land where on she now lives. To George Gilmer, I give 12 muttons. To Joseph Hornsby, I give
8 white steers. To Henry Fry, I give 58 shillings and 5 pence, together with the sums already charged to him on my books. To the Reverend Matthew Maury, I give the sum of 256 shillings and 9 pence farthing, together with the sums already charged to him on my books. To George Divers, I give the sum of 193 shillings 9 pence 2 pence, with the sums already charged to him on my books. To Joshua Fry, I give the sum of 477 shillings 10 pence, together with the sums charged to him on my books. To my wife Elizabeth, I give my chariot forever and the use of Hannah, a slave, whom I purchased of David Hops, during the said Elizabeth's natural life. And whereas my said wife and myself entered into articles of agreement before our marriage, the purpose of which is that if said Elizabeth should depart this life before myself, her then intended husband should be at liberty to dispose of the property she had before our intermarriage and it was further agreed that if I should depart this life before the said Elizabeth, my then intended wife, that the said Elizabeth should disavow any right of dowry in the said Thomas' estate. It is my will and desire that said articles may be complied with and that want of forms or error in the said articles may not operate to the prejudice of the said Elizabeth or her friends. I declare it is my meaning that the devises and legates before mentioned shall be taken as a full satisfaction for any
portion of my estate on any advancement which I may at any time have undertaken to give or promise to give or make to any of the different devises or legators. I also declare it to be my desire and intention that all sums of money or the value of any property which may be given by me to either of the legators to whom I have left particular sums of money between the date of this will and the time of my death shall be taken and considered as so much of the legacies intended and shall be deducted from the sum mentioned in the bequest and the balance shall be considered as the legacies intended with my debts, my law office certificates and the residue of my estate not before devised. I desire that all my debts and legacies may be paid and discharged. I empower and require my executors to make title to all the land I have sold on the purchasers complying with their part of the contract. I do hereby revoke all former wills and testaments heretofore made by me. I do hereby appoint my three sons, John, Thomas, and Francis Walker, my executors to execute this my last will and testament, and as Francis, from his professional line of business, will have much the greatest share of trouble, and I depend on him to transact the most of my business I make him my residuary legatee and do hereby devise and bequeath to him and his heirs forever the residue of all my estate and interest whatsoever after
all debts and legacees paid. In witness whereon I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my seal the 13 day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred eighty-eight. Signed, sealed and declared by Thomas Walker as and for his last will and testament in presence of us who have hereunto subscribed our names in presence of the testator, Robert Michie, James Barret, W. Alcock, Joshua Fru, Jr., Thomas Meriwether, Thomas Walker Gilmer, Thomas Divers, Lewis Nicholas.

Thomas Walker

Albemarle, December Court 1794 this last will and testament of Thomas Walker deceased was produced into court and proved by the oaths of W. Alcock and Thomas Divers, two of the witnesses thereto and ordered to be recorded.

John Nicholas
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