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PREFACE

This is the story of one of the lines descended from William McNabb, who was born in Glendochart in the Scottish highlands in 1702 and emigrated to America in the 1740's. He had four sons who came with him -- Baptist, John, Samuel and James. Here we are concerned only with a line descended from Baptist (ca. 1723 - 1784). The story is written for my wife, Billie McNabb Miller, who wanted an account of the facts which can be found relative to her McNabb heritage, placed in the context of the background history and the nature of the times.

Billie Norine McNabb came from a McNabb line and a Krous line. I have to remind her that these are only two nominal indicators of all her genetic heritage, that in the same ancestral generation as William McNabb she had \(2^5\), or 64, ancestors, each of whom may have contributed his or her share to her makeup. And Lord knows how many different ancestors, and ancestral types, each of these received his heritage from. Nevertheless, both the McNabb and the Krous lines are interesting in that they represent distinct and coherent groupings of the same types of people over many of the early years of their history. In the case of the McNabbs there was localization and maintenance of close family and cultural relationships for at least a thousand years in the Scottish highlands. (Yet, of course, neither the McNabb or Krous line represents a genetically pure strain like that of the Australian aborigines.)
For Billie's heritage in America I have separated the story into two parts: (1) the Scotch-Irish (so-called, though pure Scots), represented by the McNabbs, who migrated onto the frontier in the long Valley of Virginia, west of the Blue Ridge mountains, thence into eastern Tennessee; (2) the protestant sectarian Germans who fled from Europe's wars, migrated through Pennsylvania and Maryland into the same long Valley of Virginia (though staying essentially separate from the Scotch-Irish), and later followed the Scotch-Irish into eastern Tennessee. These are represented by the Krous side, whose story I have put in a separate document — "Our Michael Krousz Line."

In America the McNabbs were in general at the frontier -- migrating on with the advance of the American people, but much of the family staying with the hill country, and usually as farmers, and sometimes professional people, rather than merchants. As nearly as I can determine, none of Billie McNabb's ancestors (and none of mine) came to America after the American Revolution; hence their history, in its own way, reflects the changes that have come as the American nation originated and developed.

The definitely known ancestors of Billie are shown in Figure 1 — Pedigree Chart. With time and effort one could probably fill in this chart more completely. But, if that is of interest, it must be done by others. The complete families and their dates are shown in later charts.

This brief story would much better have been written by James Lee McNabb, breeder of Red Angus cattle in Texas, who has

1. James L. McNabb, Star-Mac Ranch, Box 526, Edgewood, Texas 75117.
researched the American history of the line of McNabbs shown herein, and provided information to me. It is hoped that he, or some other interested McNabb, may some day correct and expand this story.

Although it requires a lengthy diversion, it seems quite worthwhile to discuss the history of the McNabbs in Scotland — which I have placed as a Prelude to the story in America, and which you may skip if you wish. I have not researched just what family branch of the McNabb clan William (b. 1702) came from, but because of the many family interrelationships it probably does not matter much. His heritage, and that of the McNabbs in America, will be better appreciated, I think, by knowing the history of the McNabb clan as a part of Scotland's history. (The story of this McNabb line in America begins on p. 95.)

Part I — PRELUDE

THE McNABBBS IN SCOTLAND, TO 1746

In Brief:

The McNabb clan history, like the history of Scotland, is an interesting one, but by no means a happy one. The Highlanders of Scotland (distinct from the low-landers) were Celts (pronounced Kelts), speaking Gaelic, who came from northern Ireland starting about 250 A.D. In the mountainous region they separated into clans (meaning families), each jealous of its own territory and livelihood. Often quarrels arose, and the clans fought each other, viciously. In addition, in the centuries after Scotland first got a king (about 800 A.D.) there was a confusion of struggles from within and from outside Scotland for succession to the throne. In these, clans were often allied on
different sides. Religion was also a factor.

The Macnabs (even in Scotland other spellings are found) were recognized as a separate clan about 1100 A.D. Over the years they became one of the powerful clans of Scotland. But their history, as you will see, had its periods of ascendancy cut short several times by complete loss of charter and lands, with some partial subsequent restorations as political pressures required. In the various struggles the Macnabs were more than once on what may have been the right side but became the losing side. At its height, the Macnab clan occupied a territory about 29 miles long on the western side of Loch Tay, which is in the highlands, north of and about equally distant from Edinburgh and Glasgow. This is the beautiful region called Breadalbane, in modern Perthshire.

About the time William McNabb came to America with his sons the Highlanders were finally completely defeated and reduced to subjugation by the English, as the consequence of the battle of Culloden, 16 April 1746. And beginning at that time the Macnab clan came under two successive chiefs who squandered the Macnab heritage, until finally their lands were ordered sold for debts in 1828. In Scotland's highlands today little remains of the Macnabs except the family of the Chief, who maintains the office of the Clan Macnab Society.

* Note: The booklet, Clan Macnab, a short history, states: "Except where inappropriate, we have used the spelling Macnab with a small "n" which is the normal accepted modern collective spelling. It should, however, be stressed that the name has been spelt in the different variations over the centuries, all of which are equally correct...Those who spell their name with a capital "N" and/or "Mc" should not however allow themselves to be in any way put out... They are in good company for we know that Francis (16th Chief) used to sign his name "Fran: McNab"."
Extended Discussion: THE McNABBS IN SCOTLAND

The following discussion has drawn on the references listed below. The history of the Highlands people and of Scotland is a tangled one, of which the course was not clear to the people of the time nor in our view looking back. I shall try to follow the main thread in time as the Highlanders, and in particular the McNabbs, were involved. The Highlanders became a distinctive and coherent group of people primarily due to their ethnic origin and their residence in the limited region of the highlands over many centuries. This is not to say they were a pure race, though the Scots, who became the Highlanders, were Celts who entered from northern Ireland. It seems likely that these Scots, and those who preceded them in the highlands, absorbed or amalgamated with earlier peoples. Hence it is pertinent as a first step to discuss the history of the region before the Scots came. Also, in a broad view of the history, one is amazed to find, even for an insulated group such as the Scots, how much travel, trade, raiding, and thrusts for invasion and migration there were. The tribes of people were indeed restless in the early days of Europe. In addition, we find that for political reasons the heads of families (clans) and heads of state frequently intermarried with outsiders.

2. Rev. William A. Gillies: In Famed Breadalbane, Clunie Press, Perthshire, 1st ed. 1938, 2nd ed. 1940. Mr. Gillies was minister of the Church of Scotland at Kenmore 1912-1949. His book is the most accurate and complete discussion of the history of the Breadalbane region (where the McNabbs and the Campbells were). The book has a chapter on the Macnabs. The book was long out of print, but now is again available (e.g., at the Bookstore, Killin, Perthshire for £15).
5. Alan Bold: Robert the Bruce,
Pre-history of Scotland.

Going back to the earliest times identified by archaeologists in Scotland we find that middle-stone-age men were there (and in Ireland) about 6500 B.C. The last ice age had ended there about 11,000 B.C., and although the country must have been forbidding, migrant tribes pushed to the limits of the possible world. Stone axes of this period, when man was primarily a hunter rather than a tiller, have been found in the Breadalbane district, the region we are particularly interested in as the later home of the Macnabs. Even at this time, however, there is evidence that men traveled great distances to trade for special stone and for grain.

About 1800 B.C. inhabitants of Scotland learned, probably by the infiltration of tribes from the South or from Europe, how to smelt and work copper alloyed with tin to make bronze. Bronze artifacts, such as axe-heads, spearpoints, gouges and decorative rings are found, mainly in the cairns (heaps of stones) of burial grounds. Also associated with the bronze age are large separated stones arranged in circles; their significance is not known. One of these circles is situated close to the old Kinnell home of the Macnabs near Killin (pronounced Kil-lin'). Also near Killin, in the middle of a field is a single large stone which, according to folklore, marks the burial-place of Fingal, the hero of Celtic folk stories.

10. Madeleine Bingham: Scotland under Mary Stuart, St. Martin's Press, N.Y.
The iron age was brought to Scotland around 500-300 B.C. by the migration of a Celtic tribe from the South, through England into southern Scotland and the highlands. We know some things, but not much, about the Celts. Their original homeland was between the headwaters of the Danube and the Rhine. (Note to Billie: Not far from the Palatinate homeland of your Krous ancestors, who possibly also came from Celtic stock).

In a number of different migrations the Celts spread over parts of Europe. Those bringing iron-age technology to England and Scotland are believed to have come up through Brittany. They had a distinctive Indo-European language, the traces of which can be heard in Wales and Cornwall where these Celts were eventually driven by the Angles. (The Angles were a Teutonic tribe that invaded England about 800 years after the Celts (ca. 500 A.D.). In southern Scotland we know these Celts as the Britons. In the highlands they have become known as the bands of warriors in Celtic folklore who built circular forts and artificial islands in the lakes as secure points. The forts guarded passages through the mountains, for protection against enemies and for security after their raids on more affluent regions, which was a common practice.

The Caledonians.

The Romans encountered these raiding warrior Celts of the Scottish highlands and gave them the name Caledonians. You will recall that the Romans, having conquered Gaul (France) under Julius Caesar, crossed to the British Isles about A.D. 43 under
Emperor Claudius. They quickly subdued the inhabitants (except in Wales) and set up a well-established civilization in their own image. However, they were not satisfied to stop without pressing farther North into what they called Alban (Scotland); also they wanted to rid themselves of the troublesome raids coming from there. In A.D. 80 Agricola, one of the ablest Roman generals, led his army into Alban without much resistance, even penetrating the highlands as far as Loch Tay (the region later of the McNabbs). But in the next two years the Celtic tribal bands agreed to forego their raids against each other and unite against the Romans. In the late summer of A.D. 83, the Caledonians, under a chief Calgacus, met the Roman 9th Legion at Mons Graupius, believed to have been somewhere in the region of Stonehaven (see the map, Fig.2). The Caledonians, with primitive weapons, were no match for the disciplined Romans with metal armour. Though badly defeated, the Caledonians fled into the safety of the mountains where the Romans had the good sense not to follow. Tacitus, the Roman historian who married Agricola's daughter, describes the Caledonians as being red-haired and powerfully built. He puts the following quotable speech into the mouth of Calgacus on the eve of the battle (how he could have known is obscure):

"When I reflect on the causes of war, and the circumstances of our position, I feel a strong persuasion that our united efforta this day will prove the beginning of universal liberty to Britain. For we are undebased by slavery, and there is no land behind us... We, at the furthest limits of both land and liberty, have been defended to this day by the remoteness of our situation and our fame... Those plunderers of the world, after exhausting the land by their devastations, are rifling the ocean, stimulated by avarice, if their enemy be rich — by ambition, if poor — to ravage, to slaughter, to usurp under false titles, they call empire; and where they make a desert they call it peace. Shall not we, untouched and unsubdued, and
"Struggling not for acquisition, but for the security of liberty, show at the very first onset what men Caledonia has reserved for her defence?...Be not terrified with an idle show, and the glitter of silver and gold, which can neither protect, nor wound...March, then, to battle, and think of your ancestors, and think of your posterity".

Agricola was recalled a year later, possibly through jealousy. Thereafter the Romans had constant trouble with the Caledonians and other tribes. About 120 A.D. the northern Britons revolted. The Emperor Hadrian came from Rome, restored order and built a 73-mile fortified wall (Hadrian’s wall - see Fig. 2) to protect the South. Later, about 140 A.D., under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, a second wall was built farther North, across the 36-mile waist between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. These walls were not long effective; raids came at weak points and around the ends (by sea). By 300 A.D. Roman writers mention that Picts had now become a menace in addition to the Caledonians.

Rome withdrew its soldiers from Britain in A.D. 410 due to conspiracies at home and the fact that Britain had become separated from Rome by the conquest of Gaul by the Germanic Saxons. After that, the Caledonians and Picts, joined by Saxons, raided nearly at will over much of Britain. Also, a fourth group joined in — the Scots. They were from the newly established kingdom Dalriada (shown on the map of Fig. 2). They are the most important tribal group of this story since the Macnabs came from them. In their turn we shall discuss them.

A chronicler in Britain, Gildas, wrote about 470 A.D.

"No sooner were the Romans gone than the Picts and Scots, like snakes, which in the heat of mid-day come forth from their holes, hastily land again from their canoes...differing from one another in manners, but inspired with the same avidity for blood, and all the more eager to shroud their villainous faces in bushy hair, than to cover with decent clothing those parts of their bodies which required it. Moreover, having heard of the departure of our friends, and
PENETRATION BY THE ROMANS AND THE SCOTS

Penetration by the Romans up to the end of the 4th century A.D.
Penetration by the Scots from the 4th century A.D. onwards

Forts • Temporary camps = Roads

Fig. 2 — Scotland in Roman Times
(From: Janet R. Glover; The Story of Scotland, Roy Publishers, New York)
"their resolution never to return, they seized with greater boldness than before on all the country to the north, as far as the wall. To oppose them there was placed on the heights a garrison equally slow to fight, and ill-fitted to flee, a useless and panic-stricken body of men, who slumbered away days and nights on their unprofitable watch. The hooked weapons of the enemy were not idle, dragging our wretched contrynmen from the wall, and dashing them on the ground."

The Caledonians are of importance in the Highlands heritage because presumably they were amalgamated into or accepted by the Picts, and later the Scots, who came into their territory.

As for the Romans, although they had an important effect in Britain, their civilizing influence hardly touched Scotland's highlands. The one influence they had was that they brought Christianity which began to penetrate Scotland about 400 A.D. They did not willingly bring Christianity, at least not in the early days of Roman occupation of Britain. It came sub-rosa with converted legionnaires, camp followers and Roman civilians. About 400 A.D., St. Ninian, who had visited Rome (where Christianity was now accepted) and later had studied at Tours, in Gaul, returned to Britain where he set up a monastery, trained missionaries and sent them north into the southern highlands of Alban. There they made converts among the Picts who by this time were dominant in that region.

We must now consider the Picts since, like the Caledonians, they occupied the territory later to become the homeland of the Macnabs. And like the earlier inhabitants, the Picts too were evidently amalgamated in part with the later Scot invaders, just as the Caledonians merged into the Picts.
The Picts.

The origin of the Picts is by no means well fixed. Main opinion is that they were another branch of the Celtic race who came into Scotland from the northern islands and spread southward. They occupied the regions east of the Druimalban (Gaelic: "The backbone of Alban" — see Fig. 3). The name given them came from their distinctive elaborate stone carvings and their decoration of their skins and their costumes. By 200 A.D. (perhaps four centuries after first entering Scotland) they were well established and organized under a king. One of their peculiar customs (which helped to lead to their downfall) was that the line of descent for their king and chiefs was through relationship on the female side of the house rather than the male. Thus, if a daughter should marry an outsider, a foreign disturbing influence could come into the rule of the tribe. And it often did, so that the ruling family became less Pictish than their people.

By 400 A.D. the Picts had become the dominant tribe in all the area east of the Druimalban (see Fig. 3). They were a people who could be piratical on the sea and warlike on land. But in essence they were little different, except in language and customs, from the other tribes who migrated into the Scottish highlands. By 700 A.D. Pictland (or Pictavia) was at its crest — a single strong kingdom occupying all of Scotland east of the Druimalban and pressing into northern Britain, while also dominating the Scots in Dalriada.

However, as early as about 250 A.D. the Pictish kingdom had begun to feel pressure from a new group that had come into Alban on the western side of the Druimalban — the Scots, who set up
Fig. 3 - The Regions of the Picts and of the Early Scots (Dalriada).
the kingdom of Dalriada in Ireland and then expanded it to
the region roughly of Argyllshire in Scotland and the islands
between. From 250 to about 800 A.D. there was continuing strife
between Dalriada and the Pictish kingdom.

The Scots.

The origin of the Scots as a people is hard to trace
accurately. Most of the historians who have studied their
physical appearance, their language and their artifacts, think
that they are a tribe of a Celtic race, originally coming from that
general area of south-eastern Europe between the Danube and the
upper Rhine rivers. They are believed to have come into Ireland
around 1100 B.C., about 600 years earlier than a second migration
of Celts into England (who became the Britons, and possibly —
after mixing with the earlier inhabitants of Scotland — the
Caledonians). The two groups of Celts spoke differing variants
of the Celtic or Gaelic language (P and Q Gaelic) though of the
same Indo-European type. They brought the iron age to Ireland
with them, as the later migration did to lower Scotland.

In Ireland the Celts welded with or assimilated the earlier
bronze-age people who had done similarly with the preceding
late-stone-age people, the first inhabitants after the ice age.
From this mixing came the blend of Irish peoples with various
differences and distinctive characteristics, and with many folk tales and mystical beliefs (as in "the little people").

By 200 A.D., the time of interest to this story concerning the Scottish highlands, Ireland had a fairly stable organization of a number of differing tribes. There were perhaps 80 to 100 different tribal "kingdoms", each with a chief, called a king, who with the elders ruled the kingdom. There was a High King who was looked up to and who exercised control, to the extent possible, over the tribal kings of the various areas. Notice that Ireland, unlike England and indeed Scotland (except the highlands), was never invaded by the Romans, although the Romans considered invasion (82 A.D., under the general Agricola). However, because of proximity and the amount of sea travel, the Romans were acquainted with Ireland (which they called Hibernia) and with a tribe in northern Ireland which they called Scotti, living in Scotia, which in the native Ireland was called the kingdom of Dalriada (or the Scotti were a tribe that later became dominant in Dalriada).

The king of Dalriada and his people had, by about A.D. 250, extended their rule off the shores of Ireland into the islands between them and Alban (Scotland), and into the general area of Argyllshire. See the map, Fig. 3. They were still a small kingdom, and limited to a region west of the Druimalban, but the large Pictish kingdom was sensitive to their contact. From that time on for nearly 600 years (until about 840 A.D.) there was a series of struggles between the two, generally with
the victor being Pictland. The Dalriadan foothold in Alban was strengthened in 498 when Fergus Mac Erc and his brothers Angus and Loarn led a fresh invasion and established regions in which each was dominant (leading to the origin of later clans, or families). Interestingly, the Macnabs, in a speculative or imaginative genealogy, trace their ancestry back to the king Fergus MacErc (see the "Clan Macnab, a Short History") as does the present Queen of England. (At least, some of their genes have come as an inheritance from that group of Scots.)

However, in 560 the Pict king Brude Mac Mailchon crushed the Scots in battle, and as a consequence he denied their leader of the right to be called king. In order to understand the resolution to this setback we must consider the coming of Christianity to Alban.

**Christianity comes to Dalriada.**

The coming of Christianity to Ireland,—and — for this story — to the Scots of Dalriada, played an important part in their later history. Christianity had infiltrated the Romans who had invaded Britain in A.D. 43 and ruled it for nearly 400 years. From the contacts of the Romans with Ireland Christianity surely would have come, but probably not with the impact that St. Patrick's mission had.

We have all heard the stories about St. Patrick, but his

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history is less well known, and indeed part of it is obscure. His father was a local official for the Roman government, either in Dumbarton, on the Clyde river northwest of Glasgow, Scotland, or else farther South along the west coast of England or south Wales. When Patrick was sixteen he was captured in one of the raiding expeditions of Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of one of the north Ireland kingdoms. The king took him to Ireland where he was forced to work as a swineherd. After six years (in A.D. 395) he escaped on a ship that carried him to Gaul. There he sought religious training and finally came back to Britain. However, he had memories of the poor condition of the Irish people and felt a deep calling to bring the Christian word to them. He got permission from the Pope to go to Ireland as a missionary bishop. This was in A.D. 432, 37 years after his escape, and the year when St. Ninian is believed to have died in southern Scotland.

At first, in southern Ireland, his reception was not enthusiastic. He then traveled to north Ireland where he converted some of the royal families and inspired a missionary zeal that pervaded many members of the royal families, of whom Columba, a member of the royal line in Dalriada, was one.

(After his success in the North, Patrick soon converted all of Ireland and established the strong Catholic faith which the English were never able later to eradicate, except in the northern Ulster province by the "plantation" of protestant English and Scots.)
St. Columba.

To return to our story: Columba founded several churches in northern Ireland, but on one occasion, in his Christian ardor, he reportedly copied a manuscript brought by another monk. A bitter dispute, that became public, resulted and Columba departed, or was exiled, to over-the-sea Dalriada. Thus in A.D. 563 he came to Argyllshire; his presence and activities thereafter resulted in raising the spirits of the Scots after the defeat three years earlier by Brude. He set up his center on the island of Iona, off the coast (see the maps), but he and his missionaries traveled widely. In the year of his arrival he met with Brude of the Picts near Inverness, at the eastern end of that great geologic rift across Scotland called the Great Glen (which we Americans associate with Loch Ness and its monster). He got permission from Brude to send missionaries among the Picts, and in the years that followed many were converted and churches were built. Thus St. Columba had an important effect, not only among his own people, but in bringing more peaceful interrelations between the Scots and the Picts. Indeed, by persuasion he got the Scots to set up a new king whom King Brude of the Picts would recognize as king of the Scots.

Between the 4th and 7th centuries the Scots, Picts, Britons and Angles (the four peoples who made up the eventual Scotland) were all converted to Christianity. This missionary work was largely that of Celtic monks who went among the natives, teaching them and bringing them a more uniform religion, still somewhat
mystical and miracle-believing, but based on principles and belief in a higher destiny of man than the natural druidic and magical types of belief the natives had had.

The Celtic Church.

Thus, under the conditions of the times, the Celtic church centered on numerous monasteries or abbeys, which were centers for spiritual services in the nearby region and for instruction and support of missionaries. These activities were carried out by the consecrated monks, while "scologs" (a Gaelic term for farm servants) lived with them and worked the abbey lands. This monastic community formed one family which was secure from the greed and violence of the age. These monasteries and abbeys did not seek to build up a rich or formalized church with a strong central organization.

The church which evolved did not remain in direct contact with Rome, and in time its customs deviated, often varying from one region to another as conditions indicated. When they came into contact with the British church, the latter were shocked to find that the Celtic church erred, by their lights, in things such as the ritual of baptism, the celebration of mass and the date for Easter. Accordingly, in 664 the Synod of Whitby was called and strict uniformity to the Roman Catholic church decreed. This was a blow to the Celtic church, severely modifying and restricting the operations and instruction of local churches among the natives. It caused disagreement and dissension within the Celtic church, but eventually they acquiesced in principle. However, then came the raids by the Norsemen which focused strongly on centers such as the monasteries, one of the first, in 795, being on
the monastery set up by Columba on the island of Iona. Under the repeated ravagings of their centers the Celtic church again was out of contact with Roman authority, and it was not until the 12th or 13th century that finally the organization and doctrines of the Roman church were fully implemented. And then it became a church like that which had evolved from Rome, full of abuses that led to the Scottish reformation, starting in 1527 and climaxing under John Knox, in 1560.

The early Celtic church in Breadalbane.

Some time before 700 A.D., Fillan, one of the missionaries who followed St. Columba (who died in 597), crossed the Druimalban into the present Perthshire region called Breadalbane, where he set up a monastery and taught and worked until he died in 703. St. Fillan reportedly was the brother of Feradach, king of Dalriada. He was allocated, for his ministry, that region of Breadalbane from the western end of Loch Tay to include the whole basin draining into the lake. This is exactly the region the clan Macnab later occupied, and their origin fairly clearly is from the family to which St. Fillan belonged. St. Fillan became well known for his spiritual work and was remembered long after for his relics, which were supposed to convey spiritual guidance and protection (see later).

Breadalbane is a name derived from the Gaelic Braghaid-Alban, meaning the Upland of Alban, east of the Druimalban, the backbone of Alban. (See the maps, Figs. 4 and 5.) Of Breadalbane, the Reverend Mr. Gillies, says it is 2, p.xvi.

"that incomparably beautiful region in the very heart of Scotland, extending from the junction of the river Lyon
Fig. 5 — Region of the Lower Highlands of Scotland, showing Perthshire, including Loch Tay and Braedalbane.
with the Tay to the water-shed at Carndroma, west of Tyndrum. It includes the whole basin of the upper Tay with the noble loch (Loch Tay), as well as the two great streams that feed it, the gentle Lochay and the wild, turbulent Dochart. As Perthshire is the fairest portion of Britain, so Breadalbane is the grandest part of Perthshire."

For at least 700 years (possibly 1000, counting vaguely known ancestors) the Macnabs occupied the western portion of Breadalbane and sometimes extended westward into Argyllshire. William McNabb, who emigrated to America, reportedly was born in the glen of the Dochart river (i.e., Glemdochart) in 1702.

As Sir Walter Scott said, Breadalbane is a region where "Beauty lies in the lap of Terror." We shall learn of some of that terror in the history that follows.

The Norse Raids and Invasions.

For two hundred years after St. Columba there was intermittent struggle between the Scots and the Picts. For instance, from 736 to 760 a "sanguinary tyrant" who had seized the Pictish throne struck the Scots so severely that Dalriada was virtually annexed to Pictland for a while, until it recovered after his death.

But, soon after, the Norsemen came (Scandinavians, also called Vikings or Danes). They wintered in Norway and in the summers came in their long boats to raid the islands of Scotland and the coasts of Scotland, Ireland and England. These raids and sackings began about 790; the last one was about 200 years later.

Also the Norsemen established settlements, particularly north of the Great Glen and in the Scottish islands. They became essentially small kingdoms, the last of which was not integrated into Scotland until 1263, and indeed Orkney and Shetland not until 1469.
Dalriada and Pictland united.

The Norse attacks led to the downfall of the Pictish kingdom. The Chronicle of Huntingdon\(^7\), p. 146 records that after "Danish pirates had occupied the shores and with the greatest slaughter had destroyed the Picts who defended the land, Kenneth MacAlpin passed over into and turned his arms against the remaining territory of the Picts and after slaying many, drove the rest to flight. And so he was the first of the Scots to obtain the monarchy of the whole of Albania, which is now called Scotia."

In this manner Kenneth MacAlpin asserted and enforced his claim to the Pictish throne. His legitimacy was that his mother was a Pictish princess who had married his father, king of the Scots, and of course the Picts figured a possible right to the succession through relationship on the female side. It was not only a custom, but a principle (to avoid inbreeding) that Pictish ladies sought husbands (sometimes more than one) from outside their tribe.

It is said \(^7\), p. 77 that the Pictish lady Argentocoxa explained to the Roman empress Julia in the third century A.D.: "We satisfy the necessities of nature in a more commendable manner than you Romans, for whereas you seek secrecy to prostitute yourselves to the vilest of men, we appear in the face of the world enjoying the society of the best."

Kenneth was crowned in 841 as King of Alban, a title that later he changed to King of the Scots. Pictland now disappears from history. Actually, the kingdom Kenneth had gained extended only from the Firth of Forth to the Great Glen, above which the Norse had settled. Kenneth was crowned at Scone, the sacred center
of the Picts, on a throne placed over the Stone of Destiny. This stone was brought to Scotland by Fergus in 498 and was supposed to guarantee the succession of Scottish kings. (According to legend, it was the stone on which Jacob rested his head when he dreamed of angels.)

As we shall see later, the Norse attacks led not only to the downfall of the Picts, but also led to the downfall of Scotland as a sovereign state. It happened in this way: The English kings based a claim on the throne of Scotland because in the tenth century the king of the Scots had made a pact with the English king for their mutual defense against the Norse ravages. Since the English had greater forces the king of the Scots in the pact acknowledged the English king as "father and lord". This had a different meaning to the two parties. The Scots were not unwilling to recognize a higher chief, but to then it did not imply his taking possession of their country. Even their own king did not — his title was king of the Scots, not king of Scotland (until later). However, in 1296, using this claim as a basis, king Edward I of England had himself crowned in Scotland as their king, and he carted off the Stone of Destiny to Westminster Abbey, where it has been ever since, used to crown the kings of England and Scotland. He then tried to conquer the Scots, who, unlike the British, had never had to submit to their king conquering them. There resulted the war of Independence, followed by 300 years of nearly continual strife with England, who became the "Auld Enemy", before Scotland was finally integrated with England under a single king.

One can readily believe that the Scots and the English kings would have fought without the pretext of the pact against the Norsemen, and that eventually the same result would have occurred.
Fig. 6 - The Stone of Destiny (taken from Scone, Scotland, by Edward I in 1296 and removed to England) under the seat of the Coronation chair in Westminster Abbey. (from Ref. 5)
Or, just possibly, with all the trade and traffic between England and Scotland, the union might have resulted more peacefully.

In retrospect, one may think that much of the trouble incurred by Scotland from outside after the end of the Norse attacks resulted from problems in the Scottish royal succession and from the actions of their kings. It has been pointed out that there were many protracted periods when the Scottish monarch was under age. And, of course, Edward I of England took the Scottish throne in a period of lack of agreement between two eligible contenders, Robert Bruce and John Balliol, when the new infant Scottish queen, the "Maid of Norway" died at age 3. (more later as to the consequences to the Macnabs.) After the resulting War for Independence from Edward, the Scot kings leaned heavily on alliances with France against England (as the Irish kings and lords did in alliances with Spain). Thus, actions of the Scottish kings were in large part responsible for the downfall of Scotland. Also, besides the entangling alliances, the royal family intermarried with outsiders and sent their heirs abroad for training, resulting in further problems for the people from their monarchial line.

Origin of the Clan Macnab.

As the booklet "Clan Macnab, a short history" points out, the older genealogy of the Macnabs as to exact ancestors is quite uncertain. However, it notes that Kenneth MacAlpin is of interest to the Macnabs because, "according to tradition", their original ancestor was the younger son of King Kenneth MacAlpin. This son
was Abbot of Glendochart and Strathearn. (You Macnabs may have Pictish blood coursing your arteries, or have at least a few Pictish genes.) The Macnabs consequently are members of the Siol-an-Alpine, called Clan Alpine, together with the MacKinnons, the Grants, the MacQuarries and the MacAulays. Notice, however, "it is held" (p.49, ibid) that Aboaruadh (the Red Abbot), nephew of St. Fillan, is the father of Clan Macnab. (He was a little earlier than the son of Kenneth, and the two ancestries may not be inconsistent.) One can be fairly sure, though, from all the intermarriages that logically had to occur in this localized group of Scots over a period of more than a thousand years, that the Macnab family relationships date back to the old Fergus/who left Ireland in 498. The older historical records of the Macnabs were destroyed (see later); hence as to the reasonable facts we have to use scraps of recorded information, plus some extrapolation. The name Macnab is first found in existing historical records in a chartulary of 1124 A.D. The name Macnab comes from the Gaelic "Mac an aba", which means "son of the abbot" (Mac means "son of"). Clan Macnab then means "the family of the son of the abbot". In those days there were lay abbots who worked with the clerical abbots (and in the Celtic church even the latter sometimes married). As Gillies explains: 2, p.62

"The monastery founded by St. Fillan in Glendochart was a centre from which Christian teaching and civilizing influences were spread throughout Western Breadalbane.....In the course of time the Monastery of Strathfillan ["Strath": a flat, wide river valley, or its bottom land] became endowed with the revenue of lands in the district. These lands were vested in the abbot for the time being, but in the course of centuries the office of abbot became secularized, and was hereditary in a powerful family. Thus it is that during the reign of William the Lyon (1165-1174) we find the Abbot of Glendochart
appearing with the Earl of Atholl and other Scottish magnates in a list of persons appointed to administer a law made for the recovery of stolen cattle."

Thus the origin of Clan Macnab as an entity in recorded history. Gillies goes on to say, 2, p. 62 regarding the monastery set up by St. Fillan: "When, however, the larger and better portions of the endowments of the monastery were alienated, the institution declined in importance and influence." Gillies does not explain the word "alienated". However, from his and other implicit remarks (not necessarily about the Macnabs) it would appear that the lay abbot might be vested by a higher authority or by the king with the right to the land provided he supported the monastery. Whatever the case, the original Macnab holdings were near the monastery of Strathfillan, from whence they spread westward to some extent into Argyllshire, but principally eastward down the Dochart river until they reached Loch Tay. There the Macnabs built a castle, Eilean Ran, on an island on the north bank of the river Lochay. This was a location of considerable importance; since there were no roads, commerce and travel followed Loch Tay, which is some twenty miles long. This lake, from ancient days had perhaps the best salmon fishing in Scotland, and the region around it was noted for deer-stalking. The Macnab country west of Loch Tay is shown in Fig. 7. The place names indicate the location of various Macnab families which belonged to the clan.

In addition to the basic Macnab family, there were three recognized "septs", or branches of the original family. As given in Ref. 12 (pp. 335-6), these are:

(1) Abbot, Abbotson (an Anglicized spelling of Macnab)

(2) Dewar, Macandeoir. The Mac-an-deoirs or Dewars of Glendochart
had a royal charter as the hereditary custodians of the relics of St. Fillan, and for this office were given hereditary tax-free charters to "crofts" (small enclosed field holdings) as shown on the map. ("Deoir" means custodian or guardian.) The principal relics (presumed to hold miraculous power) were: (a) the Quigrich, which was a staff, or crozier, and which the Macnabs carried before them in battle (see Fig. 8); (b) the Bernane, St. Fillan's bell; (c) the Fergy, believed to have been a portable shrine; (d) the Mayne, which apparently was the left arm-bone of St. Fillan (in a casket), said by mystical legend to have given off light by which St. Fillan could write in the dark; either this\textsuperscript{2}, p. 78 or the quigrich\textsuperscript{12}, p. 335 was the relic that inspired Robert the Bruce before the battle of Bannockburn (1314); (e) the Meser, of which the identity now is unknown, but it may have been the document St. Fillan wrote by the light of his arm. Nowadays we know the Dewar family not as guardians of these relics — the known ones are in museums — but as the makers of Dewar's Scotch whisky.

(3) Gilfillan, "servant of St. Fillan".

Ref. 12 quotes D. Mitchell's History of the Highlands as follows:

"The Macnabs should probably be recognized as the lay abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name Gillefhaolain or the servant of St. Fillan, a fact which shows their association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighbouring Earls of Atholl and Menteath."

Then, in Ref. 12, is appended the note, presumably approved by the Lord Lyon: "He was, of course, not a "lay" abbot, but a hereditary tribal abbot."

\textsuperscript{12} Frank Adam: Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, revised by Sir Thomas Innes, Lord Lyon King of Arms (1965) (The Lord Lyon is vested with the authority to determine matters concerning the peerage.)
Fig. 7 - Macnab Country. Map showing locations of different Macnab families at various times after about 1450. (from Ref. 3).

The railroads and roads shown are to indicate modern access to the Breadalbane region. Roads were first built in the region after 1715.

"Ben" means mountain.

"Dewar Quigrich's Croft", etc. are explained on p. 31.
Fig. 8 - The Quigrich — the crozier, or staff, of St. Fillan (presumably this is only the head, or crook, of the staff). Quigrich is from the Gaelic word Coigreach, meaning stranger or foreigner, a name given it because it was carried to distant places for the recovery of stolen property.

It is now in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh.

(Picture from Ref. 2)
The Clan System.

In principle the clan system had a number of good features for a region such as the highlands where people were geographically separated into small groups that had to be self-sustaining. In operation, however, its good was largely negated by the primitive, warlike nature of the highland people and their chiefs. The vicious attacks of clans on each other, taken advantage of by their rulers, largely led to their history full of sorrow and to their eventual downfall.

Each clan was in reality essentially one family, and this concept was deliberately maintained. There was a chief, whose line was hereditary, and he chose his aids; thus rank and leadership were acknowledged, but there was no sense of different classes, as in other nations. Intermarriage was such that all people of the clan had a blood relation, however distant, to their chief, and to a lesser extent, to their clan members at other locations, though their surnames were different. The chief acquired land through the original settlement of his tribe, or through conquest, purchase or grant; he held this land for his people and allocated portions to them. The chief was responsible for looking after the well-being of his people and for governing and protecting them. In return they accepted his decisions as to whom to fight, and then fought loyally beside him with their primitive weapons. The Highlanders were noted warriors (still are) and were so reckless in battle that they often overwhelmed their opponents by their screaming, ferocious charges. Their principal weapons are shown in Fig. 9. With the shield on their left arm, dirk in their left hand and long broadsword in their right hand,
Fig. 9 — Scottish Highlanders Weapons.
From book: Alan Bold: *Scottish Clans*,
Pride of Britain Books, Pilkington Pictorials, Ltd.,
London.
they were always formidable.

The resources of Scotland, particularly of the highlands, were meager. The people subsisted primarily by raising their small black cattle, and by growing oats and barley (for food and whisky). Because of, or in spite of, their hard lives it was a firm custom to offer hospitality to whoever came to their door, even a known enemy. In a similar spirit, clan chiefs would provide accommodations for a livelihood to "broken" persons of another clan whose chief had been forced to vacate his lands. On the other hand, there was frequent raiding from one clan on another, to steal cattle or other goods, followed of course by reprisals and savage fights. Chiefs often stood behind their clansmen even when they had committed acts he considered wrong.

As the people observed loyalty to their chiefs, so the chiefs did to higher clan relationships -- i.e., coming from a common ancestor, or relationship by marriage. This sort of loyalty made clan chiefs susceptible to maneuverings for involvement in various quarrels, plots and wars. Often they chose a side merely because their enemy was on the other side (particularly true with the Macnabs). Also, there was pride, often a false pride, within the clan as to its position relative to another clan; this pride could be maintained fiercely and to the death if need be.

The highland people were basically inclined to religious sensitivity, but not to being too concerned about strict adherence to church guidance. And the Celtic church, in bringing the Christian word, bent when necessary to accommodate the customs of the people. One interesting such custom was "handfasting", which was a kind of trial marriage, followed when the occasion seemed appropriate.
The name comes from the clasping of hands and making a verbal bond to live together; but if within a year the girl was not pregnant the bond was dissolved. To the chief of a clan it was a possible means of insuring a successor; to the ordinary members of the clan, who had little contact outside a small neighborhood except at fairs, it was a way of finding a mate for a trial period. One of the duties of the Celtic priests was to try to persuade a handfasted couple to get married.

Origin of Feudalism and Anglo-Norman Changes in Scotland.

Feudalism was the antithesis of the clan system, just as the influx of foreign influence, particularly Norman, under Scotland's kings was the disruption of the old Celtic society. They first came into Scotland after about 1050, with the king Malcolm Canmore (Gaelic: "Ceann Mor", translated either as Great Chief or Big Head). His second wife was Margaret, later made a saint, a Hungarian who had lived at the English court, but left after the Norman conquest of 1066. She was the strongest force in starting the feudal changes under Malcolm. Both had been educated in England at the court. They and the later Scottish monarchs consistently brought foreign influence into the life and rule of Scotland. Incidentally, Malcolm (III) Canmore was the son of the king Duncan (of Shakespeare's play) who was slain in 1040 by Macbeth, a Celt, who was ruler of Scotland for 17 years until overthrown by Malcolm Canmore.

Malcolm and Margaret initiated five major reforms into Scotland: the introduction of the feudal system, reform of the Celtic church, the establishment of burghs for commerce and industry, the introduction of the English language in government and clergy, and an effective control of the machinery of government. Malcolm and
his heirs ruled from 1058 to 1286. In those two hundred years
the direction of Scottish life underwent major changes, and the Norman
concept of the state as contrasted to the Celtic was firmly
established. However, the highlands tended to maintain their
old way of life — a factor which brought about an increasing
distinction between the lowlands and the highlands. Under this
line of kings, relations with the English kings were friendly, and
many Norman nobles were given land grants in lower Scotland, and
Scottish nobility had grants in northern England. As for putting
into effect some of the reforms, the Encyclopaedia Britannica on the History of Scotland, says that Malcolm, although amenable
in many ways to his wife's influence, refused to surrender gains
which he and other laymen, the great men of the land, enjoyed from
the secularization of monastic revenues."

It was early in this line of kings that the name Alban was
replaced by Scotland (1018). And, by the end of the line, the Norse
had been finally defeated as Kings of the Isles (1263), leaving
only Orkney and Shetland islands to the Norse. (Those became
part of Scotland in 1468-9 when they were pledged by the king of
Denmark and Norway as dowry of his daughter Margaret on her marriage
to James III of Scotland.

The Feudal versus the Clan System.

Under the feudal system all land was the property of the king.
He then granted "feus" or "fiefs" to his principal lords for large
regions in return for their administering the land and people and

6. Sir Robert Sangster Rait, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of
the University of Glasgow, 1929-1936, "History of Scotland",
Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 20 (1954). (Not in recent editions.)
paying him the proper homage and rents. A lord could then subinfeudate parts of his feu to lesser persons, and so on. On its face this does not appear much different from the clan system, but in reality it was. For under the feudal system, no one (except the king) had a sure hereditary right to his feu (not even the lords). And for the common man, his land was held only at the pleasure of his lord. Thus feudalism gave strong leverage to the nobility.

Further, as feudalism replaced the clan system, the loyalty to the lord or chief began to fail. Men were less willing to fight for their king, unless conscripted, although some of the old highland concept of loyalty to fight for the lord carried over.

Eventually, of course, the feudal concept meant the downfall of the clans as a working system (as contrasted with their romantic position today), because under the pressure of increasing rents the chiefs and lords became merely landlords who sacrificed whatever was necessary (the clansmen) in order to make money.

In what follows we shall see some of the many instances where the warring nature of the Scottish clans led to their downfall. The circumstances which led to their various internal fights form a tangled web hard for us to understand now. And at the time they did not see that they were sacrificing their own heritage and their own country.

**King Edward I of England makes himself King of Scotland.**

The last of Malcolm Canmore's line was a little girl, called the "Maid of Norway" from her mother's side. She was three years old when her father died. Edward I of England thought to unite Scotland with England by having his son marry her. However, at age 7, when she was returning from Norway, she died. Guardians of
the throne were appointed in Scotland. There were two men who, though not of the old direct line, had legitimate claim to the throne -- Robert Bruce (grandfather of the liberator Robert Bruce) and John Balliol, lord of Galloway. Edward I agreed to decide between the two if the Scottish guardians recognized him as their feudal superior and overlord, which they did, as did Balliol and Bruce. (Earlier, in the treaty when he arranged the prospective marriage, Edward had accepted that Scotland was "to remain separate and divided from the kingdom of England." But when he first agreed to arbitrate as to the new king he saw an opportunity and demanded that he come in his capacity as "the superior and lord paramount of the kingdom of Scotland", which the guardians would not accept until it was toned down.)

Edward decided for Balliol as king of Scotland, whom he knew he could control, as indeed he did until Edward declared war against France and demanded military service from his vassal Balliol, who refused. In this circumstance, the pragmatic Bruces supported king Edward against Balliol (exact opposite of the later positions of the two claimants; in a three-way struggle where two always take opposite sides, there is little logic as to how to get the advantage.).

Bruce chose the winning side, since in 1296 Edward invaded Scotland, where he first took the town of Berwick and brutally massacred the citizens. He then without difficulty defeated the Scots and Balliol and had himself crowned king. To insure his throne, Edward had 2000 Scottish nobles affix their seals to a document recognizing him as Lord Paramount (These were the Ragman Rolls, which Malcolm de Glendochart, the Macnab chief, signed; in those days it was not common to use the surname.)
War of Independence.

The first rising to overthrow Edward as Scotland's king came one year after his crowning. It was led by Sir Andrew Murray, heir to one of the greatest baronies of Scotland. He defeated the English at Stirling Bridge by cutting off their retreat. However, he was mortally wounded, and his command passed to William Wallace, a laird's son. Wallace was an excellent guerrilla leader, and after some victories took the title of Guardian of Scotland. But he was lured into open battle and defeated. He resigned and went into hiding until finally he was betrayed, captured and tried in England (1305) for treason (to a king he did not recognize). In order to understand better the savage cruelty of those days, which existed not merely in the atrocities between highland clans, consider English justice: Sir Iain Moncreiffe\textsuperscript{11}, p.79 says that William Wallace "was hanged stark naked in public, cut down choking but still alive, had his private parts cut off and was disembowelled and saw his own entrails burnt in front of him: next his arms and legs were hacked off, and only then was he finally beheaded."

The Action of Robert Bruce.

In the early days of the uprising by Murray and Wallace, the young Robert Bruce was inspired by their action and supported them. But after Wallace's defeat he turned coat and supported Edward, getting a royal pardon.

By this time the original claimants to the throne were replaced by Robert Bruce, grandson of the old Robert Bruce, and by John "Red" Comyn, nephew of Balliol. On 10 February 1306 Comyn agreed to meet Bruce at a church in Dumfries to discuss their respective hopes to find a way to become king. Bruce offered
Comyn all his estates for Comyn's support. Comyn was so emphatic in rejecting this that Bruce, in a fit of anger, drew his dagger and stabbed Comyn, who then was finished off by Bruce's men.

Bruce now had committed an act from which he could not turn back. He was outside the law, his property would be seized, and the Pope excommunicated him. He took the only way out — six weeks later had himself crowned king of Scotland at Scone. Few supported him, he was defeated in battle, his brother Neil was captured, hung, drawn and beheaded, his wife, daughter and sister imprisoned in cells. Bruce fled westward, at one time nearly being captured by the MacDougall clan whose chief's wife was a daughter of the slain Comyn. He hid for a while in the mountains of Breadalbane, where he learned of St. Fillan and the miraculous power of his relics. Finally he got to the west coast where he was helped to escape to an island off the coast of Ireland. There he planned a return to Scotland, which he made in February 1307, and gathered a small force from clan chiefs who hated Edward I more than they disliked what Bruce had done. One of these chiefs was Campbell of Argyll, and his later reward was power which made him the nemesis of the Macnabs.

First downfall of the Macnabs.

Angus, chief of the Macnab clan, was a brother-in-law of the Red Comyn, and naturally he joined Alasdair MacDougall of Lorne in swearing the death of Robert Bruce to avenge Comyn's murder. They surely did not want to be on Edward I's side, but that is where they eventually found themselves.

When Bruce returned to Scotland he waged a careful and skillful
guerrilla campaign. Always outnumbered, he maneuvered relative to the terrain so that his foes could not use their full strength. It was a war against his own countrymen that he fought, and as he defeated them one by one he took vengeance for their opposing him. Slowly he gathered additional forces so that he could fight the English king. In this he was helped by the death in 1307 of Edward I (the "hammer of the Scots") and his succession by his less warlike son, Edward II. Finally, by 1313, Bruce's brother Edward was able to lay siege to the English garrison in Stirling castle. The commandant there agreed to surrender if his garrison was not relieved by midsummer day 1314. Thus Robert Bruce was forced to fight an open battle against the English relief army, which was aided by about 1000 highlanders from the clans dedicated to avenge Comyn (including the Macnabs). This was the battle of Bannockburn, where Bruce cleverly used woods and swampy terrain from the creek to impede English troops and limit their archers; in addition he placed tetrahedral spikes to penetrate the hooves of their cavalry horses. He used his own troops in four closely-packed echelons, with spears. The result was a great victory for him. Edward II had to retreat, abandoning all his army's equipment. But peace, with recognition of Bruce, was not really accepted by the English until 1328. Nor did the Pope reverse his excommunication and accept Bruce as king of the Scots until Bruce was dying, in 1329, despite a plea, the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 from the nobles of Scotland. This declaration states their loyalty to Bruce as their king, and then includes this famous oath:

"For so long as one hundred men remain alive, we shall never under any conditions submit to the domination of the English. It is not for glory or riches or honour
that we fight, but only for liberty, which no good man will consent to lose but with his life."

Bruce had made himself a lasting great national hero.

(Fig. 10 shows a statue of him erected at Bannockburn.) The fate of the Comyns, MacDougalls and Macnabs, however, was an unhappy one, as people had to expect in those times. What happened to the Macnabs is not known in detail, but ²,p.91 "it is said that he punished the Macnabs by depriving them of the greater part of their lands and by burning their houses; but in the reign of Bruce’s son, David II, the Macnabs were reconciled to the Crown, and they remained loyal to the Throne ever after." (Being "loyal to the throne" was sometimes hard to determine, however, if you don’t know who has the right to the throne; the Macnabs still had a number of periods of trouble ahead of them.) In the reconciliation one family of the clan, the Macnabs of Bovain, were selected and given a charter (1336). The earlier Macnab charters and all their family papers had been destroyed by Robert Bruce. (Hence the genealogy prior to 1336 cannot be exactly known; Gilbert of Bovain, grandson of Angus, is listed as the first chief — after 1336.) In subsequent years the Macnabs were granted more charters; thus the clan regained some of its strength.

As for the MacDougalls, ¹³,p.15 their forfeited land was given to Neil Campbell, who had been consistent in his support of Robert Bruce, both before and after his return from Ireland. This was the beginning of the real rise to power of the clan Campbell, which eventually controlled most of Argyll except Kintyre.

After Edward I.
Edward, the "hammer of the Scots" had actually hammered them into a proud, unified nation. But as a consequence they hated England, and for the next 300 years the two often fought (until in 1603 their king, James VI, son of Mary of Scots, became also the king of England, as James I.) During this long period the Scottish kings looked to France for friendship and alliance; in return, France treated Scotland as rather a second-rate ally.

Meanwhile, within Scotland, the tribal groups fought each other for advantage or for reprisal. Also, some of the great clans of north Scotland and the Isles fought with and were subdued by their own king of Scotland, who punished them and stirred trouble amongst them by "letters of fire and sword", conflicting charters, etc.

One consequence of the internal disturbances was that two sheriffs were appointed by James IV to maintain order: the Gordons in the North and the Campbells of Argyll in the South.13,p.15

A grave consequence for Scotland of the friendship for France was the battle of Flodden (1513), almost two hundred years after Bannockburn. The young Henry VIII of England was planning on joining the rest of Europe in a Holy League to crush France. He sent word to James IV, king of Scotland, asking for his neutrality or his support. This request was not illogical since James had married Henry's sister Margaret in 1503 (the Union of the Thistle and the Rose) and there had been fifteen years of peace, of mutual benefit to England and Scotland. James' counselors advised acceding to the request, but James himself thought that if he deserted France he might later be taken advantage of by England. He chose France and called for the Scots to follow him in war, as they did. When he
crossed the border into England, the English had no strong force in the North. But James dallied for more than two weeks, attacking various castles, until the earl of Surrey, acting for Henry VIII, moved up an equal army, but better equipped with archers and cannon. Surrey sent a challenge for a pitched battle, which James accepted (again against advice). After some maneuvering the two armies met. Surrey had moved to cut off any retreat by the Scots, and indeed had put himself in a hazardous position. The battle began at 4 p.m. September 9, 1513, and from the start the Scots were doomed. They fought and died to the last man, including their king. Thus the oath of Arbroath was fulfilled — the sad commentary is that the Scots were the attackers when the English wanted peace, and they were acting as a cat's paw for the King of France (who repaid them the next year by marrying Henry VIII's sister).

The battle of Flodden Field was the greatest disaster ever suffered by Scotland (though Culloden, 233 years later, was the true death knell for the Highlanders). Ten thousand of Scotland's finest men were killed, causing great distress and mourning in the nation. Nearly every prominent family lost one or more of its members. As for the Macnabs, it is believed that Finlay, eldest son and heir of the 8th chief Finlay, was killed at Flodden, along with Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and his brother John Campbell of Lawers. How many others of the Macnab and Campbell clans were killed is not known.

The Early Period of the Reformation in Scotland, 1527-1560.

The early years of the protestant reformation had no immediate effect on the highlands, who for many years held onto their Roman Catholic religion (as modified by custom in their Celtic church).
However, the forces set in motion at the reformation's beginning eventually affected the highlanders, and involved the Macnabs in another misfortune. The principal effects of the early reformation were: (1) the spread of the presbyterian form of faith and church organization, as given by John Knox (based on Calvin's teachings), which brought the Scots into a series of conflicts with the English Episcopal form of protestantism; (2) the correction of abuses of the old church, and the taking over of lands and property formerly held in the name of the church. (Recall that the Macnabs originated as the family of the hereditary abbot who held the church's property in their region; however, due to their displacement after 1314 by Robert the Bruce, they had probably already lost possession of church lands.)

Before the reformation the Scottish church, like that in Rome, had become worldly in its acquisition of wealth, and infused with highly detrimental practices such as the worldly life and ignorance of many priests, and the appointment of unqualified bishops and other church officials by the king or his lords. The reformation initiated in 1517 by Martin Luther in Germany was taken up in England by Henry VIII as a means of opposing France and of divorcing himself of some of his wives. The English church then developed into an Episcopal form, not unlike that of the Roman Catholic church. But this was not the type of reformation that came to Scotland. The first influence in Scotland from the European reformation was the infiltration of translations of the Bible and books which brought the Bible to people. One of the first leaders in Scotland was Patrick Hamilton, a great-grandson of James II of Scotland, and a rich and well-liked young man. He had visited Lutherans and had returned to St. Andrews in 1527. James Beaton, Archbishop of
St. Andrews, arrested him and ordered him to recant. Hamilton would not. As Janet Glover says:

"So they burnt Patrick Hamilton in their fire at St. Andrews. Unfamiliar as yet with the technique of building such fires and hampered by squalls of rain, they took six hours to kill him. His serenity throughout the long torture shattered the complacency of everybody who saw it, hardened as people were to brutality. Somebody offered the Archbishop advice which he should have taken seriously. 'My Lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves. If ye burn them, let them be burned in deep cellars, for the reek of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon.'"

A digression into civil affairs is now necessary. Henry VIII of England still wanted to break the power of the Pope and of France. Hence he wanted James V, son of the James IV killed at Flodden, to marry his daughter (James IV had married Henry's sister) and break his alliance with France. Instead, James married in France. But he suddenly died in December 1542, six days after the birth of his daughter, who was to become Mary Queen of Scots. Her mother, Mary of Guise, became regent, with the trusted adviser Cardinal David Beaton, nephew of the one who had burned Patrick Hamilton. Henry VIII now proposed that the baby princess Mary should marry his son Edward. He attached conditions: the princess to come to England and be brought up in his care; Henry to be recognized as Lord Superior of Scotland; and key fortresses to be handed over to English garrisons.

This proposal was rejected, and there resulted the "Rough Wooing", 1544-1547. Like Edward I 250 years earlier, Henry launched an invasion of Scotland under the Earl of Hertford, who ravaged the lowlands. As T.C. Smout says:
"What this hostility could on occasion mean was shown by the reports of the Earl of Hertford to Heary VIII in 1544 that he had plundered and burnt Edinburgh, Leith and Holyrood, with Newbattle Abbey, Haddington, Burntisland and Dunbar, taking 10,000 cattle and 12,000 sheep: in 1545 he came again and reported sacking seven abbeys (including Dryburgh and Melrose), sixteen castles, five 'market towns' and no less than 243 'villages'. Devastation on this scale was certainly exceptional, but the endemic fighters on the Borders who cared little for royal proclamations of peace and war had long been used to 'putting man woman and child to fire and sword without exception where any resistance shall be made against you,...and extending like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach', as Henry had directed Hertford in 1544.*

The action of Henry VIII drove the Scots closer to France, to the detriment of their reformation, and contributed to the long-standing hatred of England. Mary was sent to France for education, where she remained for 13 years, and at age 16 was married to the Dauphin (son of the king).

Meanwhile, a few protestant leaders were still trying to bring in their faith despite the fact that the regent, Mary of Guise, was a strong catholic. George Wishart, a protestant minister who returned to Scotland to help victims of the plague, was seized by Cardinal David Beaton in 1546 and burned at St. Andrews while the Cardinal watched. As a reaction, some Scots murdered the Cardinal in his castle, then fortified themselves in St. Andrews castle. They were joined by some sympathizers, one of whom was a young priest, John Knox, who two months earlier had met George Wishart. Mary of Guise called for help; the French fleet came, liberated the castle, and the leaders of the insurrectionists, including John Knox, were given the punishment of rowing in the galleys of the French ships. However, these men were set free by the French king in 1549 because he felt Catholicism and his relations with Scotland were secure as a reaction to the Rough Wooing.
The main burghs and church centers of Scotland about this time are shown in Fig. 11.
There now came a period of ten years, culminating in 1560, of unexpected events of great consequence to Scotland and to the changes in their church. John Knox, after release by the French, spent four years in England, then went to Geneva where he met and studied under John Calvin, arriving at the concepts which later guided him.
Meanwhile, in Scotland some of the Scottish lords in 1557 formulated a document which is called the First Covenant of Protestantism in Scotland. This document was then carried around to the various lords in Scotland for signing. How well it penetrated the highlands is not clear.

However, persecution persisted and in 1558, the Archbishop of St. Andrews burned an 82-year-old martyr, Walter Myla, arousing the anger of the Scots. At this same time, Mary Queen of Scots married the Dauphin, heir to the French throne. In this time of trouble and unrest, the protestants called for John Knox to return as their leader, which he did in 1559. He was an uncompromising man and his sermons against the evils in the Catholic church led to rioting and destruction of church property. The question was whether Mary of Guise would crush the near-revolt by use of the army. Then occurred the following sequence of events. First, Henry II of France died from an injury in a tournament, July 1559, making his son Francis II king and Mary queen of France as well as queen of Scots. Since the Catholic church considered Queen Elizabeth of England an illegitimate heir, Mary could also claim the throne of England and Ireland. Elizabeth was faced with a threat, as were the Scottish protestants. In this situation John Knox called for support from the "Auld Enemy" and Elizabeth sent a fleet in January 1560, with whose help the Regent Mary of Guise was forced to sign a treaty by which all French troops were ordered out
Fig. 11 — Centers of Medieval Scotland.
Then in June 1560 Mary of Guise died. Immediately a Scottish Parliament was called by the lords of Scotland. The Pope’s authority in Scotland was abolished, celebration of Mass forbidden, and Knox with five others asked to draw up a definition of the new faith. In a few days work this they did, in the "Confession of Faith", based on the Bible, followed by "The First Book of Discipline". The latter defines the basic Presbyterian concept that the church’s affairs should be ruled by the lay members rather than governed from above by the Pope and bishops. "The First Book of Discipline" also asserted that the wealth of the old church should be used for support of its ministers, for relief of the poor and for education of the children. However, the lords of Scotland were quick to see that they themselves gained control of the old church’s lands, and as John Knox saw, primarily for their own benefit.

What happened next? Just before Christmas 1560 Francis II died suddenly and Mary Queen of Scots was a 19-year-old widow; her position in France was gone. She returned to Scotland to govern it. She had spent nearly all her life in France and was not attuned to the needs and the developments in Scotland. She was not intolerant of the Presbyterian church, but she herself observed the Roman Catholic rites. Tolerance alone was not enough for John Knox. He was inclined to hound her, and called her a whore (she had several mixups with men in her life) and otherwise denounced her rule. Finally, when she married the murderer of her husband, the Scots arose and forced her to abdicate (1567) in favor of her baby, James VI. She escaped to England, seeking refuge, where she was held in a castle by Elizabeth, whose throne she kept on conniving to gain, until Elizabeth reluctantly
agreed to her execution by beheading. Quite naturally, the execution made Mary beloved in the hearts of the Scots, though they could not tolerate her while she lived.

After 1560 one would have thought that the problems of the church were over. But not so. Various attempts were made to introduce into the Church of Scotland some of the forms of the Church of England (Episcopalian, with appointed bishops, and governing from above). There was a continuing antagonism, much of it not rationally based. It persisted even after James VI of Scotland became also James I of England on Elizabeth's death in 1603. This was the union of the crowns, but not of the countries, which continued in their own customs, and trouble between them persisted, though now France had essentially faded from the picture.

**The Situation in Breadalbane, 1400-1600.**

Within a hundred years after the Macnabs had regained their charter (1336) following king Robert Bruce's death they had rebuilt their position and holdings west of Loch Tay. See the map, Fig. 7. The recognized chiefs of the clan were of the Bovain family, but there were two junior branches who possessed land in Glen Dochart in the 1500's — the Macnabs of Acharn and Macnabs of Innishewan. Also Macnab families were located outside the Glen Dochart, e.g. at Barravorich and Barr a Chaistealain.

However, these days of the ascendancy and independence of the clan Macnab were already shadowed by the rise and intrusion of a powerful clan in their midst — the Campbells. Some discussion of the Campbells is necessary since they led to the downfall of the Macnabs. However, the Macnab chiefs of Bovain contributed considerably to their own decline and fall. One inconsistency, in modern eyes, is
that several of the Macnab chiefs married Campbell daughters. (After 1450, some of you Macnabs may have more direct lines of descent from the Campbells than from Macnabs.) Intermarriages between clan chiefs' families in those days, like those between royal families of different countries, were a means of acquiring a foothold for wealth or power, or an opening for intrigue.

There were two principal lines of Campbells (Campbell is from the Gaelic "Cam-beul", meaning Crooked Mouth) — those of Argyll and those of Genorchy and Breadalbane. These two lines originated with sons of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochaw, who had married into the royal Stewart family. (Thereafter the Campbells always kept close ties to the Stewart line of kings — except during the religious Civil War in Scotland in the 1640's.)

The Campbells were insatiable land-grabbers, using various means: land grants from the king (under the feudal system); allocations of land taken from old church; leases ("tacks") from lesser clan chiefs; purchase of lands; and — all too frequently — acquisition by force, with the king's or parliament's permission, of the holdings of other clans (Pity the poor MacGregors!) after inter-clan wars and other insurrections. Their chief aim was to "Conquest, and to keep things conquest."

Sir Duncan Campbell gave to his son Colin the lands of Glenorchy in 1432.\textsuperscript{2} Colin added considerably to his lands from two of his five marriages (In the Celtic Catholic church a nullity of marriage was apparently not too difficult for some persons to obtain.). He obtained lands in Strathfillan (western end of Breadalbane) and leases on other land of the region. Then the king James III in 1473 granted him the title and lands of the Barony of Lawers (on the north
shore of Loch Tay; see the map, Fig. 4). This was land taken from one of those involved in the assassination of James I whom Colin Campbell helped capture. Also, Colin obtained heritable title to the Port of Loch Tay at the eastern end.

Colin's oldest son, Duncan, succeeded him as Laird of Glenorchy (he gave Lawers to his youngest son, John). Duncan continued adding to his holdings and by his death in 1513 (in the battle of Flodden) "he had attained to a position of supreme power and influence in Breadalbane". 2,p.118

Still the Campbell acquisition of lands and dominance was unrelenting. It was especially carried out by Colin, 6th laird of Glenorchy, from 1550 to 1583 (great-grandson of Colin the first laird) and by his son Duncan (7th laird, from 1583 to 1631). These eighty-one years were trying times for the older "native" families of Breadalbane. It was in 1552 that Colin "acquired the superiority of the Macnab lands, and through his influence in church and state (he was a member of the parliament in 1560 when the Protestant doctrines were made official) he was able to convert tacks and leases of lands that he held from the Abbey of Scone, from the Carthusian monastery at Perth, and from the Crown, into secure feu tenures." 2,p.124

The fate of the MacGregor clan (who apparently descended from the same earlier family as the Macnabs 2,p.89) initiated by this Colin Campbell, warrants mention as to his methods. Colin and the MacGregors should have been firm friends since Colin was "fostered" by the MacGregors. This was an old Celt clan custom by which an arrangement might be made that a son of one clan would be sent as a boy to be raised by another clan, finally to return to his own people. The closeness of the ties that would result is expressed in an old Gaelic proverb,
that Fostership is to a hundred degrees as compared to blood relationship at twenty. But Colin wanted the land of the MacGregors after he became laird, and friendship was not allowed by him to enter. He followed the plan of "divide and conquer". As with the Macnabs, he was able in 1550 to buy the allegiance of one of the MacGregor chiefs. But the rest of the clan would not submit to him as their feudal lord, and took vengeance on the one who had. This action started more than a hundred years of bitter struggles in the highlands between the Campbells and MacGregors and the relatives of both. In the course of these the MacGregors were outlawed, a bounty set on their heads, they were hunted like wild beasts, and eventually, by order of the government, their name was taken away. On every opportunity the MacGregors responded, often with heinous crimes, but of course they could not win, since the reprisals by the Campbells were more than a match for those of the MacGregors. Yet, in 1644 in the religious Civil War, there still existed MacGregors, loyal to their chief, who joined Montrose against the Covenanters, who included the Campbells. Not until 1775 was the official curse lifted from the clan MacGregor, at which event 826 clansmen acknowledged themselves as MacGregors.

In 1583 Colin Campbell was succeeded by his son Duncan, called the "Black Laird of Glenorchy". Gillies states?

"In the traditions of the Highlands the name of Donnachadh Dubh a' Churraic, 'Black Duncan of the Cowl', is recalled with feelings of revulsion and horror. Clever, scheming, unscrupulous and cruel, Sir Duncan resorted to the most sinister means to obtain the aggrandisement of his already rich and powerful family."

So vast were the additions he made to the estates already held by the Campbell family that he was sometimes erroneously considered to be its actual founder. Among the additions, he acquired in 1583
the lands of Ewich, Croftindewar, and Craigwokin, in Glendochart, from Donald Dewar (as already mentioned, the Dewars are a sept of the clan Macnab).

In Fig. 12 is shown approximately the relative importance and the regional spheres of influence of the Scottish clans in the 16th century (from Ref. 4). Notice that the MacGregors were still shown in Argyll, before they had been proscribed everywhere.

A genealogy of the Campbells who were lairds of Glenorchy and later earls of Breadalbane is shown in Fig. 13 (from Ref. 2), with a correlated chart showing some of the marriages of Macnab chiefs to Campbell daughters.

The Macnabs, 1400-1638.

From the return of their charter to Bovain in 1336 until in the 1500's life in the Macnab clan went along fairly smoothly, at least for the Highlands. At some time along here the Macnabs built themselves a castle at Eilean Ran (or Ellanryne) on an island on the north bank of the Lochay river just before it empties into Loch Tay (see Fig. 7).

Then, as noted above, about 1500 the Campbells began to penetrate the Breadalbane region, acquiring leases. The 8th Macnab chief, Finlay, married Mariot Campbell and gave her a charter during her life to some of his lands. The 10th chief, Finlay, who was married to Katryne Campbell (daughter of John Campbell, 5th laird of Glenorchy, d. 1550), was ordered in November 1552 to resign all his lands in Glendochart held from the Queen, Mary of Scots, for new assignment to him. Shortly after, still in November 1552, he granted a charter in favor of Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy, of the lands of Bovain, Ardchyle Easter, and Downich, "for a sum of money paid to him in his great and known necessity". Having now
This map of the Highlands and Brae Country of Scotland in the 16th century illustrates the spheres of influence of the clans and their families. On page 24 is a list of the main Scottish clans.

Fig. 12 — Highland Clans in the 16th Century.

Fig. 13—Chiefs' Lines of Macnabs and Campbells, and Some of the Intermarriages. (Data from Refs. 2 and 3)
acquired the feudal title to the lands of the laird of Macnab, Colin Campbell "disponed" these lands back to Finlay in 1559 (i.e., placed them in the hands of Finlay under a feudal arrangement).

Finlay died in 1574 and was succeeded by his brother Alexander Macnab as the 11th chief. Alexander squandered on high living what resources he could gather by successive borrowings from the Campbells, giving them as security rights to more of the Macnab lands. The booklet "Clan Macnab, a short history" says of Alexander, his "extravagances greatly embarrassed the family."

These two brothers, Finlay and Alexander, 10th and 11th chiefs, made a good start on the loss of all the Macnab land heritage to the Campbells of Glenorchy by placing themselves in a situation of near impossible recovery, and of accepting feudal overlordship by the Campbells. The process was completed under the 16th and 17th chiefs (Francis, d. 1816, and his nephew Archibald). Thus all the Macnab families suffered from the Bovain line of chiefs.

The 12th laird of the Macnab clan, son of Alexander (who died after November 1587) was again named Finlay. He married Katherine Campbell, first daughter of Duncan Campbell, 7th laird of Glenorchy (Black Duncan of the Cowl). They had two sons and a daughter before Katherine died. The elder of these sons was John, who came to be called Iain Min (John Min, or Smooth John), some say because he was so hairy, but others say it was in irony (in that he was by no means a smooth character). After Katherine's death, Finlay remarried and had ten more sons. Tradition says that every one of Finlay's twelve sons could drive his dirk through a two-inch board.

In 1587 and again in 1594, under James VI, acts were passed "for dealing with the turbulent clans, of which the Macnabs were mentioned as one." It is not clear what action was taken against
the Macnabs, if any, but the Breadalbane region was indeed particularly turbulent because of the actions and reprisals between the Campbells and the MacGregors.

The next event of significance in the Macnab history is the atrocity they committed on the Neishes, in December 1612. This was strictly an affair between the two families. It seems the Neishes had intercepted a pack train carrying Christmas provisions to the Macnabs. They carried off the provisions to their island home in Loch Earn (see Fig. 4) where they were safe since they had the only boat. However, at the instigation either of Finlay or his second wife, four of the sons, led by Smooth John, carried a boat from their castle at Loch Tay over a two-thousand foot pass, in the snow, down to Loch Earn, where they embarked and surprised the Neishes, who were unprepared for an attack. The Macnabs showed no mercy, killing all except a young boy and girl who hid. They cut off their heads, put at least some of them in a sack which they carried home. On arrival, they rolled out the heads: "Boules for the bairns", said John. (In 1672 an act was passed that all families who had a coat of arms should register it. The Macnabs devised one based on the slaying of the Neishes — with a decapitated head, mounted above a rowboat, and the motto: Timor omnis abesto (All fear be absent). See below.)
One year after the Neish episode Finlay had his brother renounce title to Bovain and Wester Ardnagaul, which Finlay then granted in wadset (mortgage) to Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, grandson of Black Duncan, and later 9th laird of Glenorchy). On the same day the charter of the superiority of the Campbells over the Macnab lands was confirmed.

In 1618, six years after the Neish slaughter, Finlay Macnab of Bovain and the heads of the Macnab families at Innishewan and Acharn were arrested for the illegal carrying of arms, hakbuts and pistols. Possibly a measure had been passed to insure maintenance of the peace by the Macnabs and other highland clans. Finlay was imprisoned at Edinburgh until released on the security of Duncan Campbell (Black Duncan of the Cowl), his former father-in-law.

The Civil War and its consequences.

The Civil War (1642-1646) had a devastating effect on the Breadalbane region. A part of that effect was, first, a near loss of the fortunes of the Campbells, followed by misfortunes for the Macnabs. It is necessary to recount a little of the circumstances that led to this war and how it happened the Macnabs were on the opposite side to the Campbells, to whom by this time they were obligated by their feudal bonds to support, not oppose, with arms.

One must recognize that nearly all the history of Scotland of those days was a tangled web of religious, political and materialistic forces, with the leaders in these three estates seeking personal power and gain. And since there can be only two sides in a war, one may often find himself supporting and fighting in behalf of a third party (here the king) with whom he disagrees.

Both before and after James VI became also king of England
in 1603 there were efforts, sometimes well-intentioned, to introduce into the Scottish Presbyterian church, which had been officially recognized in 1560, some of the documents and rituals of the English Episcopalian church — for instance, the English Book of Common Prayer and the 1611 translation of the Bible by English scholars (the King James version, revered to this day). James was a firm Episcopalian, from his training in early youth, though his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, had been a Catholic. Also, he believed in the Divine Right of Kings, which included his right to appoint bishops.

The Scots, afraid their religious rights gained in 1560 were about to be taken away, hardened their stance in 1581 by the establishment by the General Assembly of their church of the Second Book of Discipline, based on the thinking of Andrew Melville. It was uncompromising against the ritual of Episcopacy and the appointment of bishops (even more so than John Knox had been).

King James then reacted. In 1584 he persuaded the Scottish Parliament to confirm his power to appoint bishops. Also (though James had to rescind it two years later) Parliament forbade all convocations of ministers without the king’s consent. Thus there were continual actions, reactions between James and the Presbyterian church.

After 1603, when James became James I of England, he forbade the General Assembly of the Scottish Presbyterian church to meet, and followed that in 1606 by summoning Melville and seven other ministers to England to discuss some resolution to the problems, but the Scots would not accept his terms. Melville was imprisoned in the Tower of London for three years, then forbidden to return to Scotland. In 1610 James increased the number and power of bishops in Scotland appointed
by the king. In 1618, after he made careful preparations, he called a General Assembly of the Scottish church and got them to accept five articles, of which one was kneeling during communion — for some reason bitterly opposed by the Scots. That was the last meeting until 1638, when events came to a head.

As becomes important later in this story, James also was reacting against the Puritans in England. The Puritans also opposed Episcopacy, but they definitely were not Presbyterians either. (These are the same Pilgrims we know of as early settlers in America.) They believed the individual had the right to interpret Christian doctrine by his own light; they put strong emphasis on preaching and condemned some aspects of the Prayer Book and ritual as bordering on popery. For their beliefs the Puritans were well persecuted by the king and the Anglican church.

Charles believed he should insure uniformity by bringing the Scottish church into line with the Anglican church. Hence he took five steps relative to the Presbyterian church:

1. He planned to take the assets of the Scottish church to use for the support of the clergy in Scotland. (The old church properties had been for nearly 80 years assigned to the gentry, and part of the tithes was being used by laymen.)

2. In 1633 he made his only trip to Scotland, where he had a coronation service with full Anglican rites.

3. He appointed Spottswoode, whom he had made an archbishop of the Episcopal church in Scotland, and who was an antagonist of Melville, as his civil chancellor in Scotland.

4. He planned to abolish the presbyteries, regional meetings of the ministers and lay members of the church, to get rid of those...
democratic elements of the church. (The General Assembly had not been allowed to meet since 1618.)

(5) Seeing that the Presbyterians would not accept the Book of Common Prayer, he appointed a commission, including a number of Scots, to draw up a Revised Prayer Book.

Each of these five actions aroused anger among various groups of the Scots. Their anger culminated in action when the Revised Prayer Book was used for the first time in the church, 28 July 1637. The people threw stools, Bibles, rocks. There followed such strong demonstrations, including actions by the nobles, that Charles sent word the nobles and the people were to submit to the king's will and conform.

In answer, a document called the National Covenant was drawn up at the end of February 1638. Copies were made and carried all around Scotland for signature. It contained in essence what had been agreed to in 1560, but it made a vow to support and to defend the religion which they had established.

Thus arose the Covenanters, and at first they represented a strong national unifying force, under two leaders: James Graham, 5th earl of Montrose, and, in the west, Archibald Campbell, 8th earl of Argyll. Both were Calvinists and firm Presbyterians, but Montrose more tolerant, while Argyll was unyielding and inclined to increase his personal power. For a few years they held together.

Seeking some way out of this serious religious problem facing him in Scotland, Charles approved the calling of a General Assembly of the church in November 1638. Soon it got out of his control, deposed and excommunicated all bishops, rejected the Service book, and appointed a commission to look into abuses. Charles rejected these actions.
It was now evident Charles would use force. Consequently the Covenanters started to build up their forces, obtaining some of the Scots who had taken service in European armies, one of whom was Alexander Leslie, an able soldier who had served under Wallenstein in Germany. In 1639 and 1640 Charles made two efforts to subdue the Covenanters, but was repulsed. These failures forced Charles to call a meeting of the English Parliament, which had not been permitted to meet for eleven years. But Parliament was inclined to air its grievances rather than to support Charles. Still trying to divide his enemies, Charles in 1641 accepted all the actions of the General Assembly of 1638 (not quite the same thing as accepting the National Covenant, as became clear later). You might rationally conclude that Charles' action had resolved his difficulties with the Covenanters, who would no longer oppose him, and that he would face only the English Parliament. If you think so, you don't understand all the scheming, mistrust and intrigue of the time. Charles' action did help split his enemies, but the split was between the two groups of Covenanters. It was too late for Charles to avoid war, both in Scotland and in England, where Parliament got General Cromwell to command their forces opposing the king.

In Scotland, Campbell of Argyll led a group who wanted the acceptance of the Covenant to be mandatory on all persons and the power of the church to be extended into civil and judicial problems. (If the law of God is superior to that of man, then the Church and the Covenant, representing the law of God, should guide or control civil affairs.) This group did not recognize that their aim was of the same nature as that of the Episcopalian king. In addition, Argyll began to talk of displacing the king — perhaps by himself.
The other Covenant leader, Graham of Montrose, was not as uncompromising. He signed a pact with some of his supporters reaffirming his support of the National Covenant — but also his loyalty to the throne.

Consequently, when Civil War broke out in 1642, primarily in England, the Covenanters in Scotland were divided, but not fighting each other. Now consider what was happening in England. At the start of the Civil War there things were not going well for Parliament's forces. They sent a call for help to the Covenanters (i.e., to Campbell of Argyll and General Leslie). The Covenanters under Argyll agreed, provided Parliament would pay their expenses in England. They and Parliament signed a Solemn League and Covenant.

In this treaty, Parliament agreed that there should be "a reformation of religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches, and that popery and prelacy should be extirpated". The Scots interpreted this as meaning the English church would be brought to conform to the Presbyterian; Parliament saw it differently, as seen later.

The Solemn League and Covenant posed the problem to Charles that in England he must fight on two fronts. However, in Scotland Montrose with his followers would not act against their king. They chose loyalty and acceptance of Charles' 1641 action. Montrose started to build up his forces. Thus a Civil War came to Scotland. This where the Macnabs again made a fateful choice, as they had 330 years earlier relative to Robert the Bruce.

As Gillies says, "no doubt both the Macnab chief Finlay and the Campbell chief Colin of Glenorchy approved the National Covenant
in 1638. When the division of the Covenanters came relative to war against the king, the Campbell chief Robert (his brother Colin died in 1640) naturally sided with the Argyll branch of the family. But the Macnabs, under Finlay’s son John Min, joined Montrose when he appeared with his forces in Perthshire in August 1644. This was a dangerous decision since the Macnabs by feudal bond were to support the Campbells of Glenorchy in war. (Also, John Min was married to a Campbell, Mary, daughter of Duncan Campbell, 4th laird of Glenlyon, north of Loch Tay.)

Meanwhile, things were not going well in England for King Charles. The only good news he had was that Montrose in 1644 and 1645 was going from victory to victory in Scotland. But for the Breadalbane region the campaigns of Montrose brought black news. Gillies says:

"In December (1644) Montrose himself with his whole host descended upon Breadalbane like a whirlwind. Balloch, the Isle of Loch Tay, Finlarig, and the Isle of Lochdochart were all attacked. MacDonals, MacGregors, Macnabs, and others were let loose on the countryside. They killed every man found with arms, they burned all the houses, destroyed the corn stacks, and drove away the cattle.... As the Royalist army swept along both sides of the loch towards Argyllshire it left a trail of desolation behind it. Tradition says that on the south side of Loch Tay only one house was left standing, and the reason for its escape was that it was concealed by trees... Sir Robert's garrisons (i.e. Robert Campbell, laird of Glenorchy) were able to hold out, but he and his tenants were reduced to desperate straits."

"John Campbell, fiar of Glenorchy (i.e., heir to his father Robert), was Colonel of the Perthshire Foot Regiment, and along with a large number of Breadalbane men went with the Scottish army to England. Over two hundred of the Laird's men were killed during the English campaigns. Although Sir Robert received the estates free of debt, various circumstances soon involved him in financial difficulties. He had to find equipment for, and pay the expenses of, the men raised for the army from his estates. His rentals were reduced by the disturbed condition of the country at the time. He might possibly have been able to overcome these troubles, but when the Marquis of Montrose and Alexander MacDonald, with their following of lawless Irishmen and Highland clansmen, who had many grievances against the house of Glenorchy, invaded Breadalbane during the autumn
and winter of 1644-45, Sir Robert was brought to the verge of ruin."

He was "compelled to borrow large sums of money with which to procure seed-corn for his tenants. He also gave them grants to aid them with the re-building of their houses."

One may well ask how Montrose could have permitted the devastation of the Breadalbane region when many of his supporters (e.g., the Macnabs and MacGregors) came from that district. The answer is not clear — certainly in those days a commander could exercise little restraint on the savage actions by his troops; also, this was the region of the Campbells who had taken their cousin Argyll's side, and it seemed proper to lay it waste (Remember Sherman in our own Civil War.).

Robert Campbell was not alone in his compassion for the people of Breadalbane. Although John Min Macnab was with Montrose's forces, Gillies says: "There is a tradition in Breadalbane to the effect that, when Finlay Macnab saw the terrible destruction that was being wrought by the wild host that followed Montrose through the district, he intervened on behalf of the poor people who were burnt out of their houses, while their cattle were driven away and they themselves chased to the hills to perish in mid-winter."

From Breadalbane, Montrose proceeded west to Argyllshire. Of his campaigns, Miss Glover says: "The story of his year of victories has become one of Scotland's sagas. He defeated the Covenanters at Tippermuir and captured Perth in autumn 1644. He campaigned in Speyside and caught Argyll unawares at Fyvie. He went to Blair Atholl and thence, in dreadful winter weather, forced his way over the barren mountains westward and attacked the Campbells at Argyll's own stronghold of Inverary, so unexpectedly that Argyll himself only escaped by rising from the dinner table, embarking on his boat and sailing away down Loch Fyrie to the sea. After an appalling winter's march, Montrose defeated Argyll's people once more at Inverlochy and here again their chief left them to their fate and made off by boat. Nobody who has even the slightest knowledge of all this wild country or of winter
conditions in the Highlands, can fail to marvel at Montrose's generalship and at the physical endurance of his troops.

"The Covenanters in Scotland were in despair by 1645 and they sent for English help. But Montrose captured Dundee, won fresh victories at Alford, near Aberdeen, and at Kilsyth, and finally established his hold both on Edinburgh and also on Glasgow. He met his first defeat in September 1645 at Philiphaugh, but he still hoped to redeem the King's fortunes in Scotland, when he heard that Charles had surrendered to the Scottish army at Newark, in England. A condition of this surrender was that Montrose should disband his followers and leave the country. This was in May 1646."

As to the participation of John Min Macnab in the campaigns of Montrose, all we know is, as Gillies says:

"According to the account of the Macnabs in the Douglas Baronage, John Macnab was of great service to Montrose at the battle of Kilsyth, and immediately afterwards he was appointed to garrison Montrose's own castle of Kincardine, which held out against General Leslie until provisions began to fail. John Macnab then managed to get the whole garrison of 300 men clear away; but he himself and one private were captured. John Macnab was sent to Edinburgh, where he was condemned to death. He, however, contrived to escape from prison on the night before the day appointed for his execution."

When Charles I surrendered to the Scottish Covenant army in England in 1646 he nevertheless refused to accept the National Covenant. Consequently the Scottish army turned Charles over ("sold" him, Charles said) to the English Parliament after Parliament had agreed to provide the money for the Scottish army's expenses as it had said it would. The Scottish army then went home, February 1647, where Montrose's forces had been disbanded.

After 1646.

Affairs in Scotland were in limbo just after 1646, with the country trying to recover from the effects of the Civil War. Then in 1649 came the news that Charles I had been executed by the English. Both Montrose, who was abroad, and Argyll were
shocked. Then the Scots (but not the English) sentimentally proclaimed Charles II king, 5 February 1649. Charles II, like his father, sought to play all his options, and negotiated with both Montrose and Argyll for support. Montrose returned to Scotland to try to build up forces to support Charles, but he was betrayed by a Scottish laird, taken to Edinburgh and tried for treason — to the Covenant! He was convicted in June 1649 and hung, drawn, quartered by his own countrymen. In some places where he had caused great misery, such as Breadalbane, his death was cause for joyous celebration. But many Scots have esteemed him as a hero.

Now Charles II had to rely on Argyll, who was all too ready to oblige, despite having fought against Charles I. Charles II came to Scotland in July 1650 and pledged himself to accept the National Covenant (completely falsely, as was to be proved later during the Killing Time).

Three weeks after Charles came to Scotland the English forces under Cromwell crossed the border into Scotland with 5000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, well-trained from their action in England since 1642. Forces were hurriedly gathered to oppose him, but the Scots were defeated at Dunbar, 2 September 1650. Nevertheless, plans for coronation of Charles II in Scotland progressed, and he was crowned at Scone 1 January 1651; Campbell, who was made Marquis of Argyll, placed the crown on his head.

Although Cromwell now held the eastern lowlands of Scotland, it seemed to some of the Scots that an invasion of England could be mounted down the westward side of Scotland. Accordingly, Charles led a Scottish army from Stirling to invade England. They met the English forces at Worcester one year and a day after Dunbar.
Gillies writes:

"Of the twenty thousand men whom Charles led away from Stirling very few ever saw their native land again. Many were slain, six or seven thousand were taken prisoners, some of whom died from starvation and disease, while others were shipped to the plantations, and sold as slaves. Charles himself...managed to escape to the Continent, where he was joined by exiled Royalists."

When Cromwell first entered Scotland he started on a process of actively "pacifying" the Scots, and within about two years he had essentially completed that process — except in the Highlands, where splinter groups of Royalists tried to organize resistance to the English forces. However, Robert Campbell, laird of Glenorchy, and the Campbell Marquis of Argyll held aloof from such actions since they were still trying to recover from the Civil War.

Indirect evidence is that the Macnabs did not as readily submit to Cromwell's jurisdiction as the Campbells did. It had been reported that John Mèn Macnab was killed at Worcester. However, that was not correct, and he was in the Highlands in 1653 when Colonel Daniels, commander of the Commonwealth forces at Perth, having heard of a Royalist rendezvous at Killin to make plans, led a company of soldiers into Breadalbane, where he ran into a force under John Mèn about the first of June 1653. Colonel Lilburne, commander of all Commonwealth forces in Scotland, wrote to Cromwell:

"Last week a partie of horse and foot being sent forth from St. Johnstons (Perth) towards the Highlands, in Athole, to arrest the collector, the Lord MacKnab, one of the great Montrossians, with his whole clan, did rise upon our partie; and coming to them, after some little parley (we having got some of their cattel together) they offered our partie free quarter, if they would lay downe arms and return in peace. But our men, not willing to be so affronted, stood upon their defence; which the Highlanders perceiving, sent a flight of arrows and a volley of shot among them; and ours letting fly again at them, killed MacKnab, the great chieftain of that wicked clan, with four more, and fell upon them and routed them all."
Thus passed John Min Macnab (Smooth John). Two days later Colonel Lilburne wrote to Cromwell again:

"That little baffle which was put upon the Highlanders by Col. Daniells’ partie hath much discouraged them, and was very seasonable to us, there being at that time in those parts divers great Lords and others compploting mischief, who since are discovered to us, and I hope to have some of them by the craigs; yet your Lordship may believe that many of them are in so desperate a condition that they would be glad to lay hold of the least opportunity to disturb us."

This action and others gave the Commonwealth forces complete control of the Breadalbane region by 1654, at which time they took possession of all the Macnab charters and burned the Macnab castle at Eilean Ran, quite likely on an implied suggestion by Campbell of Glenorchy, who was not happy with the Macnab behavior nor their having a castle at the doorstep of the one the Campbells built at Finlarig.

General Monk, commander of Commonwealth forces, sent the following letter on 21 November 1654 to the commanders of the garrisons at Finlarig, Balloch and Weem:

"In regard of the manie insolences and depredations off the Maknabs and their pairtie and uther under ther Comand upon the Laird of Glenorquhay, and his tenents, thes ar therfor to authorize you to be assisting unto the said Laird of Glenorquhay to mak up his said Losses out off the chieffs of the Maknabs estaits, and also quhatt farther Losses they sail sustene; to be Lykwise assisting unto the said Lord Glenorquhay to put the haill Macknabs out off the countrie till such tyme they give good securitie off Low Countrie Gentlemen, that the said Laird Glenorquhay sail be in securitie in tyme coming."

However, these orders were later modified, probably on appeal by John Min’s widow. An order was put out that she was not to be troubled further, nor any who live peaceably at home.

Alexander, eldest son of John Min, succeeded his grandfather Finlay as 13th laird probably about 1660. Since his writs had been
taken, he had to submit a petition to the Scottish Parliament in March 1661 for the laird of Glenorchy to invest him with title to the Macnab lands. After he paid the feu duties from 1656 to 1661, he was granted a charter by the Campbells, except that the land at Eilean Ran was not returned. (Of course, the charter was primarily titular since the lands were heavily mortgaged to the Campbells.)

Cromwell, acting in the name of the English Parliament, ruled Scotland from 1650 to 1660, when the Restoration of Charles II as king of England and Scotland occurred. He is credited with being efficient and just. It is true he maintained order by the presence of force (he had 9 regiments stationed in Scotland at one time). On the other hand, Cromwell made the Highlands so safe that it was said a man could travel them with £500 in his pocket and no more than a switch in his hand. Cromwell and the English Parliament were far-seeing in trying to establish a true union between Scotland and England and an efficient system of justice. However, the Scots were obstinate to arbitrary impositions and came to be strongly opposed to Cromwell's rule, primarily because he wanted the Scottish Parliament to grant religious tolerance to all (except the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic faiths). That was too much for the Scottish Presbyterians. Cromwell was a protestant, a Puritan, but he was no Presbyterian. He found their demands irrational and forbade their General Assembly to meet.

Hence, despite the good Cromwell had done for Scotland (and England), there was rejoicing in both countries at the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Scotland's joy was short-lived.

Although Charles approved, as was to be expected, the execution
of some of those who could be held responsible for his father's execution, the Marquis of Argyll expected favorable treatment for himself since he had been among the first to proclaim Charles II as king and indeed had crowned him. But, to Argyll's surprise, Charles tried him for treason as a leader of the Covenanters, and executed him.

The worst for Scotland, however, was the violence against the Presbyterians by this man who had pledged in 1650 to accept the National Covenant. The violence resulted, it may well be believed, as a result of the cumulative build-up of reactions by the Scots (mainly in the Lowlands) to actions by the king. Charles started the irritation immediately after his Restoration by calling a well-packed meeting of the Scottish Parliament in 1661. It voided all legislation made after 1633, which of course predated the National Covenant of 1638. Things were back to the status quo of appointment of bishops, selection of ministers by the landowner, not the congregation, and that the only official church sacraments (marriage, baptism) were by the Episcopalian church. Some ministers conformed, but many did not and held unauthorized church meetings, "conventicles", in the open fields. Fines, punishments were inflicted, and tension built up until some Scots tried in 1666 to react with force. This attempt was easily defeated, leaders hung and others subjected to torture by the Boot.

Letters of Indulgence were then tried by the king, but few would soften their opposition, and indulgence gave way to stronger suppression. Finally, in 1679, a group of Scots murdered the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and then defeated a small group of the king's forces. The king's retribution was immediate and drastic. He sent his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, with a force
which met the Covenanter at Bothwell Bridge and mowed them down. Twelve hundred were taken prisoner and put into a concentration camp at Edinburgh. About a third finally took an oath of submission to the government. Of the rest, some were executed, many died in prison, and about 250 were condemned to slavery in the West Indies. All of these were drowned when their ship sank in a storm near the Orkney Islands.

After Bothwell Bridge repression activities were stepped up against those who would not accept the conditions of Indulgence offered. The king's actions were so severe that the 1680's, until Charles' death in 1685, were known as the Killing Time, when many Presbyterians went to their deaths.

Charles II was succeeded by his brother, James II (who would be James VII under the old Scottish count). James had become a Roman Catholic, and accordingly he got into controversies with his protestant subjects in England. In late 1688 he gave up the struggle and left England. Parliament called it abdication. However, many persons, both in England and Scotland, felt a loyalty to the established line of kings; they became known as Jacobites (from the Latin Jacobus, for James) and were later to cause trouble in which Scotland inevitably involved itself, to its own misery.

Parliament, not ready to go with another Cromwell, invited Mary, daughter of James II, and her husband, William of Orange, to jointly take the throne. This they did (the Glorious Revolution, 1689), and since they were protestants, the religious picture changed for the better. In Scotland it went back to the status the Scots had sought (except for extreme positions, such as that Presbyterianism should be made mandatory).
But there were always Scots ready to raise an objection and to fight for it. It became clear that some Jacobites were raising forces in the Highlands; hence William and Mary sent a force to subdue them. Instead, this force was ambushed in the narrow gorge of Killiecrankie and nearly annihilated. Soon after, however, the Jacobites were defeated.

William consulted with Highland advisers as to what should be done. He selected John Campbell, laird of Glenorchy, to negotiate with the Highland chiefs not to join the Jacobites. John met with them, offering to split among them £12,000 which the king had authorized. Although the chiefs did not trust Campbell, they were inclined to accept his offer (it was never paid; some thought Campbell took it, but possibly it never left London). Anyhow, the Highland chiefs kept the peace, though there was uneasiness.

Some mention is warranted about John Campbell, 11th laird of Glenorchy, who was later made 1st earl of Breadalbane. As mentioned, during the Civil War his grandfather, Robert, had been driven to the verge of ruin. But John, as a young man, started to recoup their fortunes. He married an heiress in London; they put her £10,000 in gold on a horse and brought it to Breadalbane. Like some of his predecessors, he was avaricious and unrelenting in his scheming to improve his wealth and position. One of his contemporaries said, "He was cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, but as slippery as an eel." Lord Macaulay described him thus: "John, Earl of Breadalbane, ranked high among the petty princes of the mountains.... he affected zeal for monarchy and episcopacy; but in truth he cared for no government and no religion. He seems to have united two different sets of vices, the growth of two different regions, and of two
different stages in the progress of society. In his castle among the hills he had learned the barbarian pride and ferocity of a Highland chief. In the Council Chamber at Edinburgh he had contracted the deep taint of treachery and corruption."

After his talks with the Highland chiefs, John Campbell was for a time in London. William was seeking advice about further security from the Jacobites. It was proposed to him that he should require an oath of allegiance from every chief before 1 January 1692. Some of the chiefs, during the autumn, seemed reluctant to swear, and the question arose as to what should be done. (In a letter back home, John wrote that "All things that ar already determined ar being kept secret. We know as little as you do until they be done.")

As it turned out, MacDonnell of Glengarry and MacIan MacDonald of Glencoe did not swear by 1 January. MacIan, because of absence of a person to receive his oath, then a snowstorm, was delayed in swearing until January 6th. It was decided that Glengarry should be given another chance, but that an example should be made of MacIan MacDonald. (Gillies thinks John Campbell may have been innocent, that the plans were made by Dalrymple, Secretary of State for Scotland, and the Campbell earl of Argyll; however, John was widely suspected of the plans.) Whoever were the planners, Captain Robert Campbell, laird of Glenlyon, was sent with a detachment of soldiers who sought billet from MacIan and remained there for 15 days, Robert having card games with MacIan, until on 12 February the "letter of fire and sword" arrived from King William (the document still exists). "You are hereby ordered to fall on the Rebells, the McDonalds of Glencô, and putt all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a speciall care that the old Fox and his sons doe upon
no account escape your hands...." Early in the morning of February 13th Robert Campbell carried out this order, mercilessly killing the MacDonalds and their clansmen, even children, though a considerable number escaped to the mountains, many to perish from the cold.

This action of course antagonized the Highlanders to William, who claimed he had no recollection of the order. Robert Campbell, whom naturally John denounced, had to leave the country. And John himself was briefly imprisoned at Edinburgh, primarily because of suspicion of complicity in the plan, but legally on a charge of treason for statements he allegedly made to the chiefs in negotiating with them; however, when the king heard of it, John was released. (Incidentally, this Robert Campbell of Glenlyon was the father-in-law in the first marriage of Robert Macnab, 14th laird. Only one son, who died young, resulted from this marriage. Robert then married in 1697 Anna Campbell, daughter of Sir John, 10th laird of Glenorchy. This made Robert Macnab a brother-in-law of John, who became 1st earl of Breadalbane.)

The next event, which is of greater significance to Scotland, was the Act of Union of Scotland and England in 1707. This at last was the complete union sought by Cromwell, and indeed before him by James VI when in 1603, at Elizabeth's death, he became king of England. The Union eliminated trade duties and barriers between the two countries, gave them a joint Parliament (although Scotland got a small representation, and all laws and further changes could be made by a majority vote), and guaranteed a special position of freedom for the Presbyterian church in Scotland (although it was not made an established religion). The Scottish Parliament had finally reluctantly agreed to the Union (John, earl of Breadalbane abstained),
because the country was in dire financial straits as a result of the complete failure of the Darien, Isthmus of Panama, settlement and trade scheme. However, there was still strong sentiment in Scotland against the Union — some of which has continued into the 20th century.

Another provision of the Act of Union, and the reason the English sought the union, was relative to the succession to the throne. Mary died in 1694 and William III in March 1702 (the year William McNabb who came to America was born). William was succeeded by Anne, sister of Mary. See the attached chart, Fig. 14. Anne had given birth to 17 children, but the last died as a child in 1700. Thus the question was who should succeed Anne. The Stewart king who had "abdicated" in 1689, James II, died in September 1701. His son, James Edward (who came to be called the Old Pretender), was a Roman Catholic. The English, now predominantly protestant, wanted a protestant successor for Anne when she should die. So, by the Act of Union they got Scotland to concur in setting the line of succession to the crown on George, Elector of Hanover (in Germany, in the old disintegrating Holy Roman Empire), the great grandson of James VI and I. (In World War I, because of sentiment against Germany, the royal family's name was changed from Hanover to Windsor.)

Anne died in 1714 and George I became king. Meantime, various irritations between Scotland and England had arisen and there was significant Jacobite sentiment in Scotland (and in England). Various intrigues took place, until in 1715 an uprising in Scotland was organized ("The Fifteen") under the Earl of Mar, who was a poor military leader. Although he had the advantage at first, the
The House of Stuart

James I (Stuart) 1603-1625

Elizabeth
m. Frederick V
Elector Palatine

Charles I
1625-1649
m. Henrietta Maria
d. of Henry IV of France

Sophia
m. Ernest
Augustus, Elector
of Hanover

Charles II 1660-1685
m. William II
of Orange

Mary
1689-1702
1689-1694
1702-1714

James II 1685-1688
d. 1701

by Anne Hyde
by Mary of Este

George I 1714-1727
m. Sophia Dorothea
d. of Duke of
Brunswick and Zell

George II 1727-1760
m. Caroline
of Anspach

Sophia Dorothea
m. Frederick
William, Elector
of Brandenburg

Frederick Louis
d. 1751
m. Augusta, d. of
Duke of Saxe Coburg
and Gotha

Frederick II
King of Prussia

Charles Edward
the Young Pretender
1788
d. without issue

Henry
Cardinal
York
d. without issue
1807

James I of Scotland until he succeeded to the English throne at the death of Elizabeth. He was the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who, having been raised in France, changed the spelling of her name from Stewart to Stuart.
English support expected failed to materialize, and the Jacobite action was lost.

In the Fifteen the Macnabs did not go out with the Jacobites — one of the few opportunities to fight that they missed. As to John Campbell, earl of Breadalbane, the story is more complex — he supported both sides. At heart he was an ardent Jacobite, and conspired with them against William III, even before the ambush at Killiecrankie (17 July 1689), though he always showed himself as acting for the king. In 1715 the Jacobites were expecting him to come out with them. By that time John was 80 years old. However, he gave active support to the Jacobites, though as covertly as possible. His kinsmen and clansmen fought alongside the earl of Mar. John was summoned to Edinburgh as a suspected person in support of the revolution, but he sent a doctor's note that he was too ill to come. Nevertheless, he was not too ill to visit the earl of Mar on the eve of the battle of Sheriffmuir (14 November 1715), at which, because the rebels did not win, their cause was lost and the Old Pretender (who did not come to Scotland until December) fled to France in February 1716.

It is an interesting sidelight on the nature of the clans and their chiefs that, as a consequence of the chance coincidence that the Campbells (under the son of Robert of Glenlyon) and the MacDonalds were placed to fight side by side at Sheriffmuir, Glengarry MacDonald spoke of their massacre by Robert. The Campbell son replied that he could not be blamed for that, and all he wanted was the join the MacDonalds against George I. So they made up and fought together, the only force that had success against the Royalists. The MacDonalds came to be friends of the Campbells and indeed to admire John, earl
of Breadalbane. Somehow, John had lost much of his fortune and was in debt to half the value of his estates, so that he was living on a stipend of £500 a year when he died in 1717, not long after the '15.

After the '15 there was unrest in the Highlands. A Disarming Act was passed, that all should turn in their arms, but little was collected besides useless weapons. Raiding and cattle thieving by bands of men became common. John Campbell of Archallder in June 1717 wrote to John, heir to John, 1st earl of Breadalbane, as follows:

"The state of the Highlands will soon be rendered desperat by stealing which is now beginning very fast both south and north, for companies of armed men are seen in the hills ... and take cows and horses in small droves of ten or a dozen. When the night turns longer, and the cows stronger for driving it will be much worse, for a dozen armed men may rob and plunder the whole side of a country, since there is no arms to oppose them, which these loose fellows know very well. The garrisons of regular troops are no ways fitt to curbe them."

A month later he wrote of the steps he had taken to stop the thieving:

"They begin to steal horses, particularly on the sides of the Loch. Those I suspect most are the people of Rannoch and Glenlyon, and some within ourselves. ... I have appointed a watch of 18 men of the loose fellows in the country, John Macnab to command the one half, and Duncan Roy the other. They are to carry arms with the permission of the governor of Finlarig, to be paid every month. ..."

This John Macnab was probably the John who became 15th chief about 1725, son of Robert. The action taken was highly effective in the Breadalbane district; from July 1717 until the next February only one cow was stolen. This watch became known as the "black watch" since it had to function mostly at night. Because of its success the earl of Atholl suggested to Lord Breadalbane in 1719 that it be extended to stamp out raiding in the central highlands.
By 1739 a number of such independent watch companies were organized into the "Highland Regiment", which was given the more familiar name "The Black Watch Regiment" and became known in later history for its fearless courage.

In the period from the '15 to the '45 uprising, there was progress in the life of the Highlands people. In the Breadalbane region, John, son of the 1st earl, devoted much of his effort to paying off the debts of his father, and in promoting the livelihood of the people. In 1739 the lead mines at Tyndrum were started. Also, John Campbell brought wool-workers from England to teach the people how to spin and weave. He introduced flax raising, to make linen, about 1728. Yarn was sold at fairs, whence it went to manufacturers. Nevertheless, despite this relative progress the people made a meager living. Their agriculture especially was primitive, and the population had a rapid period of increase, largely due to the absence of war and a decrease in plague and other diseases. Thus support of the increasing population became a problem of increasing difficulty.

Another element of progress was the building of roads in the Highlands by General Wade after the '15. This was primarily a step to preserve the peace by providing better access in the Highlands.

The situation in the church in the Breadalbane region, and presumably in much of the Highlands, is interesting to note, and quite surprising. Although the Scots (possibly mostly Lowlanders) had fought so bitterly from 1560 to 1689 and sacrificed so many lives for Presbyterianism, that faith appears not to have penetrated strongly into Breadalbane by the time the persecution was over. The Reverend Mr. Gillies, a minister of the Church of Scotland, writes in his
book, of the thirty-year period after the Fifteen:

"The religious and political sympathies of the people also underwent a great change. At the Fifteen the ministers of Kenmore and Killin were Episcopalians and ardent Jacobites; but in 1716 Mr. Alexander Comrie was deposed from Kenmore for refusing to conform to the Revolution Settlement (that ministers must pray explicitly for King George?). ... So strong was the feeling for Prelacy and for the Stewart cause in Breadalbane after the deposition of Mr. Comrie, that five years elapsed before the presbytery (i.e., of the Presbyterian church) could find a minister who would face the opposition of the people; and when at length Mr. John Hamilton of Blair Atholl was settled at Kenmore, in 1723, he encountered many difficulties, and could gather very few of the parishioners to his services. Mr. Hamilton, however, persevered, and by his earnestness and diligence he won the esteem and affection of his people. Before his death, which took place in 1742, the great majority of them had become sound Presbyterians and loyal supporters of the government."

Thus, not only were the people of Breadalbane converted to Presbyterianism, but also to being supporters of King George.

By the time the Forty-Five uprising came, John Campbell, the 2nd earl of Breadalbane, was old, and the affairs of the Campbell family were in the hands of his son John, who became the 3rd earl, and was a strong supporter of the government under King George. John was an exceptionally able man, educated at Oxford (though he could still "talk Irish", i.e. Gaelic, with one of his friends there, a MacDonald.) He served the national government in a number of posts and was a friend of Robert Walpole, who was prime minister from 1721 to 1742. In the '45 uprising, John was active in keeping the people of Breadalbane from joining the Jacobite forces of the "Bonnie Prince Charlie" (Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender", son of James Francis Edward of the '15).

In 1745, Charles landed in Scotland without any force but with the aim of making his father king. He was audacious and charming.
Like Robert Bruce, more than 400 years earlier, as he progressed he gained support. The English had few forces in the North and, after Charles made a triumphal entry into Edinburgh, were easily defeated at Prestonpans (21 September 1745). From that victory, Charles' forces proceeded South through England, until in November he was within 150 miles of London and facing an army six times the size of his. Help from France had not come, and few Englishmen had joined him. His advisers suggested he withdraw, and he followed their advice though he wanted to go on.

His withdrawal continued until finally he was north of Edinburgh, at Inverness. George II, king after 1727, sent his favorite son, the Duke of Cumberland, as head of a force against Bonnie Prince Charlie. At Aberdeen Cumberland stayed for six weeks, making careful preparations. Then on 16 April 1746 he met the Jacobite forces on Drumossie Moor, east of Inverness, near Culloden House. The Scots were in no condition for a fight. The night before they had been on a confused, fruitless forced march to try to surprise the forces of the Duke of Cumberland, eight miles away, who was celebrating his twenty-fifth birthday. They had had only a biscuit each to eat, they were soaked with sleet and fatigued. And with their inferior weapons they were doomed. The Duke of Cumberland had no pity. The wounded were bayonettet, the dead left to rot, and those who crawled or escaped into the brush were hunted down and those found killed. The towns and homes of the region were burned and all the cattle rounded up. The orders were that no soldier would help the people or give them food, though the people were starving while the soldiers feasted on their roast beef. Such is but a poor description of the brutality which earned the name "Butcher" for the Duke of Cumberland. The monument on the
Drumossie Moor is shown in Fig. 15. Bonnie Prince Charlie fled after the battle and escaped through the Highlands and the west coast with help from the Scots, none of whom betrayed him for the immense reward of £30,000 offered.

Where were the Macnabs during the Forty-five? They had not gone out with the Jacobites in the Fifteen, and in the Forty-five they were actively on the side of their king, George II, as was the 3rd earl of Breadalbane. Consequently the Jacobites had few recruits from the Breadalbane area. John Macnab, who succeeded Robert as 15th chief of the clan, served as a major in the Royalist (Hanoverian) forces during the '45. He was captured by Prince Charlie's forces at Prestonpans and confined until the war was over. His younger brother, Archibald, also was with the king's forces as a lieutenant in the Highland Regiment (the Black Watch regiment), and went on to have a long career with the British army, finally being commissioned a major-general. In the list of persons who later were wanted for involvement in the rebellion there were only two Macnab names and neither was from the Glendochart region. Apparently the Macnabs got their fill of supporting the Stewart dynasty after John Min Macnab led many of his clansmen to the disaster at Worcester, supporting Charles I under Montrose, in 1651.

The battle of Culloden was the blow that not only ended Jacobitism, but finally subdued the chiefs and clans of the Highlands. One hundred twenty rebels were executed, more than 1100 exiled and nearly 700 died in jails. Estates of the rebel chiefs were confiscated but returned to the heirs nearly 30 years later. A new Disarming Act was put on that applied alike to rebels and loyalists, and was strictly enforced. Scots were even forbidden to play the bagpipes or to wear clan tartans — a restriction not
THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

WAS FOUGHT ON THIS MOOR
16TH APRIL 1746.

THE GRAVES OF THE
ALLANT HIGHLANDERS
WHO FOUGHT FOR
SCOTLAND & PRINCE CHARLIE
ARE MARKED BY THE NAMES
OF THEIR CLANS.

Fig. 15 — Marker at Culloden, on Drummosie Moor.

From book: Alan Bold: Scottish Clans,
Pride of Britain Books, Pitkin Pictorials Ltd.,
London.
lifted until 1782. Worse, the English did not recognize that the Jacobite cause was now dead, and consequently English soldiers were again stationed on Scottish soil. There were other oppressive measures, which led to a continuance of the hatred for the English and a romanticization of the past of the Highland clans and of the Stewart monarchs.

At just what adversity or what opportunity some of the Macnabs, including William (b.1702) and his four sons, came to America in the 1740's has not yet been determined. It would appear that in the period when William and his sons became men the Macnabs were prospering (relatively), as was the Breadalbane region in general.

Epilogue.

The Macnabs of interest here having left Scotland, it remains only to say a few words about the further fate of Macnabs in Scotland. Their fate was tied to the chiefs that came from the Bovain house.

John, 15th chief, after the '45 became involved in lawsuits against the earl of Breadalbane. These helped him not at all and he finally desisted. When he died in 1778 he was succeeded by his son Francis as 16th chief. Francis was then 44 years old, a confirmed bachelor, but by no means celibate. Whether for pleasure or to improve the breed, he sired some 20 to 32 children. On one occasion he was sued by a woman on an alleged marriage by mutual agreement, but was "assoilized". (Now there is a fine word.) He was a tall, massive man who would pay no attention to the creditors hounding him. "He went on living the life of a feudal lord at Kinnell, waited on by a few faithful retainers, as if he
were the greatest man in the kingdom". His portrait, by Raeburn, is shown in Fig. 16.

In 1816 Francis died and was succeeded by his nephew Archibald as 17th chief. Archibald found all the family lands mortgaged beyond redemption. In 1823 a writ of foreclosure was issued. At this juncture, Archibald went for a walk one morning and disappeared, but resurfaced in Montreal, Canada, where he was treated almost as if he were of royal blood. At his request the government assigned him a grant of 81,000 acres (of timbered, difficult land for farming) on which he might settle families from the Glendochart and west Perthshire region. The word was sent to Scotland and settlers began to arrive, the first group in 1825. Archibald treated the successive groups as if he were their feudal lord. Trouble brewed, until in 1838 the governor-general ordered an inquiry, which found that Alexander had taken the people's titles to their (free) land, forced them to pay rent that was not owed, and had restricted their freedom. He was ordered to make restitution, which destroyed all the resources he had accumulated in Canada. With no welcome either in Canada or Scotland he stayed in Canada until 1853, then returned to Scotland and finally to France where he lived on a small allowance from his wife, who would not go with him on the Canadian adventure. His only child who survived to adulthood was Sarah Anne, who became 18th chief, and died without heirs in 1894. After that there was a question of succession, finally resolved by taking chiefs from the Arthurstone family of Macnabs, from which the present (1983) chief, James Charles Macnab of Macnab, comes.

After the foreclosure of 1823, the Macnab holdings were sold
Fig. 16
"The Macnab"
by Sir Henry Raeburn, 1787
Owned by John Dewar & Sons
(Francis, 16th Chief)
in various parcels, finally completed in 1828 with the 4th earl of Breadalbane acquiring most of the properties, including the Chiefs's home of Kinnell and their burial ground on the island Inchbuie in the Dochart river.

Gillies writes of the Macnabs:

"For nearly a thousand years Glendochart was the home of the famous and once numerous Clan-an-Aba, or Macnabs; yet today there is only one occupier of land bearing that name in the stretch of twenty miles between the head of Loch Tay and Tyndrum...

One cannot but be filled with regret at the failure and almost entire disappearance of the wild warrior clan which for so many centuries dominated Glendochart, and played so prominent a part in Scottish history."

Not only the Macnabs are gone (except the chief's family) but the clansmen too have been driven out -- by sheep. At last, as revenues declined and since tenants no longer had inheritable rights (when feudal law replaced clan custom), landlords did what was necessary to give themselves a secure income. Thus came the "clearances", when the tenants were arbitrarily cleared out to provide sheep runs, a process which occurred in the old Macnab lands as well as throughout the Highlands.

Gillies quotes some of the prophecies relative to Breadalbane by the "Lady of Lawers", a "seer" who was wife of the laird of Lawers (on the north shore of Loch Tay) about 1650. Concerning its future, she foresaw a period where the number of people would greatly increase, and there would be a meal mill on every stream and a plough in the hands of every lad. At a later time, she said, the district would first be riddled, then sifted of its people (the clearances). The Lady of Lawers continued that the jaw of the sheep would drive the plough out of the ground; that many holdings would become one holding; that the home-steads of Lochtayside would
be so far apart that one cock would not be able to hear his neighbor crow.

These predictions were not far from the truth. And, as every cattleman knows, sheep can graze a pasture so closely as to kill the grass. Thus, much of the old farmland in the Highlands has now become covered with "briars, thorns, bracken and birch."
PART II — THE MCNABBS IN AMERICA

Emigration from Scotland.

The history of the Macnab clan in Scotland has been told above. It is a story not unlike that of a number of other highland clans -- feuds between the clans, changing alliances, taking sides in the struggles for succession to the throne, changes in the religious life and consequent factional struggles. All of that plus continuing pressure on the clans because of changes in the laws, increases in taxes and tributes required, as a result of the changes from a clan system to a feudal system. There were periods of growth for the Macnabs -- in land, family and power -- followed by abrupt periods of loss of everything except the loyalty of the clansmen.

I have not learned the exact family branch connection of William McNabb (b. 1702 in Glendochart, the glen through which the river Dochart rushes into Loch Tay) nor why he chose to emigrate to America with his four sons. But one can understand that there were a variety of circumstances that could have led to his choice.

The last misadventure of the Macnabs -- their joining with Montrose in 1644 in the Civil War, with consequent loss of the clan's land titles (restored in 1662, but with destruction of family records and castle) -- was no more than history when William was born. However, the Macnab lands were mortgaged heavily to the Campbells, with no apparent hope of redemption.

1. Much of the information on this McNabb line in America is from James L. McNabb (see earlier reference).

Note: The present write-up is of necessity incomplete. Corrections and additions are solicited. They may be sent to: James F. Miller, 8255 Via Escondida, Whittier, CA 90605.
Nevertheless, it was a time when the Macnabs were on the winning side in the two uprisings after William was born — the Jacobite campaigns of 1715 and 1745. In the '15 the Macnabs stayed home; in the '45 they actively fought for the king. Although consequently they did not suffer the defeat at Culloden, as many other highlanders did, still the regulations issued after that defeat applied to all the Highlanders and effectively broke the clan spirit in Scotland (until its later romantic revival).

Another factor probably influencing William was that only a meager livelihood could be earned from the soil of the Highlands. And quite possibly stories had come from Scots who had emigrated to America from Ireland (the Scotch-Irish) and from those shipped to America as banishment from Scotland. These may have presented an inducement to emigrate.

It has also been pointed out that "many soldiers in Highland Regiments often took their gratuity and leave from the service in the form of land in America pre the Revolution...He might have served in the Black Watch as this is the county regiment. If this is possible then the Black Watch Headquarters and Museum in Perth might be able to help as they hold considerable records there."

Just when in the 1740's William emigrated to America I don't know. Filby and Meyer's list of MacNabb or McNabb ship passengers to America prior to the Revolution does not appear to help. It might have been after the '45, since the first mention of him or his sons in America is in 1747. In America William and his sons naturally associated with and became identified as a part of the so-called Scotch-Irish who preceded them. Indeed, it is possible that William,

* Letter from A.C. McKerracher to Harold L. McNabb.
** Filby and Meyer: Passenger and Immigration Lists, of approximately 500,000 immigrants to the U.S. and Canada in the 17, 18, 19th centuries.
instead of emigrating directly from Scotland to America, was one of the Scots who came to America after settling in Ireland (the Scotch-Irish). They warrant a brief discussion. (Indeed, it is known that some McNabbs who came to America prior to the American Revolution were born in Ulster province, Ireland.)

**The Scotch-Irish.**

The history of Ireland and the occasion for Scots settling there is as tangled a tale as that of Scotland. The Highland Scots, of course, had originally come from northern Ireland (Dalriada, a part of the present Ulster province). Although they became definitely separated from Ireland as time passed, still they were not isolated from contacts because of their proximity and the amount of sea travel in those times.

However, in 1607 (just after James VI of Scotland became also James I of England, and the thrones -- but not the countries -- were united) the following situation arose in Ireland that brought many Scots into Ulster. Recall that as a consequence of the ministry of St. Patrick (5th century) and others, Ireland had become a strongly Catholic country. As time passed they learned to accept British rule and to live with the British who came to Ireland. These were also Catholic, and later the Irish spoke of them in friendly terms as the "old English", and fought alongside them against the English authority after the Protestant reformation. The people of Ireland never accepted protestantism (in contrast to the Scots), and consequently there were nearly continual attempts to oppose the changes prescribed by the English monarch and the English Episcopalian clergy.
However, northern Ireland (Ulster), though Catholic and Celtic, was in general less inclined to oppose the English, and indeed in 1543 the king gave Hugh O’Neill, the primary chief in the area, the title of Earl of Tyrone. The earl and his compatriot chiefs were permitted nearly to run the province without intervention. It became an area of strong Celtic pride and independent sentiment. In other parts of Ireland, during Elizabeth’s reign (which began in 1558) there was required an oath of allegiance, acceptance of English officers and recognition of the English Episcopal church. Against this there was strong reaction, resulting in rebellions which were suppressed without mercy.

But Ulster was not disturbed until the son of O’Donnell (a chief parallel to O’Neill) was taken by the English as a hostage for the loyalty of his father. This act caused O’Donnell and O’Neill to rise in arms. Initial successes in liberating areas of Ireland were followed, however, by a final defeat. O’Neill fled to Spain, whose help had been promised but had come too late. However, O’Neill was pardoned and restored in 1603 by the new king, James I. And a different O’Donnell was created Earl of Tyrconnell. Ulster now was quiet, but in the next few years the earls and chiefs had to submit to increasing impositions by the English, with essential loss of their freedom. In 1607 the earls, with nearly a hundred of their chiefs, abruptly left Ulster and sailed to Spain (the “Flight of the Earls”). Some say they saw the loss of their hereditary rights and no hope for the future; so they gave up and left. But James I said they had been plotting a rebellion.
Consequently he declared all their lands forfeit. He decided that the dwellers on the land should be displaced, and that there should be a "plantation" of protestant settlers from England and Scotland. There were designated three ranks or types of settlers --
(1) undertakers, who would have rule as a lord over a considerable area, and could assign land to tenants who paid rent and stayed under the feudal system at the will of the lord; (2) servitors, mainly Scots, who might take Irish tenants (if so, with an increase of rents to the crown); (3) natives, who were to pay twice as much rent as the undertakers. The natives were assigned to the poorer lands, as tenants at will. The effect of the "Flight of the Earls" and the plantation of Ulster was that the Catholic religion was replaced by protestantism, and the old Celtic Ulster became the most British of the Irish provinces.

In the "plantation" of Ulster many Scotch protestants were solicited by the undertakers to come as tenants. Many of them did, some of them staying for a long time, others for a short time. In the beginning it was the Highland Scots who rushed to Ulster (indeed there were remnants of the old original Scots still in Ulster, primarily in County Antrim). The Highland Scots came probably principally to escape the clan feuds and the oppression by the British at home. However, after a few years the English landlords found them "too wild and unruly", and encouraged their replacement with Lowland Scots. These proved more amenable (though they were more strongly Presbyterian, which caused trouble as time passed), and the plantation of Ulster was considered by the English a great success, which they subsequently used as a pattern for other plantations in Ireland to subdue the natives.
Although the Scots emigrated to Ulster in order to have new opportunities and religious tolerance, they found, from their first entry about 1609, that they were continually subjected to conditions of turmoil, changing attitudes by the kings, religious legal restrictions and persecution of them as Presbyterians rather than Episcopalians, increasing land rents and Church of England tithes. Sometimes their conditions were tolerable, other times intolerable.

**Immigration to America.**

Before 1720 the number of Scotch-Irish in all the English colonies of America was less than a few hundred, although going to America had been considered (just as with the Puritan-type Pilgrims from England who came to America), and even abortively tried in 1636 in a ship from Scotland that had to turn back. But in the 1720's, because of increased rents and three successive poor harvests after 1724, the Scotch-Irish began to emigrate, encouraged by the example of a few who had just preceded them. From Ulster ports emigration began about 1720 and was at a high rate by 1727, with perhaps 15,000 Scotch-Irish landing in America before 1730, about two-thirds of them through Chesapeake Bay and Delaware Bay ports, into Pennsylvania, primarily at Philadelphia. After 1730 their immigration to America dwindled (religious tolerance at home) and between 1740 and 1760 it was only sporadic. The first Scotch-Irish settlers made homes in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and later, in the 1730s and 1740s began moving into

the Cumberland valley. From there a considerable number moved on, as early as 1735, into the long Valley of Virginia. The Scotch-Irish who went to the frontier in the Valley of Virginia are those of interest in this story of the McNabbs, Drydens, Grays, et al. (Notice that the emigration of Scotch-Irish to America was a hundred years earlier than the great migration of Irish to America as a result of the famine from blight of the potato.)

Into the Valley of Virginia.

There is a natural route leading West from the Philadelphia region heading slightly South through the narrow neck of Maryland into the Virginia Valley at the Shenandoah River (Fig. 17). The valley, which is important in American history, warrants a brief description here. As seen in the map (Fig. 18), the total valley lies some 300 miles long in a south-west direction from where the Shenandoah bursts through a water gap into the Potomac. The valley is roughly 30 miles wide, sandwiched between rugged mountain ranges — the Blue Ridge mountains on the East, the Allegheny mountains of the Appalachian system of folded ranges on the West. It was a natural route of migration to the south-west. However, its rivers do not all follow along the valley. At the northern end the Shenandoah river flows north-east through the gentle, open Shenandoah valley, and at the southern end the Holston and Clinch rivers flow south-westerly to join the Tennessee river. However, in between these river systems there are three other large rivers. Just south of the Shenandoah valley lie the headwaters of the James river, and a short distance below, the Roanoke river, both of which flow East
Fig. 17—Emigration Route from Philadelphia to the Valley of Virginia.
(From: John D. Stemmons: Pennsylvania in 1800 (Index to 1800 Pennsylvania Census).
Fig. 18
CONTEMPORARY FRONTIER
SETTLEMENTS
1740-1760
From Kegley: Virginia Frontier
DELAWARES
through gaps in the Blue Ridge mountains. And a little farther south-west are the headwaters of the New River, flowing in the opposite direction (north-west) through the Alleghenies to become the Great Kanawha river, which empties into the Ohio. Thus there are definite regions in the valley.

It is difficult for us nowadays to realize how limited was the penetration of settlements into the interior of America in those early days. A map of America showing the settlements in 1700 is indicative (Fig. 19a, from the Geological Survey’s National Atlas). For comparison, a similar map for 1800 is shown (Fig. 19b); and of course we know the extent in 1900. The 1700 map shows that some exploration westward by the English had occurred — for instance, we know that white men had gone into the Valley of Virginia as early as 1654, when Colonel Abraham Wood apparently went westward through the Blue Ridge mountains at “Wood’s Gap”, near the Virginia-North Carolina border, and found the headwaters of New River. But the northern portion (the Shenandoah river valley) was evidently not entered until 1669 when it was explored and mapped by John Lederer.

However, the French and Spanish were active in explorations elsewhere in America, as shown in Fig. 19a. LaSalle in 1678-79 came down the Mississippi to its mouth. And the Spanish had been actively exploring and establishing settlements in Florida, the Gulf Coast and into the South-West of North America since the early 1500s.

No families came into the Virginia valley with intent to settle until after about 1720 (Scotch-Irish about 1735). From then on

Fig. 19a.—Exploration and Settlement by 1700.

Compiled from information provided by William H. Goetzmann, University of Texas, 1966

Albers Equal Area Projection

Scale 1:15,000,000

SETTLEMENT
- Town, camp, or post
- Fort
- Mission
- Indian village or pueblo
- Urban center, 1700

Extent of settled area, 1700

TRANSPORTATION
- Highway and post road

Fig. 196. — Exploration and Settlement by 1800.
(From the National Atlas of the United States of America, by U.S. Geol. Survey)
the penetration and settling were rapid. Some impetus to entering the valley may have been given by a well-publicized trip of the party of Governor Spottswood of Virginia across the Shenandoah River in 1716. There had, however, been some trappers, traders and explorers traversing and temporarily locating in the Virginia valley since it was a land where game abounded, including buffalos (which were never found East of the Blue Ridge mountains). Indeed, the Virginia valley was nearly ideal for settlement, in that the valley floor had fertile soil, was nearly clear of trees (a "prairie" compared to the mountains), had plenty of water and there was ample game to augment the crops that were raised. Settlement, too, was speeded by the fact that large land grants in the valley had been given by the king, or the colonial governor, to a small number of persons who were eager to offer land for sale at what were bargain prices compared to land in the already settled portions of the colonies. (It is interesting that in America the grantees of these large tracts sold parcels of land to people instead of taking them as tenants who paid rent, as in the European feudal system.)

Fig. 20 from Ref. 18 shows these large land grants (the portion North of the Fairfax line was the fiefdom of Lord Fairfax, more like the European system -- incidentally, he was sympathetic to the colonials).

The character of the migration into the Virginia valley is well shown by the distribution of the non-English white settlers (Scotch-Irish and German) in 1775 (Fig. 21, from Ref. 19). In the heavily shaded portions of the map more than 50 percent of the population was

MAP SHOWING
THE MANOR OF BEVERLEY PATENT
FOR 118,491 ACRES
AND
THE BENJAMIN BORDEN GRANT
FOR 82,100 ACRES
SOUTHWESTERN FRONTIER SETTLEMENTS
1760
IN RELATION TO THE PRESENT COUNTIES
OF
AUGUSTA AND ROCKBRIDGE

Fig. 206 - Beverley Manor and Borden Grant
(from Kegley: Virginia Frontier)
Fig. 21 - Non-English White Settlements, 1775
Dark areas, more than 50% of the population; light areas (hatched),
under 50%.
of the type indicated; in the hatched portions, less than 50 percent. Neither group had slaves. Notice that the Germans were more heavily concentrated in the portion of the Shenandoah valley just South of the Fairfax line, while the Scotch-Irish concentration was farther south-west. In both cases, their convergence in the valley of Virginia, and that the two groups were partially interspersed (but kept largely separate) is what is of interest herein (in Billie McNabb's parental lines).

Came the McNabbs.

Now we must start following the history of the McNabbs, and of their compatriots and neighbors with whom they intermarried, who became Billie McNabb's ancestors on the Scotch-Irish side. The families and their dates are shown in Fig. 22. For sure, some of the dates are only approximate and the chronological order of children in families may be incorrect and members missing — otherwise it is factual and should give a fair chronological picture.

William McNabb (b.1702 in Scotland) is the first in this particular American line. He married Betty Aiken early, but the exact date is not known. They had five children: Baptist, John, Samuel, Betty and James, as shown on the chart. The eldest, Baptist (ancestor of Billie, and of James Lee McNabb of Texas), reportedly was born in Scotland in 1723. (Don't be misled by the name Baptist — they were staunch Presbyterians.) What happened to Betty Aiken we don't know, other than that she died in Scotland. However, William and his five children (or at least the four sons), now approaching adulthood, came to America in the 1740s.

A digression: From the bits of data that lie in the often fragmentary records of the counties it is worth while (and some
Note: Right-hand corner of block indicates estimated date of birth
- indicates firm evidence of birthdate
- indicates reported date
No symbol indicates a guess only

Fig. 22 — Ancestral Line of William Harrison McNabb
day it will be computerized using large memory banks and association techniques) to try to fit together various names, places and time periods in order to get a better picture of the actual family line one is trying to follow. Thus, we notice in the records of the original Augusta county (formed in 1738 from Orange county to include all of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge mountains, to the Ohio River) that in 1742 there was a muster of all adult males in Augusta county. 20, v. 2, p. 50; and 21. All adult men at that time, and for as much as a century later, were assigned to companies. At that time the company had both a civil administrative and a military character — the latter only for protection in time of need. (In case of a military expedition, the men could volunteer or be called as militia for a limited specified time period. The colonial militia were in addition to the regular troops, as was true later in the Revolutionary War.

Thus, in the 1742 muster there were 12 companies, each under a Captain, with the total headed by William Beverly, Esq., County Lieutenant, and James Patton, Colonel. In Captain John McDowell’s company, which was comprised of men of the Lower Forks Community (see map, Fig. 23, from Ref. 18) and specifically the area around the North Branch of the James River, we find: John McKnab, And. McKnab (Andrew), and Patt. McKnab (also Jno. Gray and David Dreden (Dryden?).) The date possibly means that each of these three McNabbs was born before 1721, too early to be sons of William McNabb. Possibly they were his brothers, as I tentatively show on the ancestor chart, and

20. Lyman Chalkley: Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia (extracted from the original court records of Augusta County, 1745-1800) in 3 volumes.
preceded him to America. We find later mention of Andrew McNabb: On May 20, 1747, he had to appear in court to recognize his wife, Catherine, so that she could testify (along with many other wives, whose husbands had to recognize them) in a murder trial. In 1749 Andrew McNab acquired 138 acres on the Back Creek of Tees (shown in a listing of patents on the waters of the upper James between the Blue Ridge and North Mountain). In 1751 he sold to John Gilmore 138 acres (presumably the same parcel) on Back Creek, a branch of Kerr's and adjoining Borden's line.

Rolls of nine of the twelve companies have been preserved. Other family names of interest to this story are: In John Buchanan's Company were Sam. Dunlap, Rob. Dunlap, Jah. Gray, Sam. Gray, Isaac Taylor (father of Andrew Taylor, who was father of Elizabeth Taylor, who married David McNabb, son of Baptist McNabb). In Peter Showll's (Scholl ?) Company was Volante Severe (father of John Sevier, first governor of Tennessee). From the muster rolls one can estimate that there were about 2500 white people — men, women and children — in Augusta County in 1742, at which time it included the present counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and possibly Bath. (Note: Waddell thinks that the company rolls possibly include both old and young men, not necessarily over 21 years of age.)

To return to Williams's line: On February 28, 1749 William purchased from William Beverly 300 acres in Beverly Manor (a large land tract) on Folly Creek, a branch of Christian's Creek, the southernmost headwaters of the Shenandoah river, in an area about four miles southwest of the present city of Staunton.

(See Figs. 24 a,b,c). (Christian's creek is apparently named after

Fig. 23—Area on James River where McNabbe first settled. (From: Kegley: Virginia Frontier)

Note Timber Ridge about 1/3 of distance from top. The Timber Ridge Church was near the Great Road, west of St. Mary’s River.
Israel Christian, a merchant of the region who had traders and trading stations among the Indians.\textsuperscript{18}, p.325 (Note: Although Staunton is not shown on the map of Beverly Manor in Fig. 24a, it certainly was in existence by 1756.) The church of the families of William and his sons Samuel and James, would have been the 23 Tinkling Spring Presbyterian church, shown in Fig. 24b. Wilson says (Ref. 23, p.175): "The same family names as found in an earlier day at Tinkling Spring are numerous: McNabb, Davis, McClure, Craig, Black, Douglass, Wilson, White, Denniston, Davidson, Long, Buchanan, Miller, Robinson, Ramsey, Gamble, Bell and others."

The next mention of William McNabb is that on March 19, 1750, he obtained a marriage license. Note that, prior to the Revolution, marriage in the English colonies could be solemnized only by a minister of the Established Church. For the marriage a license might be procured, for a fee which went to the governor. The license records were only for keeping track of the fees, hence did not record the name of the bride. William married a widow, Martha (Johnston?) Bennett, whose husband had died in 1743, leaving her with several minor children. In May 1780 Chancery Court heard a case based on a writ of December 3, 1771, in which Benjamin Bennett, Martha's oldest child, asked for title to 300 acres his father had bought in Beverly Manor just before he died prior to getting title. He said William McNabb had put two of his sons, James and Samuel, in possession of the land. (The court later gave title — from Beverly — to this land to the Bennett heirs; but I do not find the name Bennett on the map of Beverly Manor (Fig. 24a);

\textsuperscript{23} Howard McKnight Wilson: The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom. (1954)
From William's marriage to Martha Bennett it is reported that three sons were born: David, William and Andrew. But I have found nothing about them in the records. Mention is made in the records that on April 23, 1770, William and Martha McNabb sold to their son (i.e., son of William) James McNabb 150 acres (for £10) on the North Fork of Christian's Creek in Beverley Manor, ... corner Samuel McNab's part of the tract.

Meanwhile, and prior to their father's second marriage, his sons Baptist and John had come of age. (You will notice that the brothers Baptist and John tended to remain together in Virginia and later in Tennessee, while Samuel and James remained in the vicinity of their father.) On February 19, 1747, Baptist McNabb qualified Ensign of Foot (i.e., 2nd Lieutenant of foot soldiers in the Militia). And we find that on 12 April 1748, John McNabb and Baptist McNabb were listed in the returns of the Augusta Parish Vestry Book. Governor Gooch of Virginia in 1746 had ordered the people of Augusta County to elect twelve men of the Parish to be a Vestry (for the Established church). The Vestry then appointed "processioners" to proceed through their local districts to establish boundary lines of settlers, to report on conditions, and to list the tithables (adult men), and perform other administrative tasks. At that time, apparently, Baptist and John were living in the area of the forks of the James River, specifically the area from North Branch (to Andrew Baxter's and John Hays' mill). In the same territory in 1748 John Gray was living; in 1755 the area included David Dryden, Samuel Gray and Baptist McNabb. The area is shown in Fig. 23. It can be seen from the large map of Fig. 17b that this region lies not far
south of the land William bought, but just over the watershed into the drainage of the James River. On January 28, 1749, there is an entry that John and Mary McNabb (his wife) sold land on Mille Creek to Arthur McClure, witnessed by Andrew McNabb. This John could be either William's (presumed) brother or his son, but probably the latter. Mille creek is probably Mill creek, just south of Timber Ridge (Fig. 23). Baptist's brother John's wife was Mary Fine (according to an entry in the DAR Patriot Index, vol.II, p.144, which has him as being born about 1738 (should be earlier) and dying about 1817, and as Capt. VA (should be NC)). Ref. 22 shows a secondary land conveyance of 218 acres on Mill Creek for £70,5s,16d in 1750 from John McNabb to Baptist McNabb, and in 1751, 101 acres from John McNabb to Samuel Lyle.

On August 27, 1751, we find that Baptist McNabb and wife Catherine purchased from Joseph Love 137 acres on Roanoke (actually on a branch of the Roanoke River — Buffalo creek, also called Tinker's creek) and 171 acres on Rentfroe's branch of Goose Creek. Fig. 26 shows Baptist McNabb's plantation (see also Fig. 27 for a broader view of the area, and Fig. 28 for a present-day USGS map of the region, which is relatively near the present city of Roanoke). This area on the Roanoke is but a short distance southwest of the Forks of the James region. Whether Baptist had moved from the James or had two places is not definite. (It was not uncommon for men to purchase land in a newly opening area while still holding their previous land.) From Ref. 24, Baptist and Catherine sold the 137 and 171 acre parcels on Nov. 17, 1761, ten years after purchase.

As to the religious life of the Scotch-Irish, they had been following their Presbyterian faith although they had to accept that

NOTE: HEAVY BLACK LINES INDICATE OUTSIDE BOUNDARY OF WM. PRESTON'S INCLUSIVE SURVEY OF 1772 - KNOWN AS THE GREENFIELD ESTATE.
the Church of England was the only one with legal authority. By 1753, however, the combined Providence and Timber Ridge Presbyterian congregations were able to send out a call to the Reverend John Brown at the Presbytery of New Castle, to come to New Providence; he came and remained pastor for 44 years there. The list of those on the call, who pledged various amounts for the minister's salary, included: Baptist McNabb, John McNabb, David Dryden, Thomas Dryden (oldest son of David), Jacob Gray, Saml. Gray, and Willm. Gray — all from the Timber Ridge congregation. (See Fig. 23, about one-third from the top, for the location of Timber Ridge.) Ref. 23 says that the Timber Ridge church was 23 miles south-west of the Tinkling Spring church.

**Indian Raids and French and Indian War.**

The settlers on the frontier in Virginia were of course continually exposed to Indians. As England's colonial settlements spread, the Indians on the west and north were encouraged and abetted by the French to commit depredations against the settlers since the French intended to maintain sovereignty of all the area drained by the Mississippi. However, in general the colonial traders and trappers (as contrasted to the settlers) moved freely and traded with the Indians; trouble was only sporadic.

It was in 1754 that trouble came to a head and the French and Indian War broke out, and it was the result of the intrusion of English colonials into the Ohio Valley. George Washington, then 21 years old, had been sent by the Virginia governor in 1753 to warn the French they must leave the Ohio valley, a warning they chose not to heed. The French and their Indian allies then moved against the settlers, resulting in the conflict that became known as the French and Indian War.

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to heed. In 1754 Washington then was sent back, as a lieutenant-
colonel with about 150 Virginia militiamen. He encountered French
troops about 40 miles from their Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburgh) and
initially routed their small detachment, but when they gathered
reinforcements he was defeated and had to surrender, at a fort
he had hastily built, Fort Necessity, July 4, 1754.

This was the start of the French and Indian War, which
initiated the bloody Seven-Years War on the European continent.
The main struggle was in Europe. In America, the British and
the French fought mainly in Canada. Initially the British were
defeated, but later their fortunes changed — they captured the
fortress at Louisbourg, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence river,
in 1758; Quebec, 1759; Montreal, 1760.

Prior to that, in the region of importance to us, the British
organized an expedition under the English-trained General Braddock,
with Washington under his command, to defeat the French in the
Ohio valley. Braddock was badly defeated in an ambush by the
French and Indians just after he had crossed the Monongahela
River on the way to attack Fort Duquesne, on July 9, 1755.
This defeat left the colonial frontier, all the way to North
Carolina, exposed to the threat of Indian attacks. However,
traders continued passing through the Virginia valley on their way
to the Cherokees in the South. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia
directed one of these traders to solicit the Cherokees not to let
the French establish posts in their territory. The historian
27. Lewis Preston Summers says: "The Cherokee Indians occupied
East Tennessee and a part of northwest Georgia adjacent. They
were at times, and until 1759, friendly and very faithful to
Kingsport Press, Tenn. (1929)
the Whites, furnishing volunteers in the early part of the French and Indian War. They were deadly enemies of the Shawnees and other tribes north of the Ohio, but in the Revolutionary War they united with them under the British influence against the Americans."

It was not until 1758 that Fort Duquesne was captured by the British. And in 1763 the Treaty of Paris ended the war, with the French completely ejected from Canada and all the area east of the Mississippi, except for a limited area around New Orleans. (The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 completely eliminated them from North America.)

In the Virginia valley the settlers hardly participated in the campaigns against the French and Indians. Although they were solicited to enlist, they were concerned with protecting themselves. After September 1754 they sent a number of complaints to Governor Dinwiddie of Indians robbing and maltreating settlers, and requested troops for protection. In October 1754 forty or fifty troops were sent to the valley, where they remained for a time, but were ineffective in solving the problem. From October 1754 to August 1755 twenty-one persons were killed, seven wounded, nine taken prisoners, primarily in the south-west on the New and Holston Rivers. In 1756, Washington, with headquarters at Staunton, made a survey of the Valley of Virginia for the location of 21 frontier forts to protect the settlers from Indian attacks all the way from the northern end nearly to the North Carolina border. Some of these forts had previously been built, and four never were built. (Their locations and usage has been investigated by the National Geographic Society.) Their manning and mode of use as stationary sites did not make them very effective.
The Scotch-Irish of the valley, in addition to pleading for military protection and financial recompense from the governor of Virginia, appealed in 1760 to their fellow Presbyterians in Ulster Province, Ireland, who "out of their deep poverty" contributed over £400 to their American friends.

However, even after the formal end of the war in 1763 the frontier Americans were not free of isolated Indian attacks. As one example, in March 1764 Indians raided the home of David Cloyd (living above Baptist McNabb, Fig. 26?) killing his son, tomahawking Mrs. Cloyd so that she died the next day, and ransacking the house, taking about £200 in gold and silver coins. A party of militia (which included Samuel McNabb, son of William) pursued them, killed one Indian and recovered the money.

Hemp crop.

Turning our attention from the Indian problem, we find an entry that hemp certificates were issued to a number of men, including Baptist McNabb, in 1767-68. Hemp certificates?, you ask. The answer is: Hemp fiber was used to make rope and twine, and fine hemp fiber even for making cloth. Hemp grew well in the rich soil of the valleys, and the Virginia assembly set up warehouses and provided that there be paid to whoever would produce hemp, winter- or water-rotted (to permit separating out the fiber), dry, bright and clean, a certificate for four shillings for every gross hundred. Consequently, hemp was extensively cultivated. For instance, there is a long list of hemp certificates issued in Botetourt County in 1770-1771. (Botetourt was a county formed in 1770 -- see Fig. 29 -- from all of the southwest portion of Augusta county. Baptist was in Botetourt. It was at various later
Fig. 29 - Botetourt Co., Virginia, as formed in 1770 (from Keyley: Virginia Frontier)
times broken up into many other counties, as indicated.)

As you may know (see the Encyclopaedia Britannica), there is but one species of true hemp plant (Cannabis sativa). And aside from the production of fiber, which comes from the tissue of its hollow stem, it has been known for many centuries that the leaves and flowers, when dried and smoked, produce a narcotic or hallucinogenic effect. That is, it is marijuana. Whether these early American settlers ever tried its effects is not stated.

Baptist (I) McNabb's Family.

Unfortunately I have found no record of Baptist McNabb's marriage, though (from the land purchase in 1751) we know that his wife's first name was Catherine. He may have got married even earlier than 1747, when he was qualified Ensign of Militia, presumably at the age of 24, on the assumption that he was born in 1723.

His and Catherine's children are listed in his will (see Appendix) which he made January 4, 1784, and which was proven (probated) in May 1784 in Washington County, North Carolina (eastern Tennessee). Baptist's wife Catherine had died before him. The children are: William, David, John, James (from the handwritten will; a transcriber apparently read it as Jonathan, an error which is widely reproduced), Mary, Margaret, Jane, Katrin (Catherine), and Isabella. The oldest child evidently was William (ancestor of Billie McNabb and of James Lee McNabb), named after his grandfather. The order of the others on the chart could be incorrect, although we know that Isabella was still in her "non age" (a minor) in 1784.

From these bits of data we can infer that William was born between about 1747 and 1753. William's first son got married in
1794, hence born somewhere near 1750, which would indicate William was born close to 1750. Baptist's second son is generally given as David, born in 1755 (although in the will Baptist mentions John before David, having already given land to both and confirming title). I have not tried to gather information on the sons John, David and James. However, from what others have researched there appears to be some information of interest relative to David and John, which I have indicated in Appendices. David's family is interesting in that, by virtue of having 11 sons, out of 13 children, he had a strong influence on populating East Tennessee with McNabbs.

The only references I find to Baptist's son William (whom I shall call William II) while he lived in Virginia are: In March 1772 William Clark brought suit in Augusta County against him for a debt, but William McNabb's residence was in the new Botetourt County, formed in 1770. (a possible indication that William had an established homesite when the county was formed). In August 1777 a long list is given of those indebted to the estate of Roger North, who apparently was a storekeeper. Among them is Wm. McNabb, of No. Mountain (North Mountain lies between the North and South Forks of the James River -- see Fig. 23.).

However, prior to the North's estate settlement, William had moved farther southwest in Virginia to the frontier. In 1772 he appears as one of 105 signers of a call to the Reverend Charles Cummings by the united congregations (Presbyterian) of Ebbing and Sinking Springs, on Holston River, Fincastle County. Other signers included John McNabb (Baptist's brother or son?), David Dryden (Jr.; his father's will was probated in August 1772), John Campbell, Saml. Houston (father? of Samuel Houston, 1793-1863, of
Texas fame, who was born in Virginia and whose family moved to Tennessee in 1806), and James Thompson (grandson of Col. James Patton of Augusta County, who in 1750 willed to his grandson 1500 acres of 3000 acres he owned in the "Indian fields" on the Holston, near the spring that ebbs and flows intermittently.). Wilson says:

"The call from the united congregation of ebbing Spring and sinking Spring was submitted to the Presbytery on June 2, 1773 (and approved). These two old congregations seem to have covered the territory between present Marion and Bristol, Virginia. The first was located near Glade Spring and the other in Abingdon, Virginia." (Bristol lies on the boundary line with Tennessee and Marion is about 40 miles north-east of Bristol, with Abingdon a third of the way up from Bristol and Glade Spring two-thirds of the way.

Just where William McNabb lived in the Ebbing and Sinking Springs congregation is not known. His next move was down into the Washington district of eastern Tennessee (then part of North Carolina), probably about 1773-1775, when his father Baptist and his Uncle John moved there. Before William left Virginia at least his oldest son, Baptist (II) had been born, named for his grandfather. (In the 1880 census, Nathaniel Dryden McNabb said both his father (Baptist II) and his mother (Margaret Gray) were born in Virginia.)

(Note: A deed has been found, registered 16 June 1807 in Carter County, Tennessee, in which William McNabb is reselling to Nathaniel Taylor, for $1000, 6000 acres he had previously purchased from Nathaniel in Lee County, Virginia. Lee County was formed out of the old Washington County and is in the very southwest tip of Virginia where the Cumberland Gap gives entry to Kentucky. It lies 40-80 miles west of Bristol. Since Nathaniel Taylor was not born until 1771, William had probably acquired the land for speculation long after he had moved to Tennessee, and had never lived there.)

William II's Family.

William married Elizabeth Dryden, of the family already mentioned herein. Evidence for this is that in his will, dated November 16, 1809 (see Appendix), he gives his wife's name as Ellizabeth (sic); and
much later, Nathaniel Dryden McNabb, as part of a sworn statement, said he was named for his uncle, Nathaniel Dryden, killed at the battle of King's Mountain — he meant "great-uncle" quite apparently. There were only four children from William's and Elizabeth's marriage, as listed in William's will: Baptist II (ancestral line of Billie and of James Lee McNabb), David, William, and Nancy Lockard. (The only record I find that seems to apply to Nancy is the marriage of Agness McNabb to William Lockerd 19 Dec.1797, Carter County.)

The ancestral line of Drydens pertinent to this story is shown alongside that of the McNabbs in Fig. 22. David Dryden, the father of Elizabeth, was reportedly born in England about 1717. His wife Dorothy's surname is not known. David's parents were William and Agnes Dryden. After emigrating to America they lived in Old Somerset County, Maryland. As mentioned earlier, David Dryden was in the same area in the Virginia valley as Baptist McNabb and Samuel Gray in 1755 and 1760 as shown by the processer's reports, and all three were in the Timber Ridge Church congregation in 1753. Thomas definitely was the oldest child of David and Dorothy, and Nathaniel and William were the younger sons of the family. The fact that Thomas signed the 1753 call to their minister indicates he must have been born not later than 1732. From a letter in the records written by David Dryden, Jr., in 1811 to his sister Jane Dryden Shields we know that Jane was born in 1743. The father David made a will dated June 2, 1772, which was proved in court in August 1772.

The order of his listing his children, which I show on the chart, seems to agree with the information available as to their chronological order. This indicates that Elizabeth may have been born about 1744, and hence may have been older than William McNabb.


** Creekmore: Tennessee Marriage Records, v.1, Carter Co. 1796-1850.
About the time of David Dryden's death, at least three of his sons, David, Jr., Nathaniel and William, moved to the region which was designated in 1777 as Washington County, Virginia (see Fig. 29). Washington county is at the very southwest end of the Virginia Valley and borders on Tennessee (then North Carolina) on the South, and Kentucky (then Kentucky County, VA) on the west. It has a series of parallel valleys through which the branches of the Holston and Clinch rivers flow down to the Tennessee river. This was the area from which Nathaniel Dryden came when he went to meet his destiny in turning the tide of the Revolutionary War at King's Mountain in 1780. (Thus Nathaniel Dryden McNabb got his name.) In the same regiment at King's Mountain are shown James and William Dryden, and Alexander Gray.

The Frontier and the Revolution.

As quoted by Waddell in his "Annals of Augusta County, Virginia," the great historian George Bancroft in his History of the United States (Vol. V, p. 77) wrote: "We shall find the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." And a recent historian has said that General Anthony Wayne's famous brigade of the "Pennsylvania Line" in the Revolutionary War might better be called the "Irish Line" (better yet, the Scotch line) as it was composed almost exclusively of Scotch-Irish refugees from Ulster.

The role of the frontier in the Revolution does not appear prominently in the early history of the war. It was remote, both in distance and communication, from the near-formal actions between the English and the rebelling Americans. The troops it provided to the Continental Line (the established army forces as contrasted to the militia) fought far from the frontier. Also, it should be noted that the German sectarians in general did not believe in war and tended to remain isolated, concerned only with their self-protection. (Nevertheless, they supported the American cause; there is only one case on record of a German from the Valley of Virginia who supported the Tory cause.) In the case of the Scotch-Irish there was no lack of spirit or of action in supporting the colonial cause. The frontier built up its militia forces in strength and held them ready to serve as needed, for limited periods of service, either near home or far away. The frontier had to maintain a military readiness at home since it was, both during and after the Revolution, the continuing locale of a dispersed but bitter war, with attacks by Indian tribes, abetted by the British, and reprisals by the frontier militia. This struggle was essentially independent of the Revolutionary War itself. The Indians, although in many situations they had agreed to turning over parts of their lands (possibly for inadequate compensation, or through misunderstandings, or in reprisal for their actions) inevitably would later turn against the continuing intrusion by settlers (as contrasted to their acceptance and mingling with itinerant traders and trappers). This struggle between settlers and Indians existed before the Revolution, and for many years after the Revolution (The Indian
tribes were not parties to the England-U.S. treaty of peace, the Treaty of Paris, 1783.

During the Revolutionary War, however, the Indian action against the frontier was stepped up since the British encouraged them with war supplies, rum, and gifts (just as the French had done during the French and Indian War). By this time settlers had gone as far as the Kentucky and Ohio regions, and there they were especially exposed to attacks. This situation, and that of the whole frontier, led General Washington to seek to destroy the British western center of action at Detroit, the headquarters of Lt. Colonel Henry Hamilton, called by Americans "the Hair Buyer", who was a focus for organizing and supplying the Indians. But it was not until 1777-1778 that George Rogers Clark, coming from Kentucky, presented a plan, which was accepted and which he executed under great adversities and with few men, to conquer step by step the British outposts in the West on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Indeed, Colonel Hamilton went out from Detroit to defeat Rogers, but had to surrender to him, effectively disrupting the British center of action in the West (and assuring the ceding of the Northwest Territory to the U.S. in the Treaty of Paris). Nevertheless, as can be seen from the record of continuing action of the militia against Indians, the frontier had a problem in maintaining its own security, let alone helping to provide men to win the war along the seaboard where there were many more men available. (Indeed, it has been estimated that the seaboard should have been able to provide much larger forces than it did; of course, there was significant loyalist -- i.e., tory -- sentiment in some areas, including the providing of soldiers for British forces, so it was not always easy for men to volunteer for the colonial forces.)
The significant role played by the Scotch-Irish from the south-western part of the Valley of Virginia and from eastern Tennessee in providing a turning point in the American Revolution came in 1780. That is the part of the Revolution of interest in this story. But first, let us check on the McNabbs -- those that stayed in Virginia, then those that went into eastern Tennessee.

The Family Staying in Virginia.

Just as Baptist and John stayed near each other and migrated southwestward, so Samuel and James stayed in the region near their father. I have made no effort to track them, but certain bits of information appear in the records. As mentioned before (p.118), both Samuel and James in 1770 had land adjoining their father's tract in Beverley Manor.

Burton, in citing land transfer deeds of early Botetourt County, showed that Samuel McNabb and wife Isabella bought 79 acres (in the James River communities, an area which went to Rockbridge County when it was created in 1778) from John Berry June 19, 1773, and sold it to James Skidmore November 9, 1779. After the war, in 1788 he acquired 250 acres on Roaring Run, James River, from a new grant (for Revolutionary War service?), and in the same year he transferred it to William McNabb and his wife Mary (a note says William "inherited" it -- apparently William was Samuel's son). This land was then sold in September 1794 to Andrew Booker.

Both Samuel and James served in the Revolutionary War.

John H. Gwathmey: Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution, on p. 537 lists:

McNabb, Samuel, Rockbridge Co. Militia, rec. as Ensign May 1, 1781; oath Dec. 3, 1782.
McNabb, James, in Capt. Buchanan's Co., Augusta County.

(He also lists:
McNabb, Alexander, 2nd Lieut., Amelia County Militia, oath Aug. 28, 1777.
McNabb, Robert, 12th Virginia Regiment, Continental Line.)
We know that Samuel McNabb died before 30 April 1789, since in the Calendar of Virginia State Papers (vol. IV, p. 601) there is an item on that date: "William Willson recommended at April Rockbridge Court as Captain in the room of Capt. Sam'l McNabb, dec'd ..." 22, p509

Oren Morton, in listing miscellaneous data of Rockbridge County records, shows James McNabb as dying in 1810, with children: John, Alexander, Mary, Rebecca, Saly, Isabel, one other daughter. (A fair guess is that this James was the son of the old William.)

According to a report William McNabb himself did not die until 1789, the same year as his son Samuel and 5 years after his son Baptist. The DAR Patriot Index (vol. II) states that John, the remaining son, died about 1817.

McNabbs into East Tennessee.

who knew each other migrated there. Thus it was that, probably sometime between 1772 and 1775, the old Baptist and his brother John, with presumably most of their children, came to the Wautauga area near the present cities of Johnson City and Elizabethton, Tennessee.

Ramsey, in his Annals of Tennessee to 1800, says:29, p.142

The first settlers of the Wautauga "old fields" region were Andrew Greer, an Indian trader, and Julius C. Dugger, both of whom came perhaps as early as 1766. "After them came the Robertsons, John Carter, Michael Hyder, the Seviers, Dunjains, McNabbs, Matthew Tolbot, the Hortons, McLinns, and Simeon Bundy.... Soon after the arrival on the Wautauga of the emigrants above named, came the Beans, the Cobbs, and the Webbs, and, subsequently, the Tiptons and Taylors." [Andrew Taylor, Sr., came in 1778, though his father Isaac was there earlier.]

29. J.G.M. Ramsey: The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century (comprising its settlement as the Wautauga Association, from 1769 to 1777; a part of North-Carolina, from 1777 to 1784; the State of Franklin, from 1784 to 1788; a part of North-Carolina, from 1783 to 1790; the Territory of the U. States, South of the Ohio, from 1790 to 1796; the State of Tennessee from 1796 to 1800.) Charleston, Walker and James (1853).
McNabbs into East Tennessee.

Whatever the reason for it may be, there is an urge for people who live on the land to find a place to go where they can improve their lot. In general, it may be for more freedom, better soil, cheaper land, more water. In the case at hand, the move south of the Virginia border into the Watauga River region, may have included the hope for more friendly aborigines (the Cherokees, who were basically an agreeable and progressive nation), and the preceding, or simultaneous, movement and reports by old friends. It was a new and fertile region, which had been traversed by explorers and traders, but not until about 1766 did the first settlers come across the mountains from North Carolina proper. Thus the settlers got the name "the Overmountain Men".

The route from the Valley of Virginia into East Tennessee was even more direct than that from North Carolina east of the mountains. Consequently, beginning not long after 1770, the Scotch-Irish groups who knew each other migrated there. Thus it was that, probably sometime between 1772 and 1775, the old Baptist and his brother John, with presumably most of their children, came to the Watauga area near the present cities of Johnson City and Elizabethton, Tennessee.

Ramsey, in his Annals of Tennessee to 1800, says:29, p.142

The first settlers of the Watauga "old fields" region were Andrew Greer, an Indian trader, and Julius C. Dugger, both of whom came perhaps as early as 1766. "After them came the Robertsons, John Carter, Michael Hyder, the Seviers, Dunjains, McNabbs, Matthew Tolbot, the Hortons, McLinns, and Simeon Bundy.... Soon after the arrival on the Watauga of the emigrants above named, came the Beans, the Cobbs, and the Webbs, and, subsequently, the Tiptons and Taylors." [Andrew Taylor, Sr., came in 1778, though his father Isaac was there earlier.]

29. J.G.M. Ramsey: The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century (comprising its settlement as the Watauga Association, from 1769 to 1777; a part of North-Carolina, from 1777 to 1784; the State of Franklin, from 1784 to 1788; a part of North-Carolina, from 1788 to 1790; the Territory of the U. States, South of the Ohio, from 1790 to 1796; the State of Tennessee from 1796 to 1800.) Charleston, Walker and James (1853).
Wautauga and other Land Purchases.

It was about 1771 that James Robertson and his relatives came across the mountains from North Carolina to the Wautauga area. They recognized the need for organization in settling the area; accordingly an Association of men was set up and negotiations entered into with the Cherokees, which resulted in an eight-year lease of a large tract to the Wautauga Association in 1772.

In the next few years other settlers and land speculators saw the possibilities of acquiring large tracts of land from the Cherokees. Thus a man named Richard Henderson from North Carolina formed a company to buy from the Cherokees land in the Kentucky region from which the whites had just driven the Shawnees, who had jointly claimed the hunting grounds with the Cherokees (Dunmore's War). This land had been penetrated by Daniel Boone, after first being driven back by the Shawnees in 1773. Interested by Boone's reports, Henderson and associates arranged a meeting in March 1775 with the Cherokees at Sycamore Shoals on the Wautauga River (near the present Elizabethton — see the maps, Figs. 30 and 31).

Henderson had gathered £2000 sterling, plus goods worth £8000 ("sacks of corn, flour, casks of rum, blankets, guns and powder and lead"), which the Indians had inspected. Nearly 1200 Indians had gathered at the meeting, in which negotiations lasted several days. Although most of the Indians were pleased with the chance to trade land for the promised goods, one chief, said to have been Oconostota, "Chief Warrior and First Representative of the Cherokee Nation", expressed concern.

As reported in Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee (quoting Haywood):

"He began with the very flourishing state in which his nation once was, and mentioned the encroachments of the white people, from time to time, upon the retiring and expiring nations of..."
Indians, who left their homes and the seats of their ancestors, to gratify the insatiable desire of the white people for more land. Whole nations had melted away in their presence, like balls of snow before the sun, and had scarcely left their names behind, except as imperfectly recorded by their enemies and destroyers. It was once hoped that they would not be willing to travel beyond the mountains, so far from the ocean on which their commerce was carried on, and their connections maintained with the nations of Europe. But now that fallacious hope had vanished; they had passed the mountains and settled upon the Cherokee lands, and wished to have their usurpations sanctioned by the confirmation of a treaty. When that shall be obtained, the same encroaching spirit will lead them upon other lands of the Cherokees. New cessions will be applied for, and, finally, the country which the Cherokees and their forefathers had so long occupied, would be called for, and the small remnant which then may exist of this nation, once so great and formidable, will be compelled to seek a retreat in some far-distant wilderness, there to dwell but a short space of time, before they would again behold the advancing vanners of the same greedy host, who, not being able to point out any further retreat for the miserable Cherokees, would then proclaim the extinction of the whole race. He ended with a strong exhortation to run all risks, and to incur all consequences, rather than submit to any further dilaceration of their territory."

Despite this prophecy and forewarning, the treaty was signed on March 17, 1775, by the chiefs, including Oconostota. Henderson et al acquired 20,000,000 acres, all the land between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers; they named it Transylvania and considered it an independent territory, not a part of any of the original colonies.

In this great gathering of Cherokees other men saw the opportunity to take advantage of the favorable spirit of the Indians. Thus, the Wautauga Association negotiated two days later (March 19) the purchase (instead of lease) of their lands, somewhat augmented, for £2000. These Wautauga lands were conveyed by the Indians to Charles Robertson, who then granted titles to the various tracts. Many of these tracts went to men who probably had previously been living on them under the Association. Ramsey lists the patentees of land in their order: Thomas Haughton, Henry Grymes, Wm. Tacket, Matthew Talbot, Isaac Ruddle, Henry Lyle, John Sevier, John Carter and John Sevier, John Carter, George Russell, Wm. Bean, Andrew Greer,
Robert Young, James Robertson, Ben. Ryburn, Baptist McNabb, Edmond Roberts, John McNabb, Andrew Little, John Jones, James Hollis, John Cassada, George Gray, Choat Gambal, Jonathan Tipton, Farrer, Fletcher, Thompson, Lincoln, Lucas Messengall, Duncan Abbit, Walding Denton, Hodge, Bennet, Reaves, Cunningham, Jesse D. Benton, Catherine Choat."

Baptist and his brother John are reported to have acquired adjoining land on Buffalo Creek, which flows North into the Watauga River (see the map). Baptist set up a mill there, the first in the region.

In the same meeting with the Cherokees, a deed was made (25 March) to Jacob Brown for lands on both sides of the Nonachunheh River (Nolichucky), for 10 shillings. And on the same date, another deed was made to Jacob Brown for adjoining lands on the west.

In still another transaction at the meeting, John Carter and Robert Lucas got the Cherokees to deed them a large section of land in Carter's Valley as recompense for goods stolen from Parker and Carter's store by Cherokee Indians; in addition they paid the Indians a sum of money. These land areas (except for Transylvania) are shown below:

Fig. 32 - Land Purchases from the Cherokees, March 1775. (from Pat Alderman: The Overmountain Men)
It is interesting that all these areas were transferred by the Cherokee chiefs not to a government agency but to private organizations or individuals. And, at first, these organizations acted as governmental entities, without any reference to the original colonies (although in principle the original definitions of the colonies had them extending to the Mississippi).

It was fortunate for the settlers that the treaties were signed in March 1775, because during the Revolution (in which fighting began April 19, 1775) the English stirred up the Cherokees to harass the settlers. The Americans were aware of the danger, and in a short time sought to be allied with the states to their east. Thus, two years after the purchase, the Watauga settlers petitioned to North Carolina and their region was made the Washington Territory of North Carolina (after General Washington) and shortly thereafter Washington County (which for a brief time included all of the present Tennessee, although it was recognized that part of the land belonged to the Indians).

The forewarning of trouble from the Cherokees came as early as August 1775, when the Reverend William Tennent informed the Provincial Congress of South Carolina that a British agent was among the overmountain Cherokees in order to get three thousand of them, with guns, to join the colonists loyal to the king. Later, an intercepted "talk" indicated the Cherokees agreed to join in and massacre the back settlers of the Carolinas and Georgia. Soon isolated instances of Indian attacks occurred, putting the frontier settlers' militia on alert. Ramsey quotes from American Archives, vol. ii, folio 968: In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, under date, Boston, June 12, 1775, General Gage said: "We need not be tender of calling on the savages" to attack the Americans.
During the next few years (and apparently also in earlier years) various forts were built by the settlers for protection in case of determined Indian attacks. In general, however, the Indians harassed the settlers and traders by isolated attacks on individuals and families. Ports constructed in the Wautauga area included: "the Wautauga Fort", about half a mile northeast of the mouth of Gap Creek (the courts of the Wautauga Association met here); higher up the Wautauga River, on its north side, was another fort; on Doe River was a third fort; Womack had a fort near the head of Wautauga; another fort stood near the mouth of Sinking Creek (the general region of the McNabbs).

According to Worth S. Ray, "the Wautauga Fort was attacked in 1776 by many Cherokee Indians. At that time the settlement had about 150 residents and the attack was finally overcome by Colonel Charles Robertson and John Sevier and those under them. The Indians besieged the fort for six days, when reinforcements came into view and the Indians dispersed."

McNabb Civil Affairs during the Revolution.

Bits of information are all that is available concerning persons in the eastern Tennessee region up until about 1830, the earliest census that has survived. Thus it is difficult to trace all the McNabb families as well as one might wish. However, the particular line of interest here is well established: William (b.1702) — Baptist (b.1723) — William (II)(b. ca. 1748) — Baptist (II)(b.ca. 1770) — Nathaniel Dryden (b.1818) — .

Early Washington County, North Carolina (Tennessee), records, such as can be found, have been searched out and published by

Mary Hardin McCown. On p. 1 there appears: At a court begun and held for

(compiled by Mary Hardin McCown, Nancy E. Jones Stidley and Inez E. Burns)
the County of Washington 23 February 1778, among those present:

..... John McNabb ..." On page 2 is an item: "Nov. 27, 1778 --
Assessor Wm. McNabb allowed £6 for services." And on page 1 of
the list of taxables (which was found in the coal skuttle in the
basement of the Washington County offices) is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Captains Returned by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>Assessors:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Lyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William McNabb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under this heading, on p. 11:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Amt. of there (sic) Estate</th>
<th>Sum to pay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McNabb, Baptist</td>
<td>£ 731 - 19 - 4</td>
<td>4 - 8 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNabb, David (P.T.)</td>
<td>100 - 0 - 0</td>
<td>1 - 0 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNabb, John, Esqr.</td>
<td>480 - 10 - 0</td>
<td>4 - 18 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNabb, Wm., Esqr.</td>
<td>566 - 1 - 0</td>
<td>5 - 16 - 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Ref. 31, p. vi, states that those marked (P.T.) with
£100 valuation and with tax to pay of £1 - 0 - 6 were most
likely single males of 21 years and over, owning no property.)

(It was in 1778 that David McNabb married Elizabeth Taylor, daughter
of Andrew Taylor, Sr.)

As given by Worth S. Ray, the first magistrates appointed for
the new Washington County (formed Nov. 1777) included William
McNabb and John McNabb (of 27 total). The county was divided into
7 districts in each of which a magistrate was assigned to make returns
of the taxable property. (As shown above, one of these seven was
Jno. McNabb.)

The district in which the McNabbs lived has enough recognizable
names of the earliest settlers to justify reproduction here.
A couple of comments may be made relative to the McNabbs on this list. First, no sons of Baptist's brother John are shown (too young?). He had at least one son, according to DAR records.

Second, where was Baptist's son John? William and David are shown, but not John. It is not clear whether John was younger or older than David, or of the same age. He may have been under 21 when the assessment was made. Or, he may have been in Washington County, Virginia, at the time (although he was in the North Carolina militia at the battle of King's Mountain, October 1780.) L. P. Summers shows: "At a court held for Washington County [Virginia], April 21, 1778. Robert Buchanan Plaintiff against John McNabb in debt Benjamin Gray and Joseph Gray Securities plea payment." And on p. 994 (in a court action -- same case?) "Robert Buchanan vs. John McNabb Debt Payment". (The court case may, of course, have been after John had left.)

Wartime Problem with Tories.

Except for the need for vigilance and action against Indians stirred up by the British, life had gone on fairly smoothly in Washington County during the early years of the war. However, by 1778, as a result of British successes in the South, Tories had become emboldened, especially in the Southern frontier fringes, and had become a definite menace. As Ramsey says: 29,p178
The frontier people had been so far relieved from apprehension of Indian hostility, as to dispense during the summer of this year, with a portion of the guards heretofore maintained for their protection. These were disbanded and returned to the quiet pursuits of planting and working their crops. They were lulled into a false security and had neglected to take the usual measures of protection and defence, which the exposed condition of the border settlements demanded. This relaxation of their ordinary watchfulness and care, invited aggression and a renewal of the outrages and massacres which had been before experienced. The settlements being thus thrown off their guard, a portion of the militia discharged and little or no regular armed force being at hand, another source of annoyance and injury presented itself. The tories from the disaffected counties of North-Carolina and other states, had come in great numbers to the frontier, and there combining with thieves and robbers, prowled around the feeblest neighbourhoods, and for a time committed depredation and murder with impunity. Their number was considerable, and they boasted that they were able to look down all opposition and to defy all restraint."

"The law-abiding and honest people of the country took the affair into their own hands, appointed a committee, invested it with unlimited power, and authorized it to adopt any measure necessary to arrest the growing evil. The names of this committee of safety are not given, but it is known that under its direction and authority two companies of dragoons, numbering about thirty each, were immediately organized and equipped, and were directed to patrol the whole country, capture and punish with death all suspected persons, who refused submission or failed to give good security for their appearance before the committee. Slighter offences were atoned for by the infliction of corporeal punishment; to this was superadded, in cases where the offender was able to pay it, a heavy fine in money. Leaders in crime expiated their guilt by their lives. Several of these were shot; some of them at their execution disclosed the names and hiding places of their accomplices. These were in their turn pursued, arrested and punished, and the country was in less than two months restored to a condition of safety, and the disturbers of its quiet preserved their lives only by secrecy or flight."

Action against tories was drastic only in cases of violence against the people of the community. In general, security was maintained and disaffection prevented by judicial action, tempered with mercy, from the American local government. An example is quoted by Ramsey:

"Washington County, Feb. 23 (1778). — COURT JOURNALS. — At a court begun and held for the county of Washington, Feb.23, 1778, Present, John Carter, Chairman, .... John McNabb.... On Tuesday, next day, John Sevier was chosen Clerk of the county; Valentine Sevier, Sheriff; James Stuart Surveyor; John Carter, Entry-Taker; John McMahan, Register; Jacob Womack, Stray-Master and John McNabb, Coroner.

The State vs. ---- ----,) It is the opinion of the court In Toryism. ) that the defendant be imprisoned during the present war with Great Brktain, and the Sheriff take the whole of his estate into custody, which must be valued by a jury at the next court -- one half of said estate to be kept by said Sheriff for the use of the State, and the other half to be remitted to the family of the defendant."
The same problem with disaffection coming to the surface among some of the residents appeared also in the Valley of Virginia in the summer of 1780. Kegley cites persons and instances, and remarks: "These trying situations were cautiously handled by the local officials and great trouble avoided." (As we now look back it is tempting for us not to recognize that there were many sincere Americans who felt a loyalty to their king even though they had reasons for disagreement with the governing.)

**Actions against the British and Tories leading to King's Mountain.**

In 1779 the British and tories overran Georgia. Colonel Clarke of the Georgians, with about 100 of his men, sought refuge in the Wautauga and Holston settlements of eastern Tennessee. Men from these settlements joined him to proceed against the British. They enticed the enemy to come from his camp into an ambush, in which they inflicted a number of losses, with the loss of only one of their men. This aid to the Georgians made them close friends of the eastern Tennesseans, and together they later joined against the British in the King's Mountain campaign.

Early in 1780, after the British General Clinton had taken Charleston and overrun South Carolina as well as Georgia, the American General Rutherford of North Carolina issued a requisition for the North Carolina militia to come to the defense of South Carolina. When the word reached Wautauga the following action was taken:

"At a meeting of sundry of the Militia Officers of Washington County, this 19th day of March, 1780: Present, John Sevier, Colonel, Jonathan Tipton, Major, Joseph Willson, John McNabb, Godfrey Isbell, Wm. Trimble, James Stinson, Robert Sevier, Captains, and Landon Carter, Lieutenant, in the absence of Valentine Sevier, Captain. In order to raise one hundred men, agreeable to command of the Hon. Brigadier Rutherford, to send to the aid of South-Carolina. It is the opinion of the officers, that each company in this county do furnish eight effective men, well equipt for war, except Samuel Williams's company, which is to furnish four men well equipt as aforesaid.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Sevier</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jno. McNabb</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Willson</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Tipton</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Trimble</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godfrey Isbell</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Stinson</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"
Isaac Shelby, Colonel of Sullivan County (formed in 1779 from the northern part of Washington County) received and acted on a similar requisition. (He was in the Kentucky region location and surveying lands when the word came to him, 16 June.)

Colonel John Sevier added 100 volunteers to the 100 already enrolled (all mounted riflemen), and Shelby came with 200 more, to join Colonel McDowell (acting in General Rutherford's absence) near Cherokee ford on Broad River in South Carolina (See the map, Fig. 33, on page 54). Colonel Clarke with his small force of Georgians also joined them.

The British, confident after their victories in the south, were advancing north to cross the North Carolina border, with good expectation that the residents would rise to join them and subdue the revolutionaries (the Whigs). Possibly prematurely to their planned call for support, a British unit of 93 disaffected (i.e., Tory) Americans under Colonel Patrick Moore occupied a strong fort on the Pacolet River. McDowell sent 600 men under Sevier, Shelby and Clarke against this fort. After an initial refusal, Colonel Moore agreed to surrender when he saw his position to be hopeless.

Lord Cornwallis (to whom Clinton had turned over the British Southern command on June 8) seeing that he should take action to prevent the Americans from being heartened by the capture of this fort on his left wing, organized a force under Major Patrick Ferguson to conquer any opposition. To harass Ferguson, McDowell detached 600 mounted riflemen under Shelby and Clarke (Had Sevier gone back across the mountains?). Ferguson tried to attack them but they changed camp frequently to avoid him. However, on August 1, part of Ferguson's command met the Americans at Cedar Spring (Fig. 33). After a half-hour battle Ferguson's main force arrived and the Americans withdrew, with 20 prisoners.
Now Colonel McDowell received information that a force of four or five hundred tories was encamped at Musgrove's Mill, on the south side of the Enoree River, 40 miles away. Against them McDowell sent 600 mounted men. After an all-night trip, skirting without detection around Ferguson's camp, they approached the mill on the morning of August 19, only to receive reliable word that the tories there had been joined the day before by 600 regular troops under Colonel Ennes. Faced by this, and weary from their ride, the Americans could not attack. Instead, they hastily threw up a log and brush breastwork for defense. A small detachment was sent out to engage the enemy, then retreat back to the main force. These tactics worked well. When the enemy, pressing the pursuit, came to the breastworks they were met by heavy fire. The battle had continued for an hour, until the Americans were about forced to withdraw, when the British commander was wounded and the leader of the tories shot down. The enemy lines began to yield and soon the Americans were in pursuit, driving them across the river. Over two hundred of the British regulars were captured.

The American force was encouraged to exploit this victory by making an attack on the British at Ninety-Six (in South Carolina), when they received an urgent message from their Colonel McDowell that General Gates's army had been disastrously defeated at Camden, South Carolina, by Cornwallis on August 16th.

Accordingly, McDowell decided he must wait for a more auspicious moment. He withdrew his forces, including his own Burke County troops, northwest over the mountains to Washington County. The time for action came a month later when his troops, the Overmountain men of Washington County, Tennessee, and the militia from Washington County, Virginia, joined in the muster at Sycamore Shoals, where the King's Mountain campaign began.
Why King's Mountain Battle Occurred.

We come to the situation that led the over-mountain men to seek out Ferguson's forces east of the mountains, catching him at King's Mountain. Major Ferguson, having been directed by Lord Cornwallis to clear out resistance in the mountainous region, and having failed to catch McDowell's forces (indeed having British and Tory forces damaged and humiliated by McDowell's) saw that he must either disorganize any resistance by threats or force the rebels into an open battle, where he felt confident he could destroy them. Accordingly, Ferguson sent a message by a prisoner of war, relative of Colonel Isaac Shelby of the Holston region, to the effect that the western settlers must discontinue further opposition and declare loyalty to the crown, or he would come, lay waste the country with fire and sword, and hang the leaders.

On receipt of the message, Shelby rode at once to meet with John Sevier, who lived in the Nolichucky River area, and then they conferred with Colonels William and Arthur Campbell of Virginia's Washington County, to formulate their plans for meeting Ferguson's threat. Word was sent to other western North Carolina counties and to South Carolina and Georgia leaders they knew would support the action.

A date of September 25 was set for a muster of the troops west of the Blue Ridge and Smoky Mountains, to be held at Sycamore Shoals, close to the present Elizabethton (see the map, Fig. 31). Pat 32, p82 Alderman gives his graphic reconstruction of the preparation events:

"The grist mills of Baptist McNabb (Buffalo Creek) and Mathew Talbot (Gap Creek) were busy grinding corn for 32. Pat Alderman, "The Overmountain Men," Overmountain Press, Johnson City, Tenn."
bread making. The women folk busied themselves with their looms and needles making and mending clothes for their menfolk. Mrs. John Sevier spent her honeymoon making suits for the Colonel and his sons. Mary Patton supervised one of the powder mills. Lead for bullets was mined from a hill near the Nolichucky River, in the present Bumpass Cove section of Unicoi County. Every hand turned out to help in the defense of home and country.

On the appointed day, the whole countryside seemed to be gathering for the muster. Most of the men were accompanied by their families. Beefs for meat were driven to Sycamore Shoals. So many wanted to go that a draft had to be made. Sevier and Shelby knew that the frontiers were in constant danger from Indian raids. So the very young boys and older men were drafted to stay home to protect the women and children....

Two hundred and forty men were selected from Sullivan County to follow Shelby; a like number from Washington County under Sevier. Some two hundred Virginians came with Colonel William Campbell. Colonel Arthur Campbell brought about two hundred more militia of his Virginia Command, and placed them under Colonel William Campbell's command. Already on the grounds were the (Burke County, N.C.) troops of Colonel Charles McDowell and Colonel Andrew Hampton. Major Charles Robertson was left in charge of the Washington County forces to protect the frontier. Colonel Anthony Bledsoe was placed in command of the Sullivan home force.

On the morning of September 26th, the men gathered in companies, accompanied by their families for a religious service. Colonel Sevier had asked the Reverend Samuel Doak to speak to the men. After the early morning worship, the men started their march up Gap Creek with the battle cry, "The Sword of the Lord and Gideon".

**Campaign and Battle of King's Mountain, 7 October 1780.**

There were about 1040 foot soldiers and horsemen in the force that left Sycamore Shoals. As they progressed on the ten-day journey southeast over the mountains into North Carolina proper and the edge of South Carolina, more groups joined them until the whole force was about 1840. (Wilkes County men under Cleveland, Surry County men under Winston, who joined in at Quaker Meadows; and other North and South Carolinians who joined the force at the Cowpens.) Their route is shown in Figure 33.

The American force obtained bits of information on their way indicating Ferguson's force was at King's Mountain, and they proceeded to meet him there. Their last stop — in the afternoon of 6 October —
Fig. 33. - Routes of American Force and Ferguson's Force to Meeting at King's Mountain. (From DAR Magazine, Aug/Sept. 1980)
was at the Cowpens (literally the cow pens of a large Tory landholder) where they slaughtered cattle and cooked a meal before sending ahead, in the rain and the dark, 900 mounted men to catch Ferguson, leaving the weak horses and footmen to follow as fast as possible. (Since a general officer had not been sent to command the expedition, the officers selected Colonel William Campbell to command them.)

About three in the afternoon of the 7th the mounted men came up to King's Mountain where Ferguson was awaiting them with 1105 men (about 200 others were away foraging). Ferguson had not had his troops entrench since he felt confident of a victory. Besides his small group of regulars he had about 1000 Tory Americans, many of them well-trained non-locals, supplemented by local poorly-trained groups. All had bayonets on their guns; the attacking American forces did not.

The Americans had previously agreed on sectors for surrounding the mountain to prevent escape to seek help. However, perfect timing was not possible because of the difficult approaches to some sectors. The disposition of forces is shown in Fig. 34 below (from Ref. 32).

**THE BATTLE OF KINGS MOUNTAIN**

**TROOP POSITIONS**

![Diagram of Initial and Final Positions at King's Mountain](image-url)

*Fig. 34. Initial and Final Positions at King's Mountain.*
Despite their fatigue from the long march, no sleep and the rain, the men tethered their horses at the base of the mountain and headed up to meet Ferguson's forces. Initially the attack was made by Campbell's, Sevier's and Shelby's forces on the western end of the mountain. As the men in one sector would try to advance up the hill, firing at the enemy in the open, the enemy would return the fire and charge with bayonets, forcing the attackers back to seek low cover. But at such a time the U.S. forces on the other side of the mountain would advance, making the defenders return to oppose them. In such a manner the Revolutionary forces managed to advance by steps and to force the defenders, who initially were along the length of the mountain, to consolidate their positions near the eastern end. Now there were attacks from all sides. It became apparent Ferguson's force was doomed but he would not let them surrender. Finally, Ferguson was shot, dragged by his horse, and fired on many times, assuring his death. Then his force surrendered. The battle lasted little more than an hour. Ferguson's forces had 225 killed, 163 wounded and left because too weak to travel, and 716 taken prisoner. The U.S. forces had only 28 killed and 62 wounded.

The U.S. men, with strong recollections of treatment of Americans by Tory plundering bands (Captains David Fanning, Bloody Bill Bates, Bloody Bill Cunningham and Sam Brown — none of whom were at King's Mountain) and by the English (e.g., Lt. Colonel Tarleton's slaughter of Colonel Buford's men after their surrender, May 1780, which gave rise to the term "Tarleton's quarter"), were not disposed to show more mercy than required. Despite near outbreaks of further action, order finally prevailed.

The first elements of American foot soldiers, despite having to follow the mounted troops, arrived at the battle scene shortly after
the action was over. One of these elements was a company of eastern Tennesseans under Captain David McNabb, which arrived 45 minutes after the end of the battle.\textsuperscript{*} Also in the American forces are shown Captain John McNabb (presumably Baptist's brother) and John McNabb (Baptist's son?). In the forces from Washington County, Virginia, under Colonel Campbell, are Ensign Nathaniel Dryden (killed), and James and William Dryden, and Alexander Gray.\textsuperscript{**}

The sad feature of the King's Mountain victory is that it was Americans killing Americans. Of Ferguson's 1105 man force, 922 were American tories. On the happier other hand, it was the turning point of fortune against the English under Cornwallis in the South, and it put a damper on the Tory party and the ease with which Cornwallis could recruit local Tory soldiers. It was the beginning of the end of the British concept that they would "conquer America by Americans".

Winning the South from the British.

After King's Mountain the Over-mountain militia (or at least most of them) returned home with their prisoners (who were then turned over to authorities for possible use in prisoner exchange). They needed to attend to the Indian threat. East of the mountains, the American force was "but the shadow of an army in the midst of distress" -- about 800 men fit for duty out of 2900 total, and only 33, p327 three days' rations. In this situation, General Washington replaced Gates by Nathaniel Greene as commander in the South, two months after King's Mountain.

The further progress of the war against Cornwallis in the


southern states will not be detailed here, but lively accounts of
it can be found in many good history books, such as Ref. 33.
General Greene recognized that he could not risk an open battle with
all of Cornwallis' forces, but that he must keep a continuing threat
to parts of their forces. Daringly, he split his weak force in the
presence of Cornwallis' strong force, sending part south to the
Pee Dee River in South Carolina to General Marion, the guerrilla
"Swamp Fox", and threaten the English near the coast. The other
half, 800 men under General Morgan (he had received some reinforcements)
he sent West to threaten the English supply stations there.

Cornwallis accordingly split his forces, sending 1300 well-trained
troops under Lt. Colonel Banastre Tarleton to defeat Morgan.
General Morgan selected a battle site on two hills, one behind the
other, at the Cowpens (the same cow pens as figured in the King's
Mountain campaign). According to a well-organized plan, when the
British (January 17, 1781) attacked the forward hill, the line
resisted then fell back, indicating retreat, Tarleton thought.
Hence he rushed his troops forward, only to meet American fire from
the front and sides. The British and Tories broke and fled, but
the 71st Highlanders, part of Tarleton's force, were more difficult,
although they finally had to surrender. (Note: In the years after
the total defeat of the Highlanders at Culloden in 1746, many
Highland regiments were formed in the British Army, of young men
who had little other chance for livelihood.) Tarleton had to
flee, with not more than a tenth of his 1300 man force, but the
Americans were unable to get Tarleton himself in their hands, where
no doubt he would have received "Tarleton's quarter".

Thus Cornwallis for the second time had lost his left wing.
He sent forces to catch Morgan, but Morgan moved rapidly to the
north-east. From that point on, Greene's campaign strategy was to run, then strike parts of the British forces, and move away. He was not able to gain further decisive victories, but his campaigns were a success. Cornwallis' forces were severely crippled at Guilford Court House (March 14, 1781) and finally at Eutaw Springs, farther south (September 8, 1781). Horace Walpole remarked, "Lord Cornwallis has conquered his troops out of shoes and provisions and himself out of troops." Cornwallis then withdrew to Virginia, where Washington trapped him at Yorktown.

After Eutaw Springs the British controlled only Charleston and Savannah. There were no further major engagements in the South. The turning point at King's Mountain had been exploited in less than a year by General Greene, his excellent subordinates, and a small number of American fighting men, with critical aid from foreign forces, into a decisive change in the aspect of the Revolution.

Back to the Frontier, after King's Mountain.

Trouble with the Indians, although sporadic, persisted on the frontier. The Indians, of course, were still being stirred up by British agents. We cannot cover here all of the depredations by the Indians nor all the settlers' acts against them. Only some of the instances in which the McNabbs were known to have been involved will be mentioned.

The next spring (March, 1781) after King's Mountain, Colonel John Sevier had word that some of the attacks on outlying residents were coming from farther south. Accordingly, he collected 130 men at Greasy Cove (presentday Erwin) on the Nolichucky River and penetrated the steep mountains to attack the Cherokee middle towns on the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River. David McNabb was
one of the Captains in this expedition. Fifty Indian warriors were killed, 50 women and children taken prisoner, and their towns and granaries of corn were burned.

Nor did trouble from the Indians cease with the end of our Revolutionary War. As settlements spread farther west and south from the original Watauga area, however, the older region was too well established for Indian attacks, which then were made against the forward fringes.

Post-war Land Grants.

North Carolina, like other states, had made promises of land to men who served in their forces during the Revolution. These free land grants, of varying amounts, were for men who had served in the Continental Line regiments, not in the militia where most of the Overmountain men had served. However, starting in 1782, North Carolina began issuing warrants, payable in scrip, for either military or other services during the war. These warrants could be used in purchasing land. Details are given in Ref. 34. Warrants issued to McNabbs (military or other service not specified) were: *

(The numerals after the names refer to volume, page and folio of the North Carolina Revolutionary Army Accounts in the State Archives at Raleigh, NC)

- McNabb, Babtis, I-2-2
- McNabb, David, I-12-4; I-63-4
- McNabb, James, I-82-2; I-82-4
- McNabb, Jno., I-50-2; I-63-2
- McNabb, John, I-2-2(3); I-2-4
- McNabb, Thomas, I-82-4

(A record of the warrant issued to Baptist McNabb is attached in the Appendix.) (It is not clear to me who James and Thomas McNabb were.)


Land grants made as a consequence of these warrants were:

34,p3
   On the West side of Buffalow Creek a branch of Wautauga
34,p4
   On a branch of Sinking Creek joining David Jobes lines
34,p9
   On the waters of Buffalow Creek joining his survey
34,p12
   On Nolechucky and French Broad Rivers
34, p44
   On Big Pidgeon River

You will notice that there does not appear any warrant issued to William McNabb for services. The land grant he obtained in 1782 may have been on the assignment of a warrant issued to someone else, possibly his brother David, who apparently did not take a land grant. What William was doing during the war is not clear. In 1778 he took the census and appraised property. In May 1782 he was a member (along with John McNabb and others) of a court in Washington County (records show that a will of Aaron Burleson was approved at that time). After the war it is known he was Ranger for the County. Presumably he was some sort of County official during the war.

It is interesting also to notice that, as nearly as we can tell from these land grants and later bits of information as to residence, Baptist's brother John was now relocating farther southwest, in the region that became Greene County in 1783. Fig. 35 shows North Carolina, as seen by North Carolinians, as it existed in 1783.

Baptist's Death.

Baptist McNabb lived to see the United States freed from Britain, but he died in 1784, at the presumed age of 61, five years before his father died. His will was written in January

and probated in the May session of court. His wife Catherine had evidently died before him since she is not mentioned. (Incidentally, comparing the handwriting of his will and that of his son William's, as well as William's signature, I think it possible that William wrote Baptist's will.) The will is included below as I read it. The handwritten copy is in the Appendix. (Notice that Isabella is apparently the youngest and still in her non-age — under 21. Jean probably is to be interpreted as Jane and Katrin as Catherine.) At the old Baptist's death his grandson Baptist (II) was about 14 years old.

**Will of Baptist McNabb**

In the name of God Amen This fourth day of January in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and eighty four I Baptist McNabb of the County of Washington and state of North Carrolina being sick and weak in body but of perfect mind and memory calling to mind the mortality of this my state and that it is appointed for all men once to die do make and order this to be my last will and testament That is to say prinsabbly and first of all I recommend my soul to God who gave it and my body to the earth to be buried in a Decent and Christanable manner at the Discretion of my Executors and further such worldly goods wherewith it pleased God to bless me with I give and dispose of in manner as followeth

First of all I order and it is my will that all my just and lawfull debts and funeral charges be paid of by my Executors.

I do give and bequeath unto my daughter Isabella McNabb my two mares and colts and a bed and furniture one cow and calf which have now got two more her choice of the the stock at my decease and all and every part of my household furniture.

I do likewise order that my Executors make a right to the trackt of land that I gave to my son John McNabb and likewise to that
trackt I gave my son David McNabb. The other part which I now live on I do give unto my son James McNabb and his heirs with its improvements upon condition that it be valued by three and efficient (indifferent, independent ?) persons to be chosen by the Legatees he haveing two Legatees parts the other part to be paid in manner following in one year after my decease that is to say to Wm McNabb, John McNabb, David McNabb and Isabella McNabb and in case that he should refuse to take said land on those conditions that it be sold and the money arising therefrom to be divided amongst the Legatees in manner aforesaid.

And that all the stock and moveables not otherwise divided be sold and equally divided between amongst the Legatees and in case Isabella McNabb should die in her Non age that her part should be divided amongst the other Legatees aforesaid.

And I do leave and bequeath unto my Daughters Mary McNabb, Margaret McNabb, Jean McNabb and Katrin McNabb five shillings to be paid to them one year after my Decease by the other Legatees.

And I constitute my son John McNabb and David McNabb to be the executors of this my Last Will and Testament and I do hereby Revoke and Disannul and make void all other Wills and Testaments by me heretofore maid and constituted.

Confirming Approving this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament sighned seald Published and proclaimed in presence of us.

Teste

Wm McNabb
Agnys Campbell
John Campbell
The State of Franklin, 1784-1788.

The story of western North Carolina nearly becoming the State of Franklin is a side issue though an interesting one. 35,p.xxii

As Eastin Morris in 1834 wrote of it:

"In 1784, the legislature of North Carolina passed a law ceding the Territory, now the state of Tennessee, to the Congress of the United States, if they would accept of it within the space of two years from the passage of the act; and North Carolina was to retain her jurisdiction until Congress should make provisions for a Territorial government. After this act, the citizens of Tennessee became fearful, that pending this negotiation, they would be deprived of the benefit of the laws of the parent state, and Congress also; and be compelled to contend single-handed with their common enemy, the Indians. They accordingly came to the determination of organizing a Territorial government on their own responsibility. On the 23rd of August, a convention of deputies from the counties of Washington, Sullivan and Green, assembled at Jonesboro'. They appointed John Sevier, President, and Landon Carter, Clerk. They also appointed a committee to take into consideration the state of public affairs, relative to the cession. The committee reported that they had a just and undeniable right to petition Congress to accept the cession made by North Carolina, and for that body to countenance them in forming a separate government. They then drew up a plan of an association, and enacted, that, the laws of North Carolina, so far as was compatible with their new situation, should continue in force; .... "

However, the Assembly of North Carolina that fall repealed the act ceding the Western territory to Congress. When the convention of deputies that had met earlier to organize a government met again in November, it broke up in confusion as a result of the reversal by the North Carolina Assembly. There were different points of view: some wanted to return to the prior status quo under North Carolina; others wanted to proceed with the severance. The latter prevailed, and in December 1784 the State of Franklin was set up and went into operation. A delegate was sent to Congress, but he returned without having obtained any decision. John Sevier was elected as Governor, courts were set up, and Franklin operated as a state.

However, the adherents to North Carolina authority persisted and by 1786 there were two conflicting courts in Franklin, each 35. Eastin Morris The Tennessee Gazeteer (Nashville, 1834).
asserting its authority. As more time passed, the confusion of having two conflicting jurisdictions resulted in personal antagonisms and clashes between prior good friends, as men sought either a better future for the region or the gain of personal advantage, as the case may be.

Since the North Carolina assembly had voted to resume its jurisdiction and the U.S. Congress had failed to act to admit Franklin, opposition to continuance of the new state grew. Ramsey 29, p388 says: "In Washington county this opposition had become most apparent. The magistrates appointed by the authorities of North Carolina met... and organized a court, when the following proceedings took place:

1787 at May Term: ...  
Ordered by the Court, That the Sheriff of this county demand the public records from John Sevier, formerly Clerk of this county.

Ordered, That the Sheriff notify Wm. McNabb to appear before the next County Court, with all the records as former Ranger."

What action was taken by William McNabb is not known, nor what the eventual outcome was for him. It is known that John Sevier retained the high esteem of his fellow men, since when the territory was finally admitted as the State of Tennessee in 1796 he was elected its first governor.

Although it is of only passing interest, a map (Fig. 36) is attached from Ref. 29, showing the State of Franklin and the Cumberland Region of settlement. Notice that County names assigned often differ from those after Franklin went into limbo.

In 1787 the backing for the new state of Franklin began seriously to fail. North Carolina hastened the downfall by passing a measure granting amnesty to all who would accept North Carolina's jurisdiction. Thus, in early 1788 the State of Franklin was effectively terminated,
with a brief skirmish between Sevier’s Franklin supporters and those supporting North Carolina, on the lawn of the home of Samuel Tipton, I am told.

The ill-defined status of the North Carolina region west of the Great Smoky mountains was not yet cleared up, however. One year after the demise of Franklin, the North Carolina assembly again voted to turn the territory over to the U.S. Congress, and this was effected in April 1790. Under the Northwest Ordinance, Congress established the region as the "Territory of the United States of America, south of the River Ohio." George Washington appointed William Blount as governor of the territory. Governor Blount established his first headquarters near the fork of the Holston and Wautauga rivers.

In November 1791 a newspaper was established in the territory — the "Knoxville Gazette". The population of the territory at that time amounted to 36,013, including 3,417 slaves. The population of the Cumberland country (called the Mero district, north of the Cumberland River where it dips down into Tennessee) was 7,042, and by that time consisted of three counties: Tennessee, Davidson and Sumner. In the eastern portion of the territory Hawkins County had been added in 1786 to Washington, Sullivan and Greene. The counties in Tennessee in 1790 are shown in Fig. 37. These counties were the same when Tennessee became a state in 1796 (except that Tennessee County exchanged its name for Montgomery County when the name Tennessee was suggested for the state.). Fig. 37 also indicates how the original counties were later added to and broken up.

Indian Affairs Again.

After taking office, Governor Blount made a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Knoxville in which they promised perpetual peace.
Fig. 37 - Tennessee Counties in 1790 and subsequently.

Note: Tennessee County formed in 1786 surrendered its name when state became Tennessee in 1796.

James County incorporated in Hamilton County 1919.
(Red lines indicate 1870 boundaries.)

TENNESSEE CHANGES IN COUNTY LINES: 1790 TO 1900
But the northern Miami Indians in Ohio achieved a victory over the whites in the defeat of General St. Clair at Fort Recovery in 1791. Incited by that news, the Cherokees prepared to take up arms against the Tennesseans. In September 1793, 700 Creeks and 200 Cherokees crossed the Tennessee River below the mouth of the Holston, massacred 12 persons in one family and headed for Knoxville, but withdrew when they could not take the fort.

Meanwhile, since Indian depredations had continued for the past several years, residents of the region had gathered to invade the Cherokee towns, and they sought the support of the militia. General Sevier with about 1000 men came to their aid. He pursued the Indians and after one or two engagements in which few were killed but the Indians dispersed, he marched through the southern Cherokee and Creek country, destroying their towns and their supplies. This was in the late fall, October 1793. Under General John Sevier in this expedition were: Carter and Christian, colonels; Blair and McNabb (apparently David), lieutenant-colonels.

Back to the McNabbs at home.

Confirming the information that John, Sr., Baptist’s brother, took a land grant farther southwest from Wautauga, we find a note that at the February session, 1791, of the Greene County officers, among those present was... John McNabb...

William and David, sons of Baptist, remained in the old Wautauga region. So far as we know, based on William’s will, he and Elizabeth Dryden McNabb had only the four children: Baptist (II), David, William and Nancy. Baptist’s son David and Elizabeth Taylor McNabb, however, had thirteen children, of whom ten were boys. They had been married in 1778 in Augusta County, Virginia, where Andrew Taylor, Sr., resided at the time. Apparently (by the tax roll) David
had already settled in the Wautauga area, and he brought his bride there. The Taylors also came to the region at that time. Their first child, Absolom, was born January 27, 1779. It is interesting that Absolom was married (September 28, 1803, to Mary Lusk) before his mother delivered her last child, Taylor, in 1806 (when she was 46). (David's family is shown in the Appendix.) David died in 1826 in McMinn County; his widow did not die until 1848, at the age of 88. At her death she was living in McMinn County and receiving a Revolutionary War widow's pension.

As to the other sons of Baptist -- John and James -- I have little information. John married Sarah Jamison (according to DAR records). (However, I have seen a note that he married Sarah Jefferson.)

The next event of note in the line we are following is that young Baptist, son of William (II) and grandson of the old Baptist, was married on March 3, 1794. The marriage license record (p.120, Washington County, Tennessee) (apparently a copy by a clerk of the original issued in the Territory of the U.S. South of the Ohio) shows: Babtist McNabb to ---- Gray, with Andrew Taylor Jr. as witness or security. Indeed, in the manuscript marriage bond (see Appendix A), Baptist signed without entering his bride's given name. From later records (court trial in 1848) we know that her first name was Margaret and that she was born in 1775 (in Virginia, census information). Which of a number of Grays was her father I have not been able to find definitely.

Baptist and Margaret started their family at once. The first child, Elizabeth (probably named after Baptist's mother) was born November 4, 1794. She was to be the first of ten girls in succession

before finally one son was born -- Nathaniel Dryden McNabb -- on 23 August 1818 (the year is a little uncertain, but 1818 is on his tombstone.). A listing of the children appears in Fig. 22, taken from a family Bible in the possession of James Lee McNabb. The Bible had at some time become wet and consequently not all the names are legible. The birth recordings appear to be as follows:

Elizabeth, 4 Nov. 1794
Nancy, 18 Feb. 1796
Louanna (?), 20 July 1796 (1798?)
Margaret, 4 Jan. 1801
Tammy (?), 27 July 1802
Mary, 28 Sept. 1804
Ozina, 1 Nov. 1806
Martha, 25 March 1810 (m. David Freedle)
Peggy Ann, 26 July 1813
Artemisia, 5 April 1815 (m. Alfred Devine)
Nathaniel Dryden, 23 Aug. 1819, died May 1895 (m. Trefenia Smallen)

For some years Baptist and Margaret lived in the vicinity of where they were married.

**Tennessee becomes a State, June 1, 1796.**

The population in Tennessee had been growing rapidly as settlers spread west and south of the original Holston-Wautauga region. Also many settlers had come to middle Tennessee above the Cumberland River where it makes its big loop south into Tennessee. Congress had ruled that when the population should reach 60,000, a state could be formed. In July 1795 the Territorial Assembly, anticipating there were enough residents, passed an act for a census. The results are shown in the table below. Governor Blount certified the results and Congress approved the admission as the State of Tennessee (the 16th state), which became effective June 1, 1796.
**TERRITORY OF THE U. STATES OF AMERICA SOUTH OF THE RIVER OHIO.**

Schedule of the aggregate amount of each description of persons, taken agreeably to "An act providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory of the United States of America south of the River Ohio:" passed July 11, 1795.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
<th>Free white males, 16 years and upwards, including heads of families</th>
<th>Free white males under 16 years</th>
<th>Free white females including heads of families</th>
<th>All other free persons</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
<th>Total amount</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Nays</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>1225</td>
<td>3021</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>7840</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkins</td>
<td>2666</td>
<td>2279</td>
<td>4767</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>2472</td>
<td>13331</td>
<td>1651</td>
<td>534</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>1367</td>
<td>2203</td>
<td>3350</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>7638</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>2721</td>
<td>2723</td>
<td>3664</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2365</td>
<td>11573</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>128</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2578</td>
<td>4311</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>10105</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sullivan</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>3340</td>
<td>3499</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>8457</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sevier</td>
<td>6888</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>1503</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>3578</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>Blount</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>1271</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>1192</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>3613</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>157</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sumner</td>
<td>1328</td>
<td>1595</td>
<td>2316</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>6270</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tennessee</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,380</strong></td>
<td><strong>444</strong></td>
<td><strong>700</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>398</strong></td>
<td><strong>1941</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
<td><strong>231</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16,179</strong></td>
<td><strong>19944</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,554</strong></td>
<td><strong>973</strong></td>
<td><strong>10613</strong></td>
<td><strong>77,562</strong></td>
<td><strong>6504</strong></td>
<td><strong>2562</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(From Ref. 32, p.280)

Tennessee County was renamed Montgomery County, when the name Tennessee was suggested for the State.

**Dunkers into East Tennessee.**

Eastern Tennessee was of course becoming more densely settled, no longer on the frontier. Settlers came in from various places, but one significant group migrating there around 1800 was the Dunkers from Virginia. They mixed among the earlier settlers, but had their own customs and meeting houses. Among them, coming about 1797 into the same area as the McNabbs, were the family of John Miller and his wife Catherine Bowman (whose father was killed by Indians in 1794 on a return trip from Tennessee to Virginia), and in 1801 the family of Michael Krous and his wife Catherine Zimmerman. These are noted here because they were direct ancestors of Billie McNabb on her mother's side. However, in that period of time the Dunkers and the Scots did not intermarry.

**Traces of McNabbs after Statehood.**

After Tennessee became a state there was both a rapid growth of settlers and of new counties, formed principally out of the old counties, but sometimes from land acquired from the Indians. One should note that at the time of statehood, except for the areas
covered by the counties at that time, as shown in the map of Fig. 36, the rest of the state was recognized as Indian Land, belonging to the Cherokees, at least for the moment. In eastern Tennessee, although Greene and Hawkins counties nominally extended to the south border, the lower regions were not populated by whites when these counties first were formed. Even before statehood, new counties had been identified out of Greene and Hawkins as the settlers spread farther south-west. From the map, and county records, we see the following counties appear:

Jefferson - 1792 — out of Greene and Hawkins
Knox - 1792 — out of Greene and Hawkins
Sevier - 1794 — out of Jefferson
Blount - 1795 — out of Knox

After statehood:
Carter - 1796 — out of Washington
Grainger - 1796 — out of Hawkins and Knox
Cocke - 1797 — out of Jefferson
Roane - 1801 — out of Knox and Blount
Claiborne - 1801 — out of Hawkins and Grainger
Anderson - 1801 — out of Knox
Campbell - 1806 — out of Anderson and Claiborne
Rhea - 1807 — out of Roane
Morgan - 1817 — out of Roane
McMinn - 1819 — out of Indian Lands
Monroe - 1819 — out of Roane (?)
Hamilton - 1819 — out of Rhea

A like process took place in middle Tennessee within the original counties. When Carter County was formed from the eastern part of Washington County in 1796, the dividing line cut across Buffalo Creek, then headed nearly north across Sinking Creek and finally across the Watauga River to join Sullivan County (see the map of Fig. 31, p.142). This line was close to the original land grants to Baptist and his son William. The 507-acre land grant to William McNabb in 1782 from North Carolina, for which William had paid fifty shillings for every hundred acres (Deed Book No. 1, Washington County, N.C.) was sold by William and his wife Elizabeth in 1791 to Solomon Hendricks for £100. (Deed Book 4, Washington County). However, William acquired other land,
which lay in Carter County. We find listed among "some original grantees to land in Carter County" (which may mean land that later became part of Carter County), on Sinking Creek: William McNabb.

The Carter County Tax Lists for 1796 * show the following:

Adjacent to each other on the list are:
- McNabb, Baptist — no land — 1 poll
- McNabb, David, Junr. — no land — 1 poll

Farther down the list, also adjacent to each other:
- McNabb, William — 300 acres — (no poll indicated)
- McNabb, David, Senr. — 258 acres — 1 poll

All of them were listed as having no slaves.

One question here is who was David, Junr. David did have a son David, Jr., but he was not born until 1791; David's first child, Absolom, would have been only 17 in 1796. The David, Junr., shown likely was Baptist's brother David, who therefore was born before 1775.

In the Commission Book of Governor John Sevier, 1796-1801, there appears: p.11, Baptist McNabb commissioned Ensign in the regiment of Carter County, October 10, 1796; commissioned Lieutenant in the regiment of Carter County, December 17, 1798. Also on page 11, William McNabb commissioned Coroner for Carter County for 2 years, October 4, 1798; renewed October 1, 1800. It also is listed that Absolom McNabb (David's oldest son, b. 1779) was commissioned Lieutenant in the regiment of Carter County September 26, 1800; his father, David, was commissioned Justice of the Peace, Carter County, April 23, 1796, thus becoming a member of the first Carter County court which was "composed of existing magistrates, commonly called esquires or justices of the peace."

David McNabb was appointed on a committee which in 1796 selected a site for the county seat of Carter County. The site was approved by the legislature and named Elizabethton, after General Landon Carter's wife. According to Worth S. Ray, the land selected belonged

to "Samuel Tipton, who cut it up into lots and sold them at private sale, no part of the proceeds being donated to the county. To dispose of the lots they had a lottery... Among the lot buyers were...

William McNabb."

As was emphasized earlier, the McNabbs and the others of the Scotch-Irish group were Presbyterians. And at the God-send of the troops at Wautauga to the battle at King's Mountain, the Reverend Samuel Doak, a Presbyterian minister from Virginia, gave the sermon. However, following that, there was no Presbyterian minister in eastern Tennessee. But a Baptist church was organized -- the Sinking Creek Baptist Church (which still exists), and apparently the Scots, in the absence of their own church, joined it. According to Merritt, "Earliest members included the Greers, the Talbots, the Lincolns, the McNabbs, the Bogards, the Dentons, the Fletchers, and the Hyders. Later members included William Davis, Edmond Williams, Isaac Taylor, William Boyd, John Brown, and John Hammer, the Pughs, the Tiptons, the Loves, and others." Some time later, about 1825, the first Presbyterian church in Elizabethton was organized, with 17 members. No McNabbs are shown among the original members. Indeed, by that time many of the McNabbs had left the region, headed farther out.

William's Will.

We don't know exactly when William (II) died. However, his will was written in 1809, and often in those days wills were written when death was in sight. The will was found in a desk of the Carter County courthouse; whether or when it may have been probated I don't know. The will, as closely as I can interpret the writing, is given below. (The manuscript copy is in the Appendix.)
William's Will

State of Tennysie Cartor County

In the name of God Aman [Senr.?] being weak in Body but of perfect Mind and Memory blessed be god -- And calling to Mind the mortality of the body and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, do make and ordain this my Last Will and testament, in the following manner. After all just Debts being paid by two of my sons, David and William McNabb -- paying each an equal part -- First of all I will and bequeath unto my Beloved Wife Ellizabeth McNabb all my household furniture Goods and Chatles of every discription, one Still and one Cow excepted, to be hers and at her Disposal as she thinks proper now and at her Death -- for the Love and effection I have to my two sons David and William McNabb [I do] bequeath the tract of land where I now live to be divided Equally in quantity by [designations?] of my Executors if not agreed upon by themselves to have occupy posess and injoy to them and their heires and assigns, a Clear Title of inheritance in fee simple at my Death -- William McNabb to have that part that will include the Dweling house for which rite of inheritance the before named William [Are?] to seport and maintain his Mother Ellizabeth decently during her natural life -- I also will unto my son William my Still and one Cow -- for the Effection I have unto my Son Baptist McNabb I will and bequeth all the right I have in and to a Bond I have on Andrew Taylor to make a title to the Land where the aforesaid Baptist now lives on, to be his and to his heires and assigns forever -- for the Love and effection I have unto my Daughter Nancy Lockard I will Sixty Six dollars Sixty Six Cents payable by my son David McNabb in good trade, and not paid unto after the death of his Mother, without he chooses to make payment sooner -- and also my son William McNabb [are?] to pay my Daughter Nancy Lockard thirty three
Dollars thirty three and one third Cents payable only at the Death of his Mother, and that in good trade -- I further will unto my four Children Baptist McNabb David and William McNabb together with Nancy Lockard, an Equal part of all my land Claims other than \[\text{obscured by mending tape}\]
do nominate and appoint David McNabb and And\textsuperscript{W} Taylor my Executors to this my last Will and testament -- in the presence of

Andrew Taylor \[\text{Jr.}\]
Martha Patterson. d.
Prudence Patterson.

Wm McNabb

Seal

November the 16th day 1809

The Sons, after William's Death.

I have found no information regarding William's wife Elizabeth after his death, nor of their daughter Nancy Lockard. How long the sons stayed in the region of Carter County after William's death also is not known. However, the son David D. McNabb married Martha Vering on November 10, 1810, in Carter County. Also, records of Carter County show Baptist McNabb there as late as 1819.

From later censuses (1830 and 1840 -- the earliest preserved), it is evident the three boys stayed together, but moved southwest in Tennessee. Early Tennessee tax lists might give some information, but, such as have been found \* are only fragments and skip over many years and locations. After showing Baptist in Carter County in 1796 and 1798, they show a Baptist McNabb in Cocke County in 1827. (This must be the Baptist we are interested in since it is incompatible with other Baptist McNabbs -- see the chart of Baptist McNabbs in the Appendix. The only other possibility is the Baptist who moved to Sangamon County, Illinois, in 1828; he was in Carter County in 1827 -- he married Margaret Dunlap there on 31 January 1827.

\* Sistler: Early Tennessee Tax Lists.
and their first child was born there in November 1827.). On September 7, 1827, a petition for divorce** by a Nathaniel Maddux of Cocke County, whose wife left with another man, was signed by many neighbors, testifying that "he always had plenty of everything necessary for to live upon and that he treated her as well as husband out to treat a wife". The signers included John McNabb, James McNabb, John McNabb, Sr., George McNabb, Baptist McNabb, John McNabb.

But by 1830 Baptist (II) and his brothers were definitely in Monroe County, according to the census. As you can see from the maps, Monroe County is considerably farther southwest, below the present Great Smoky National Park. Its eastern part is forest, bounding on the Great Smoky mountains. The census record for Monroe County for 1830 and 1840 relative to McNabbs is shown on the following page.

Influence of U.S. History.

It is time now to take an overview of what was happening in the nation as a whole, with some remarks on what must have affected the McNabb families. Perhaps three main developments need to be pointed out: (1) the rapid growth in population and change from a nation oriented around the original colonies; (2) the developments that led to the war of 1812 with England; (3) the expansion in territory and the fate of the Indians. There are of course many good American histories; a condensed account, but apparently accurate as to facts, trends and their causes, can be found in Ref. 37.

After the Constitution was made and approved in 1789 there still was not a sense of unity as a nation and the states still had their own individual orientations. However, because of our duties on exports to England the shaky finances of the country improved. Immigration,

** "Ansearchin" News, v. 13, p.86.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Name of Family</th>
<th>FREE WHITE MALES</th>
<th>FREE WHITE FEMALES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Under 5 yrs.</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>82 Thomas McNabb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>107 Andrew McNabb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>136 Baptist McNabb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>147 David McNabb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>150 William McNabb</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>146 Robert Smallin</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>147 Samuel Smallin</td>
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<td>Monroe</td>
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<td>147 Nathaniel Smallin</td>
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<td>Monroe</td>
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<td>147 Jonathan Smallin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td></td>
<td>156 Nathaniel Smallin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Who is this? born 1760-1770
- Either might be Triphemia
- Nathaniel Dryden (22 in 1840)
- Probably Triphemia (25 in 1840)
coupled with a high birth rate, led to the population increasing by 3% each year (doubling every 23 years). The first census, in 1790, already counted nearly 4,000,000 persons -- 95% of whom lived east of the mountains.

The British, despite the aid to us from their trade, were still a thorn in our side. They had not, as pledged at the end of the Revolution, evacuated their forts on the lower side of the Great Lakes. Also, they still encouraged the Indians, with arms and liquor, to check the advances of Americans into Indian territory. Then, after the French Revolution of 1789 finally involved England in war with France, England seized American ships and impressed our merchant seamen in order to blockade the French West Indies. Despite our having a "perpetual" treaty of mutual aid with the French (as a consequence of our Revolutionary War), the French did not call on us, and President Washington declared neutrality (which did not deter the English from their acts against us on the sea). In 1794 John Jay was sent to England and negotiated a treaty by which, finally, the English gave up their forts in U.S. territory and agreed to pay damages for past ship seizures, but did not agree regarding future seizures. While the treaty was being negotiated, General "Mad Anthony" Wayne executed a carefully planned campaign and defeated the northern Indians at the battle of Fallen Timers, at the west end of Lake Erie, in 1794, reversing the defeat of General St. Clair which had stirred up the Cherokees in the Tennessee area. It also helped to deter the isolated attacks on whites still occurring at this time in the Tennessee and Kentucky area.

Before Washington left office in 1797 there had become two definite political parties, representing sectional divisions of the U.S. --
the Federalists, principally old colonials of New England, and the Jeffersonian Democrat-Republicans who represented the agricultural South and the new western states. The Federalists favored England, the Jeffersonians France. Both were inclined to get us entangled with foreign affairs and wars. Fortunately, calmer second thoughts, and the need of the U.S. for a period to develop a strong nation, prevailed for a while (until 1812). As a consequence of our treaty of 1794 with England, France reacted by seizing American merchantmen, 300 by mid-1797. In addition, France refused to see U.S. envoys unless a money tribute was paid. Suddenly, U.S. sentiment turned against France and in favor of England. Many in the U.S. wanted war against France (in undeclared hostilities, the U.S. between 1798-1800 seized over 80 ships flying French colors). But President John Adams, the New England Federalist, was rational enough to "take on the responsibility of peace with France in the year 1800" (as he proposed for his epitaph). His action helped us in 1803 to get the Louisiana Purchase from Napoleon.

In 1800 Thomas Jefferson defeated John Adams for the presidency. Jefferson was the advocate of state's-rights and of universal manhood suffrage (in contrast to the property qualification for voting, the law in the original states). The conservative Federalist party, headed by John Adams, never recovered from the defeat. And in 28 more years the "uncivilized" westerners, led by Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, would take over the presidency. Jefferson did not prove as radical as the Federalists had feared. Further, the influence of Alexander Hamilton and the decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall helped to develop a strong central government, in contrast to Jefferson's idea that the Union was a "compact" made by the states, who could nullify certain actions by the congress — an idea which later led to secession.
(We can see that our nation profited from the Federalists, in that we have a strong union and central power, and also from the Jeffersonians in that we have universal suffrage (now including women) and the rights of states and of the people except where they oppose the national law.)

The Louisiana Purchase, 1803.

In the history of this country, a number of times we have survived nearly "by the skin of our teeth", when events could easily have gone another way; and sometimes very happy results have come unexpectedly from the turn of events. The Louisiana Purchase is an example of the latter.

Spain controlled not only Florida but the mouth of the Mississippi and the Louisiana region. See the map, Fig. 38. We had paid Spain for the privilege of shipping through New Orleans. But in 1800 Spain, an ally of France, made a treaty ceding the whole Louisiana territory and the New Orleans area to France, with the result that Napoleon closed the Mississippi exit to our shipping. At this time, as a result of the treaty with England at the end of the Revolutionary War (and the English settlement with the French at the end of the French and Indian War), we had territorial rights as far west as the Mississippi. Commerce and some settlement had already reached that far and down towards New Orleans as far as Natchez. To open the Mississippi for our shipping, Jefferson sent an envoy to France to offer $10,000,000 for the New Orleans region and some territory to the east. Negotiations dragged on. Then suddenly Napoleon asked if we would like to buy that and the whole Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi for $15,000,000. The offer, nearly unbelievable to our government, was accepted (though the Federalists grumbled about it). Why this offer by Napoleon? -- An unforeseeable turn of events. Napoleon had looked
Shaded areas represent major Indian holdings east of the Mississippi not yet ceded to the United States, January 1, 1800. Until the 1797 Treaty of San Lorenzo, Spain was still in possession of Florida, the Gulf coast and the whole of the continent west of the Mississippi, and continued to claim all territory west of the Flint River and south of the Tennessee River.

**Fig. 38**  Recognized Indian Territory, 1800 and 1825.  
*From Dale Van Every: Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian (Ref. 3, p. 184).*
on the island of Santo Domingo as a base for supplies from America, with sugar and other foodstuffs coming through there from the Louisiana territory. But the natives in Santo Domingo under Toussaint L'ouverture revolted, and then yellow fever killed French troops until finally Napoleon gave up this hope. (Later, you may remember, his scientists found how to get sugar from sugar beets.) Also, at this time Napoleon was about to renew war with England. He feared that England, with its sea power, might isolate and take over the Louisiana territory. To keep it out of their hands he sold it to us.

Jefferson then encouraged exploration of the new territory. He sent Zebulon Pike up towards the headwaters of the Mississippi, then west into Colorado and down to Spanish territory. Another expedition, under Lewis and Clark, went up the Missouri River and west to the Pacific, helping to establish claims to the Oregon country. (See the map, Fig. 39, below, from Ref. 37, p.192)
During Jefferson's presidency, as you can see, the character of the nation had changed to a more democratic one. The western settlers, the new states and the new land west of the Mississippi had changed the focus of the country and brought a new nationalistic spirit—one for integrating all the land into a nation, not just the original thirteen colonies. The problem of slavery still existed and, since each state had two senators, as time passed and new states entered, a balance was carefully kept that the slave and free states were equal.


During the early years of our republic we were continually being tempted to fight against one country or another, in the old European fashion of intrigues between kings. From 1801 to 1805 we fought against Tripoli, and sea warfare dragged on until 1812 against other Barbary Coast pirates who demanded protection money from our merchantmen. Eventually we established our freedom on the seas in the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, U.S. merchantmen were making good profits in their trade with Europe, especially England and France. However, in 1805, the English fleet under Lord Nelson defeated the French and Spanish in the battle of Trafalgar, an event which left England in command of the seas, while Napoleon was in command of all the land of continental Europe. England, with no other good choice, decided to stop all trade, by all nations, with France. The British began seizing our ships and impressing our sailors into their navy. According to a fair estimate, perhaps 6000 U. S. citizens were impressed by the British between 1808 and 1811 alone. The U. S. had only a weak navy and a weaker army, consequently needed to avoid war. But feeling ran high. Jefferson, in order to act against both sides, thinking they had to have our trade, got Congress to place a total embargo on shipments. This was nearly disastrous to the economy and to Jefferson's popularity. Just as
Jefferson went out of office, and Madison came in, the embargo was modified, and later a provision added that if either France or England would remove all restrictions on our shipping we would impose non-intercourse with the other nation. Napoleon seized the opportunity, making England furious and more active than ever against us, including stirring up the Indians north of the Ohio. War hawks in the U.S., particularly in the West, wanted war and saw a chance to remove the Indian supply base by taking Canada. Canada, with 500,000 people, compared to over 6,000,000 whites in the U.S., looked like an easy prize. A considerable number of the Canadians had come from the U.S. colonies because they had been loyalists to England during the Revolutionary War — including several McNabb families whose relationship to the McNabbs of this story is not known. See the Appendix. The Democratic war party, in June 1812, forced a declaration of war through Congress — 79 to 49 in the House, 19 to 13 in the Senate. It is interesting, as came to light later, that our declaration of war came two days after the British repealed their Orders in Council for action against our merchantmen and sailors.

Not only were we unprepared for war, but the land war of 1812-1814 was very poorly fought by us, and there was serious disunity in the nation. New England almost completely withheld support. There was only a meager army, poorly trained and led, supported by militia who did pretty much as they pleased. We initiated a three-pronged invasion of Canada, but our troops didn't want to cross the Canadian border. We were humiliated in battle on land, and the English and Canadians were set and could have invaded our territory except for two courageous battles — the first by Perry who took control of the water route of Lake Erie from the British; the second by Macdonough who denied the
water route of Lake Champlain to the British force invading the U.S. from Montreal in 1814 (there were no land roads). To make matters more difficult for us, Napoleon had by this time been defeated in Europe and England was able to divert her attention to the U.S.

Two other thrusts were made by the British in 1814 -- at Washington and at New Orleans. The British came up the Chesapeake Bay, routed our small force and burned our Capitol, then proceeded to Baltimore, but were turned back there, as we know from the "Star Spangled Banner". This action aroused the Americans, who now began to face up to the war. The Canadians had early done so, and as a consequence of our initial attack had developed a sense of nationalism (as reflected in their national song, "The Maple Leaf").

Despite our reverses on land, our forces on the sea did surprisingly well against the British. We could not risk fleet engagements, having only 16 ships in our entire navy, but in single-ship engagements we won 4 out of 5 frigate battles (we still remember the "Constitution" -- Old Ironsides), and 8 out of 9 sloop engagements. In addition, swift American privateers (there were as many as 500) preyed on English shipping, capturing or destroying perhaps 1350 merchantmen. The losses were humiliating to the British but of negligible importance to their large navy, which by the end of the war had established an effective blockade along our coast.

The land war in the South in 1814 must surely have been of more interest to the McNabbs and the Tennesseans than were the campaigns in the North and on the sea. It started the eventual resolution of the Indian problem for the ever-expanding flood of settlers.
(Regarding the fate of the Cherokee Indians there are several good
books which consider the Indian point of view and are worth reading.)

The South had not been involved in the war of 1812 until it was
learned the British planned to seize New Orleans and control of our
shipping outlet on the Mississippi. Andrew Jackson had been made a
Brigadier General of militia forces in the mid-Tennessee Cumberland
region (as John Sevier had been in the eastern region). (It was
common practice for political leaders to be given military office
as well.)

In early 1814 the British had established enough influence in the
southern region that the less civilized elements of the Creek Indians
(those who tried to maintain their original status and way of life)
had joined the British to oppose the Americans. These "red sticks", as
they were called, seized Fort Mims in the Alabama region and massacred
nearly 400 whites, many of them settlers who had come to the fort
for safety. As a consequence, General Jackson was ordered to take
a force against the "red sticks". He assembled his moderately-trained
militia from the Cumberland region, supported by the 39th U.S. Infantry,
and a force of East Tennessee militia with little or no training or
discipline. (Whether there were McNabbs in this militia force I have
not researched.) In addition, Jackson sought forces from the Cherokees
and from the more progressive, friendly Creeks. After considerable
debate, the Cherokees and the friendly Creeks decided to join with
the Americans against the "red stick" Creeks since their best hope
for retaining their homeland seemed to be to rely on the favor of
the white Americans.

38. Dale Van Every: Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the
40. Grace Steele Woodward: The Cherokees (1963), Univ. of Oklahoma
Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
With this force Jackson headed south into Alabama, meeting strong opposition from the Creeks at several points and having to regroup. The Cherokees, nearly 1000 strong, proved to be his main strength. After some time, Jackson's forces came onto the "red sticks" at Horseshoe Bend of an Alabama river. Jackson's frontal attack in the open (land) end of the horseshoe was repulsed. However, he sent his cavalry force and the Cherokees around to arrive at the river at the front (river) side of the horseshoe. There the Cherokees crossed the river by swimming and by stolen canoes and attack the "red sticks" from the rear that they had thought was secure. The battle raged for five hours, while Jackson again attacked from the front. The "red sticks" refused to surrender, and without any opening for retreat, they were killed or burned to death when their buildings were set afire.

After this battle of Horseshoe Bend Jackson withdrew northward and discharged the Cherokees with his thanks. However, his words were negated by all his later actions, at that time and after he became President (1829-1837). He was not only dedicated to the idea (as many others had been for a number of years) that all Indians must move from East of the Mississippi, but also he did not accept that Indians had any rights at law. After the defeat of the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend, Jackson dictated the cession to the United States of 23,000,000 acres of Creek land, a broad swath containing about half of present Alabama. See the maps, Fig. 38, p. 184, comparing recognized Indian territory in 1800 with that in 1825. The friendly Creeks and the Cherokees were told to settle their own boundaries in the remaining land -- a task they could not agree on, which raised Jackson's ire, and he took for the U.S. another two or three million acres which the Cherokees felt were theirs. Also displeasing him was
that the Cherokees asked "for indemnity for losses suffered by the wanton maraudings and depredations of the Tennessee levies on their marches and countermarches through the Cherokee country." The U.S. Indian Agent, Colonel Meigs, confirmed the depredations by the East Tennessee militia: "The return of the Horse thro' their country has been marked by plunder & prodigal, unnecessary and wanton destruction of property: their stocks of cattle & hogs have been shot & suffered to rot untouched -- their horses in some instances shared the same fate; their cloathing intended to defend them from the wet and cold in the present campaign has been stolen ..."

Davy Crockett, who was a staunch friend of the Cherokees (as was Sam Houston) gives in his Journal* an instance of how wanton destruction can occur by a body of men on the loose, outside their own territory, who have not been taught and required to maintain discipline: "The next day we marched on, and at night took up camp near a large cane brake. While here, I told my mess I would again try for some meat; so I took my rifle and cut out, but hadn't gone far, when I discovered a large gang of hogs. I shot one of them down in his tracks, and the rest broke directly towards the camp. In a few minutes the guns began to roar, as bad as if the whole army had been in an Indian battle, and the hogs to squeal as bad as the pigs did when the devil turned barber."

Jackson had no sympathy for this request for compensation for damages. (After some time, the U.S. did honor the claim in part.)

After Horseshoe Bend Jackson returned to his palatial home, the Hermitage, at Nashville. (Incidentally, Jackson was a speculator in 38,p121 lands ceded by the Indians -- a legitimate and profitable enterprise, once the lands were ceded.) But the British continued to stir up what Creeks they could, and the Spanish abetted the Creeks occupying

*Davy Crockett's Own Story, p. 68.
Pensacola. Jackson was now made a Major General, in charge of the Southern area, with headquarters to be established at Mobile. He headed South in September 1814 and invited the Indians to join his campaign again. The friendly Creeks did, but the Cherokees hesitated because of the attitude Jackson had shown to them and because, at the time, the Indian Agent had not received funds promised them for their participation in the Horeshoe Bend campaign. After some time the Cherokees decided to support the campaign, but by then the battle of New Orleans had occurred.

The main thrust of the British attack in the South was to gain New Orleans and control of the river. Jackson, with a motley assemblage of 7000 troops (including pirates) had reached New Orleans and entrenched his forces there. The British, with 8000 trained troops, made a frontal attack on the entrenchment, and in a half-hour battle lost 2000 killed and wounded compared to only 70 for the Americans. This defeat of the British resulted in great prestige for Jackson as a military leader. It is paradoxical that the Battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815) unknowingly was unnecessary since the Treaty of Ghent (in present Belgium) ending the war had been signed two weeks earlier. However, the victory did have a later effect in some of the terms worked out. Another quirk was that the news of the victory at New Orleans was known throughout the U.S. before the news arrived of the Treaty of Ghent. Consequently, Jackson's status was enhanced because people assumed his victory had caused the signing of the peace treaty.

**Treaty of Ghent, 24 December 1814.**

This treaty was in reality more of an armistice, with the treaty terms to be worked out. The Canadians hoped that England would require as part of the terms the recognition of an Indian buffer territory...
south and west of the Great Lakes, and that the Great Lakes would be a part of Canada. However, as a result of Perry's and Macdonough's victories on the northern lakes, England foresaw difficulties in building an adequate naval force in inland waters, and in supporting an Indian region hostile to the U.S. Accordingly the Canadians gained no advantage despite their victories, and the Indians were left to work out their own treaty with the U.S. The people of the U.S. were happy because they had feared the loss of territory to Great Britain as the result of American defeats.

**Ceding of Florida.**

After our war of 1812 Spain still held Florida as far west as Pensacola. But Spain had loose control of Florida and at this time became involved in the wars of liberation in South and Central America. Consequently Spain withdrew nearly all her military forces from Florida, leaving the Seminole Indians and slaves escaped from the U.S. to harass along Florida's northern border. The U.S. objected, put in a claim for $5,000,000 damages to Spain, and in 1817 sent Andrew Jackson in command of a force to punish the transgressors, but to respect Spanish posts. Jackson took decisive steps, including seizing two Spanish posts, St. Marks and Pensacola, and deposing the Spanish governor. See the map, Fig. 40, below, (Ref. 37, p. 236).
Since the Spanish could not control the area we asked them to cede it to us. To save face they could not do this, but they agreed to sell it to us for the $5,000,000 claim against them, and for our yielding any claims to the Texas region (later we of course regained Texas, after it had got its independence from Mexico -- which had got its independence from Spain). Also in the agreement, the upper boundary of Spanish claims in the western part of America was established at the 42nd parallel of latitude. See the map, Fig. 39, p.185. Also shown on that map is the line that we negotiated in 1818 with Britain replacing the irregular natural boundary of the Louisiana Purchase with the line of the 49th parallel, running west to the Rocky Mountains where it joined the Oregon country, claimed by both Britain and the U.S. In 1817, in an arms reduction agreement with Britain, we demilitarized the Great Lakes (and by 1870 we had agreed with them to mutually remove all fortifications along the Canadian border).

After the cession, or purchase, of Florida in 1819, American settlers rapidly moved into that region until by the end of 1835, when the Seminoles revolted in an attempt to prevent being removed, about 35,000 had moved there from the U.S. (half slaves, since the settlements were mostly plantations). This was about six times as many as the Seminoles.

Plans for Removal of the Indians East of the Mississippi.

Dating almost from the birth of the United States as a nation, there were demands for the removal of the Indians from territory where the whites desired to settle. The pressure increased as time passed, even after there was no threat from the Indians, and it was on both northern and southern tribes.

In 1802 the state of Georgia was requested to release to the U.S.
195.

its colonial claim of land all the way west to the Mississippi; in return it asked and obtained from the federal government a guarantee that all Indians (mainly Cherokees and Creeks) would be removed from the state as soon as feasible. By 1807, when Jefferson was President, there was enough agitation, particularly in Georgia and Tennessee, that Jefferson suggested to some Cherokee chiefs that they move beyond the Mississippi into the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase territory where they would be out of white man's territory and they could have land where their right to it would be permanent. Some of the Cherokees took this option and settled in the fine virgin region along the Arkansas River. More Cherokees followed, as late as 1818, but by then white men had moved into the large Missouri Territory, which by 1813 claimed the Arkansas region as a county. And again the Cherokees felt the pressure from whites who wanted the land along the Arkansas River and were determined to have it.

Meanwhile, as mentioned earlier, due to land cessions made by the Indians as a result of debts or of transgressions or of outright sales, followed by the cessions as a result of the war of 1812, the Indian tribal lands had been reduced to islands, though large ones, surrounded by whites, as you can see from the map of Fig. 38, p. 184.

Five tribes of southern Indians -- the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Seminoles -- were called the "civilized" tribes. They had in general tried to accommodate themselves to living with white men and to be friendly. As time passed, many of the leaders were educated at church mission schools and became persons of substantial means -- with plantations, mansions, black servants. After the period when there had been sporadic attacks on the advancing whites, the Indian leaders required, and their tribal members followed, a policy of non-resistance. This policy held even when they were under threat
of expulsion from their lands and then being forced to move.

Nevertheless, the Indians, as a threatened species, made many mistakes which led to their final exiling. They were not consistent in their policies, supporting one side or another which offered them what seemed to be most to their advantage. Also, they could not control some chiefs who, by series of isolated attacks, expressed their hatred of white intrusion. Further, the various Indian tribes could never overcome their antagonism to each other and unite to obtain from the federal government an agreement as to their future. One great leader, Tecumseh, a Shawnee, but whose mother was Cherokee, tried in 1811 to obtain a pact among all the Indians, North and South, but procrastination and the start of the war of 1812 prevented. Of course, it must be recognized that whatever the Indians might have done, it was inevitable that they would be driven from their lands.

In the 1820's the Cherokees and the white settlers were living peaceably together, often side by side, but demands were mounting, especially in Georgia, for the cession of all their lands. In 1825, Calhoun, who was Secretary of War under Madison and responsible for Indian affairs, proposed a plan for the "final and complete" solution of the problem. Calhoun said:

One of the greatest evils to which they are subject is that incessant pressure of our population, which forces them from seat to seat. To guard against this evil ... there ought to be the strongest and most solemn assurance that the country given them should be theirs, as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity.

He proposed the establishment by federal fiat of a line, running north from the Mexican border along the western borders of Arkansas and Missouri (from which the whites were already driving the Indians who had been induced to settle there), and thence to and along the Mississippi to its source. This was to be known as the Indian Line
west of which the land would belong to the Indians forever, and where no white man would have the right to intrude. Calhoun's recommendations won the approval of Congress, of later presidents, of state authorities and of public opinion. Under this plan the Indians were solicited to move, but it was not said that they would be forced to. But in 1830 after Jackson had been swept into the Presidency, Congress passed a bill that all of the Indians would be required to move west of the Indian Line, and planning began for such a move. The Cherokees, under their council president, John Ross, sought to get a reversal or delay. Finally, in 1836 the government was able to negotiate, at the Cherokee town of New Echota, a treaty with a small group of the Cherokee chieftains by which, within a span of two years, the Cherokees would voluntarily migrate beyond the Indian Line. John Ross and the great majority of the Cherokees denounced the treaty as falsely made. However, the U.S. Senate by a narrow margin approved the treaty and Jackson at once put it into force. To obtain the New Echota treaty the U.S. government had made the following agreements:

1. That a country, sufficiently extensive and fertile, shall be marked out, west of the territory of Arkansas, for you and your brethren, where they now are.
2. That this country shall be conveyed to you by patent, according to the provisions of the act, 1830, and that it shall be forever without the boundaries of any state or territory.
3. That you shall have all the powers of self government so far as may be compatible with that general supervisory authority, which it is necessary congress shall exercise over you. ....
6. That all white persons, unless specially authorized by the laws of the United States, shall be excluded from your territory.
7. That you shall remove to your new country, at the expense of the United States.

In greater detail, it was explained to the Cherokees that subsistence would be provided to them for one year after they had reached their destination, that they would be paid an annuity proportionate to the
value of the lands and improvements and cattle that they gave over to the United States.

Some of the Cherokees, on the basis of these promises, migrated peacefully but most of them delayed while John Ross continued negotiations. Thus the two years of grace passed with the Cherokees still in place.

With this background as to the situation we come to the small involvement of your ancestor, Nathaniel Dryden McNabb. But first let us look at the Seminole uprising in Florida.

The Seminole Uprising.

The Seminoles, like all the other Indians, were to be required to migrate from their homeland to beyond the Indian Line. Unlike the Cherokees their resistance was not completely passive and there was considerable friction with the whites. A young chief, Osceola, organized his fellow tribesmen, and on December 28, 1835 he struck, killing the hated Indian agent within sight of Fort King. (See the map, Fig. 41, below, from Ref. 38).
Simultaneously, Indian forces throughout Florida made isolated attacks on white positions. A detachment of Regular Army troops under Major Dade was sent from Tampa Bay to reinforce Fort King. On their way they were surprised by Indians they could not see and 107, out of 110 total, were killed.

The uprising of the Indians was throughout Florida, and for the next five years whites were safe only in armed garrisons. The uprising was spreading to some of the Creeks and it appeared it might possibly spread to the Cherokees. Another threat to the U.S. was Santa Anna's invasion of Texas and killing of Americans at the Alamo, after the Americans in Texas had declared independence from Mexico (which had won its independence from Spain). Thus, in early 1836 it appeared Santa Anna's forces might cross the East Texas border into the U.S. (however this threat was removed on April 21, 1836, after Sam Houston defeated the Mexicans at San Jacinto. (See the map, Fig. 42, below, from Ref. 37, p 272.)

At this time the United States had only 7000 regular army troops. In this situation, in early 1836 President Jackson called on the governors of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Tennessee to send their militia and to call for volunteers.
The war in Florida dragged on, with the army unable to conquer the Seminoles — except by some of the greatest duplicity ever used by Americans. The American General Jesup, in charge of the Florida campaign beginning in 1837, on repeated occasions when he got the Seminoles to talk under a flag of truce, seized those with whom he was bargaining and imprisoned them. Such was the fate of Osceola, who died in prison. On one occasion Jesup got Cherokee chiefs to act as his cat's paw to lead Seminole chiefs into such an ambush — to the disenchantment of the Cherokees ... In the end, of course, the exhausted, hunted Seminoles accepted deportation to the West.

McNabb Role in the Emergency.

Evidently as a result of President Jackson's call to the governor of Tennessee in 1836 to furnish troops, Nathaniel Dryden McNabb, at the age of 18, and his uncle, David D. McNabb, volunteered in June 1837 for twelve months' service. In a sworn statement in 1857 for the purpose of obtaining bounty land, Nathaniel said he volunteered "for the express purpose and understanding to march to Florida against the Hostile Seminole Indians but after being received into the United States Service was ordered by the Commanding Officer to march into the Cherokee Nation in N. Carolina and was stationed at Ft. Butler and Ft. Delany and continued in actual service of the United States for the term of twelve months and was Honorably Discharged at the Cherokee Agency, Tennessee, about the 29 June 1838 on account of expiration of term of service." Much later, in September 1893 (after he had moved from Monroe County to Loudon County), he said in a sworn statement to get a pension (for those who had served in Indian wars), that he served "in the war with or the removal of the Cherokee Indians... that during said service said soldier participated in the following:
guarding Indians at Vally (?) River, N.C. and at Rosses' Landing, Tenn....

that he was married in Monroe County, Tenn. to Trephena Smallen, who

is dead.... Applicant declares that he was born in Carter County,

Tenn., that he was at the date he rendered said service 37 years of

age (confusion here — he enlisted at 18), of fair complexion,

hazel eyes, dark hair and by occupation a farmer." In another

document (Jan. 22, 1894) relative to the pension (No. 4654) he said

"that he was named after his Uncle Nathaniel Dryden who was killed

at King's Mountain" (he meant Great Uncle) but that he seldom used

the middle name Dryden; "that to the best of his information he was

borned in the year 1818." This statement was sworn to before

James F. Littleton, J.P. for Loudon County.

Nathaniel's uncle, David D., who volunteered and was discharged

with Nathaniel, was a married man at the time he volunteered. He

married Martha Vering on November 10, 1810, in Carter County, Tenn.

He died in Monroe County on August 6, 1847. This information was

from a statement by his wife in 1851 to get bounty land due him.

Round-up and Exiling of the Cherokees.

To understand why Nathaniel and his uncle David were diverted

from the war in Florida against the Seminoles in order to guard

Cherokees we must consider further the situation. Under John Ross,

president of the Cherokees, they had sought to reverse the splinter

New Echota treaty which specified migration west within two years,

i.e., before May 23, 1838. But the Cherokees presented only passive

resistance. Jackson, and his chosen successor Van Buren, were intent

on the removal, especially in that the Seminole war gave them a
better excuse. General Wool and General Dunlap (with Tennessee
volunteers) had been ordered into Cherokee territory in 1836
"to protect against possible uprising", but found the Cherokees
not offering resistance or intention of uprising, and indeed found
instead the necessity of protecting Cherokees against whites.
Accordingly these officers were replaced by another commander.
But no action was taken, other than building stockades to hold the
Cherokees if they refused to migrate, until May 1838 (near the end
of Nathaniel's and David's enlistment).

Finally the venerable General Winfield Scott, commander of
all U.S. forces, was ordered to see that the Cherokees delayed no
further in carrying out the New Echota treaty. In May 1838 he
addressed them in unmistakable terms:

"Cherokees - The President of the United States has sent me
with a powerful army, to cause you, in obedience to the treaty
of 1835, to join that part of your people who are already
established in prosperity on the other side of the Mississippi.
Unhappily, the two years which were allowed for the purpose,
you have suffered to pass away without following, and without
making any preparations to follow, and now, or by the time this
solemn address shall reach your distant settlements, the
emigration must be commenced in haste, but, I hope, without
disorder. I have no power, by granting a farther delay, to
correct the error that you have committed. The full moon of
May is already on the wane, and before another shall have passed
away, every Cherokee man, woman, and child must be in motion
to join their brethren in the far west... My troops already
occupy many positions in the country that you are to abandon,
and thousands and thousands are approaching from every quarter,
to tender resistance and escape alike hopeless... Chiefs,
head men, and warriors - Will you then, by resistance, compel
us to resort to arms? God forbid. Or will you, by flight, seek
to hide yourselves in mountains and forests, and thus oblige us
to hunt you down? Remember that, in pursuit, it may be
impossible to avoid conflicts. The blood of the white man, or
the blood of the red man, may be spilt, and if spilt, however
accidentally, it may be impossible for the discreet and humane
among you, or among us, to prevent a general war and carnage.
Think of this, my Cherokee brethren. I am an old warrior, and
have been present at many a scene of slaughter; but spare me,
I beseech you, the horror of witnessing the destruction of the
Cherokees."

As General Scott had warned them, so it was. Five regiments of regular troops and 4000 militia and volunteers began the task of rounding up the families, whom they individually accosted with numbers that made resistance impossible, even if the individuals had not been told by their chiefs to offer no resistance. Scott sternly admonished his troops to show kindness to the Indians—an order generally carried out, though there were exceptions due to the lack of training in discipline and the dispersed nature of the operation.

Within a few weeks about 90 percent (17,000) of the Cherokees had been herded into the prepared stockades and plans were made to send them to the west at once. The first groups of about 800 Cherokees were sent by boat transport down the Tennessee River in the first and second weeks of June. Others were scheduled for travel by land. The roundup was so effective that by June 17 General Scott was able to discharge his volunteers and send 3 of his 5 regular regiments to other fronts—2 to the Canadian border and one to Florida against the Seminoles. (Nathaniel McNabb and his Uncle David were actually discharged on the 27th of June.)

Many of the Indians held in the close confinement of the stockades sickened and considerable numbers died. Those who set out overland found a drought and severe travel conditions in the heat of summer. Accordingly, General Scott, at the request of John Ross and the Cherokee Council, agreed on a delay until the hopefully better weather of autumn; for this delay the Cherokees promised to emigrate of their own volition, without further passive resistance. The remaining about 13,000 Cherokees were divided into groups of about 1000 each under a Cherokee commander. The first group set out on October 1, 1838, the last on November 4th.
With the health condition of the Indians from the stockades, travel was slow -- only about ten miles a day for the 800 mile trip. Many died along the way. Winter closed in on the travelers to increase their distress. It has been estimated that, in the stockades and on the trail, about one-fourth of the Cherokees died. In Cherokee history their journey has become known as the Trail of Tears. The first group in this winter journey arrived at the Indian Line, the western edge of Arkansas, on January 4, 1839; the last group in late March. Their route is shown in Fig. 42, from Ref. 38, p. 248.

Thus were the Cherokees exiled from their native lands in Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. Ah, you say, but there are to this day Cherokees at the eastern end of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina. That is true, and their story is an interesting one. Not all the attempts at removal were without incident. When two soldiers seized an Indian woman in
the mountain region she killed both with a hatchet. Of course, the deed could not go unpunished, but General Scott hoped to avoid a guerrilla-type war with the less civilized deep-mountain type of Cherokees. A white trader friend of the Indians, William Thomas, knowing that a warrior, Tsali, was willing to be sacrificed, negotiated an agreement that for the execution of Tsali, his oldest son and his brother, the mountain Cherokees could remain unmolested in their mountains. This is one agreement the white men have kept.

For this story that is essentially the end of the Indians. The situation west of the Indian Line after the migrations of the various tribes of eastern Indians is shown in Fig. 43a. How the situation had developed by 1850-54 is shown in Fig. 43b. Notice that at the time the Indian Line was set up the United States extended only to the Rocky Mountains, and this also was the limit of the Indian Territory. This territory, protected by law and treaties, was still intact until after the Civil War. However, as shown in Fig. 43b, many in the U.S. had before the Civil War felt the fever for gold and for new land west of the Rockies; accordingly they had passed through the Indian Territory and set up new U.S. Territories and States as shown in the map.

After the Civil War, the rush of white settlers became much greater, and the railroad was built through Indian Territory. As a consequence, from about 1868 to 1890 there was a nearly continuous succession of clashes and wars between the whites and various Indian tribes. Also, the white men killed off the great Buffalo herds which were the main food support for the Indians. Finally the government found it more practical to support the Indians and put them on many small reservations, as shown in Fig. 43c.
Fig. 43a - The Indian Tribes after Migration
West of the Indian Line

1825-41

Fig. 43b - Indian Territory Being Surrounded.

Fig. 43c - Break-up into Reservations.
(from Thomas A. Bailey: The American Pageant.

Figs. 43a and b from: S. Lyman Tyler;
A History of Indian Policy
U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Wash., DC (1973)
Nathaniel Dryden McNabb Gets Married.

Of the ten girls in the family of Baptist (II) and Margaret Gray McNabb I know of the marriages of only two. Martha, the eighth girl, married David Freedle, born in North Carolina; their family as shown in the 1850 census was: David 44, Martha 41, Margarett 19, Willis 14, Baptist 12, George 10, Robert 8, Hatha (Martha) 5. Artemisia, the youngest girl of Baptist and Margaret, married Alfred Devine on March 20, 1838.* This was while Nathaniel was in the service. She and her husband agreed to stay on to take care of her father and mother until Nathaniel returned to do so.

Two and a half years after he returned from the service, Nathaniel was married to Triphenia Smallen, January 7, 1841, by Alex Sloan, J.P.** (Typed copy gives her name as Fraphena Smallan.) Triphenia was born in 1815, according to her tombstone. Hence she was three or four years older than Nathaniel. Nathaniel's Bible (in possession of Jim McNabb of Texas) lists Baptist's and Margaret's children and also Nathaniel's and Triphenia's. It shows Nathaniel as born August 23, 1819 (though the year indication is somewhat blurred), but in all later records and on his tombstone it is shown as 1818. (I suspect he changed the year when he volunteered in June 1837, since he would not quite have been eighteen at that time.)

According to Nathaniel's sister Artemisia (testifying in a land suit, discussed later): "He married against the will of his father and of his mother and he stayed some time when he married at his father-in-law's and had some of his clothes that his mother sent to him and I heard it said two of his horses were at his father-in-law's."

The reason for Nathaniel's parents' disapproval was not stated. From the statement we see that Triphenia had a father in the neighborhood; whether a mother also is not stated. In August 1851, in

* Monroe County, Tennessee, Marriages, 1838-1852.
** Ibid, p.129-130.
a deposition in the same land suit, Margaret McNabb, Baptist's widow, said: "After Nathaniel was married he moved his wife's property from her brother's to her father's. Nathaniel never moved his property off the land (i.e., the home place). Her brother lived on the same land in dispute on a lease." (which accounts for her brother Samuel being shown adjacent to Baptist in the 1840 census). Whatever the reason for Triphenia and Nathaniel going to live in her father's home, they evidently were later accepted back into the McNabb family home.

The Smallens.

From the 1830 and 1840 census records (see p. 180) you will note that the McNabbs and Smallens lived close to each other. In 1840, just before her marriage, Triphenia apparently was living in the home of the old Samuel Smallen since the only other Smallen women shown of her age group (20-30) evidently were wives. Triphenia was 25 years old in 1840.

The census records of the Smallens warrant further analysis to determine who Triphenia's parents were. (Of course, family interrelations from census records are somewhat speculative.) The old Samuel Smallen shown on p.147 of the 1830 census was then 60-70 years old, born between 1760-1770; his wife was in the same age bracket. By the time of the 1840 census these old Smallens had consolidated their household with that of the younger Samuel Smallen, who in 1830 was shown separately (in 1840 on p.156). Notice that it is highly improbable for either of these Samuel Smallens to be father of Triphenia, though she seems to have been enumerated in that household in 1840 -- the old Samuel and his wife were too old; the younger Samuel and wife too young. In the 1850 census the same Samuel Smallen family (now without the old couple, who apparently had died) appears to be identified as:

Smalling, Samuel 51 (the census taker lists many of the Smallens as
Smalling or Smallin), Elizabeth 53, Synthia 24, Mary 21, Elizabeth 14, Margaret 10, Jefferson 22, Jonathan 18. Now at this time Triphenia was 35 years old; hence Samuel Smallen, if her father, would have been only 16 at her birth (or 13 at the birth of her brother Samuel).

In the 1830 census, when Triphenia was 15, the possible listing for Triphenia is in the (of 10 and under 15) bracket in the home of Jonathan Smallin, or in the (of 15 and under 20) bracket in the home of Nathaniel Smallin. Of these two possibilities, that in the home of Jonathan appears correct since Triphenia had an older brother Samuel who was 18 in 1830 (see the court case discussed later) who is shown in the proper bracket of Jonathan's family and not of Nathaniel's. Also, Nathaniel's wife, Elizabeth, would have been only 15 years old at Triphenia's brother's birth (per 1850 census record).

Accordingly, from the 1830, 1840 and (primarily) 1850 census records I have drawn up the following chart of the Smallens of Monroe County (Fig 44a.). As I have interpreted the records, the chart shows the old Samuel and his wife as being Triphenia's grandparents. Their children I have interpreted as being: Jonathan (the eldest), Robert, Nathaniel, and Samuel, the youngest. The data on the son Samuel is verified in large part by the will he left in 1857* plus census records.

You will notice that I show Triphenia as the daughter of Jonathan and his wife. Also, note that Jonathan's first child, Samuel, born in 1812, and his wife had children shown in the 1850 census as: Nathaniel 17 (b.1833), McNabb 15, Artamasa 12, Margaret 11, James 6, Samuel 5, Nancy 1. Their names are a strong indication the Smallen and

* Monroe County, Tennessee, Willbook, 1825-1869, Book A, p. 162. (The will is entirely in the handwriting of a clerk at the time, including the signature of Samuel and the witnesses. In the will, Smallen is variously spelled as Smallen, Smallin and Smalling. The signature written by the clerk is Samuel Smalling, Sr., his father being dead by this time.)
Fig. 44a.—Smallen (Smalling, Smallin) Families of Monroe Co., Tenn.

- Indicates time line (within a year or ten years) from 1850 or later censuses.

Family interconnections shown have been inferred from the data.

Regarding relationships, see pp. 297-298.

In 1880, living with Frances M'Intosh family.

Year 1850 census.
Baptist McNabb families were close friends for some time.

Earlier history of the Smallen family has not been found. There is a family story* that they came from the Kentucky region. However, I have found no mention of them in Kentucky records, and in the 1880 census Triphenia said both her mother and father were born in Tennessee. Indeed, all of the Smallens shown in the chart who were in the 1850 census said they were born in Tennessee.

The 1850 census taker in Monroe County seems to have been lax. There is no listing of Nathaniel Dryden McNabb, nor of his mother, Margaret. (Baptist had died before then.)

**Triphenia's Mother.**

Triphenia's father, Jonathan, died sometime after her marriage to Nathaniel McNabb and before the 1850 census. Her mother is not shown in the 1850 census as living with any of the Smallens. However, the census shows a Truefina Smalling, age 71, living in Monroe County in the home of Francis L. Milligan 26, whose wife was Luvina 24, with children Susan 2 and Margarett 7/12. Is this Triphenia's mother? Her age misses by one year the bracket shown for Jonathan's wife in the 1830-1840 censuses (but one year uncertainty comes from the relation of birthday to the date of the census enumeration, especially since the enumeration falls near the middle of the calendar year). Also, notice that the 1830 and 1840 censuses show Jonathan's family as having a sister younger than Triphenia who was born between 1820-1825. The wife Luvina of Francis Milligan is shown as 24 in 1850; again this does not quite match the 1830-1840 census bracketed ages by one year for her to be Triphenia's sister. Also, if Luvina is Triphenia's sister her mother would have been 47 at her birth.

There is, however, another bit of evidence which I chanced upon. In the book by Jeanette Tillotson Acklen: "Tennessee Records, Bible Records, Tombstone Inscriptions" there is reproduced (p.199) a

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*Relayed by Emma Ruth Cagle, granddaughter of Cynthia McNabb (youngest child of Nathaniel and Triphenia) to Jim McNabb of Texas.
"Biography of the Williams Family" by N.E. Hyder. He says:

"Edman Williams (elsewhere shown as Edmund), a native of Wales, emigrated to America, settled in Massachusetts, and married Lucretia Adams, sister of John Adams, second president of the U.S."

(That she was the sister of John Adams is vigorously contested by Worth S. Ray in "Tennessee Cousins", p. 53, who says that "In the Adams family there is no Lucretia.")

Whatever the details of the background of Edmund Williams, he came from Massachusetts (apparently) to the Watauga region in eastern Tennessee, settling on Buffalo Creek. (Some other history of him is given in Penelope Johnson Allen: "Tennessee Soldiers in the Revolution", p. 12). He died in 1795; his will, dated Sept. 16, 1794 (or 1795) names his legatees (his children) as follows:

1. Joshua Williams
2. Samuel Williams
3. George Williams
4. Archibald Williams
5. Lavinia Williams Tipton
6. Triphenia Williams
7. Sarah Adams Williams
8. John Lindsey Williams (under age)

Both N.E. Hyder and Worth S. Ray agree on the list of children. Hyder proceeds to tell who each of them married. He says: "Triphenia married Jesse Whitson first, and then Jonathan Smalling." Her sister "Lavinia married Jonathan Tipton, Jr.", and (according to Worth S. Ray) settled in Monroe County, Tennessee.

These remarkable coincidences strongly indicate that indeed Triphenia Smollen McNabb's mother was the Truefina Smalling shown in the 1850 census, and that she was the wife of Jonathan and the daughter of Edmund and Lucretia Adams Williams.

Baptist (II) Dies — Land Suit.

In those days apparently many families sought new or better lands as the situation seemed to warrant. We know that Baptist (II) was in Monroe County, with his brothers, in the 1830 census. But in 1835 he bought 80 acres from John and Edward Robenson (land agents ?) for $175, of which part could be paid in trade. Baptist paid $75 in cash, and it
was agreed the sellers would accept a wagon, owned by David Freedle, Baptist's son-in-law, as $100 in trade. For this, Baptist got possession of the land as his home place, but the title was made to Freedle, to be delivered to whomever Baptist directed, after the $100 was paid Freedle. Verbally Baptist said, and apparently always intended, that the title should be made to Nathaniel. As time passed, Nathaniel paid Freedle $64 in cash and trade.

Then, in January 1845 Baptist died, leaving his wife Margaret and Nathaniel's family on the land. Freedle threatened to sell the property. In this circumstance Nathaniel filed a suit against Freedle in Chancery Court on November 6, 1848, saying he had offered Freedle the $36 due, in trade, and Freedle refused to accept it. The depositions in the case -- by the mother, Margaret, and the youngest sister, Artemisia -- are interesting as to the bits of information they give on the family and their lives. Apparently the suit was settled in Nathaniel's favor since his family continued to live there.

(Note: The $175 for 80 acres was not too far out of line; under the Federal Land Act of 1820, persons could buy 80 acres of virgin land for $100 cash. The cash provision was made to prevent bankruptcies from land purchases and speculation as occurred in the Panic of 1819. Nevertheless there was another bank panic in 1837.)

Nathaniel's and Triphenia's Family.

The children of Nathaniel and Triphenia were (see the chart on page 111 of this story):

Richard, b. 17 March 1842
Nancy Jane, b. 8 April 1844, d. October 1918
Margaret, b. 15 October 1846, d. 7 August 1917.
Polly, b. 2 November 1850, d. 31 January 1915.
Samuel, b. 7 November (September?) 1850, d. 31 January 1915.
Nathaniel, b. 7 April 1853, d. 1925 (known as Uncle Thod)
James Madison, b. 10 November 1854 (known as Bill)
Cynthia (Cynthia), b. 9 September 1858 (when her mother was 43).
Of this family, Samuel became the grandfather of my wife, Billie McNabb Miller, and James Madison the grandfather of James Lee McNabb of Texas, who will write the story of James Madison's descendants.

Later History.

When Margaret Gray McNabb died and how long Nathaniel's family lived in Monroe County I do not know. A granddaughter (Emma Ruth Cagle) of Nathaniel's and Triphenia's youngest child, Cynthia, reports that Cynthia said she was a young girl when the family moved "out of the Cherokee mountains" down to Loudon (or that area). Cynthia was born in 1858; hence it was probably right after the end of the Civil War that they moved. (What role any of them may have had in the Civil War I do not know. Nathaniel was too old for the Army and his son Richard, born in 1842, probably too young. Samuel, born in 1850, and the others certainly were too young.)

A map of Roane County, the region where the McNabbs moved, is shown in Fig. 44. In 1871 the south-eastern portion was made into Loudon County, but Nathaniel's home was still in Roane. In the 1880 census of Roane County, in the 2nd Civil district, enumerated on 24 June 1880, we find:

McNabb, Nathaniel, 61 (farmer), Traphenia, 64 (wife), Jane 36 (daughter), Margarett Marshal 33 (daughter), William Marshall 12 (grandson), Nathaniel Marshal 9 (grandson). Both Nathaniel and Triphenia are shown as born in Tennessee, and so are her parents. His parents are shown as born in Virginia.

In the next residence to Nathaniel's the family is:

Richard McNabb 38 (farmer), Isabel 27 (wife), George W. 11 (son), Mary E. 7 (daughter), Nancy J. 5 (daughter), Jacob 1 (son).
Fig. 44 - Early Roane County (later, in 1871, Loudon County was formed out of south-eastern Roane Co.)

From Mable Harvey Thornton: Pioneers of Roane County, Tenn, 1801-1830.
Not far away is:

Samuel McNabb 28 (farmer), Mary 19 (wife), Annie, 3/12 (daughter).  
This is the line of interest to my wife, Billie McNabb Miller.

From the 1880 census record one would gather that Margaret McNabb  
(the third child) had separated from her husband or that he had died.  
It is interesting that the only marriage record I have found that might  
pertain lists N.J. McNabb (girl) as marrying D.J. Marshall, November 6, 1867.  
This is an evident error. Jim McNabb of Texas says that, at some time,  
Margaret married Joe Robinson of Tennessee.

Nancy Jane, the older sister of Margaret, married John M. Cook,  
evidently after she was 36. An interesting interrelationship is  
sketched below:

End of Triphenia and Nathaniel.

Triphenia died shortly after the 1880 census. Her tombstone gives  
her name as Triphfenia (sic), born 1815, died October 1880.  
Nathaniel Dryden lived on until May 20, 1895. A copy of a tintype of  
Nathaniel at an unknown date is shown in Fig. 45.

* Monroe County, Tennessee, Marriages, Book IV, p.250, 1856-1868.  
(This is an indication the family was still in Monroe County in 1867)
Trephenia and Nathaniel are buried near each other in Prospect Cemetery, near Loudon, Tennessee.

**Family of Samuel and Mary Jane Dutton McNabb.**

Samuel, like his older brother Richard, married a girl rather younger than himself. His wife was Mary Jane Dutton, who was born 14 February 1861, ten and a half years after Samuel. She was the only child of William Dutton and Elizabeth Mathews. Her father left after marriage to fight in the Civil War, where he died in 1861 of measles at the age of 17 or 18.

The children of Samuel and Mary were:

- Annie Belle, b. 4 February 1880.
- Minnie Jane, b. 19 February 1882.
- William Harrison, b. 19 March 1884, d. 2 September 1962.
- Laura Elizabeth, b. 23 December 1886, d. 15 January 1964.
- Lou Ella, b. 12 August 1888.
- Maude Mariah, b. 23 August 1891.
- Samuel James, b. 18 February 1895.
- Franklin Monroe, b. 4 October 1897.

Samuel and Mary Jane McNabb had a home on Cave Creek (see the map, Fig. 44), so-named because of a stream coming from a limestone cave and flowing south to the Tennessee River. Their children were raised there and the home is still occupied by the widow of their son, Samuel James, who died a few years ago. Many of their grandchildren are in that region. Pictures of Samuel and Mary Jane and their family, taken about 1901, are shown in Fig. 46.

**William Harrison McNabb Family.**

The oldest son of Samuel, Sr., and Mary Jane, William Harrison, went west to the Palouse farming country of eastern Washington state about 1905. There he met and married, 20 November 1906, Nora Jane Krous
Fig. 46 - Family of Samuel and Mary Jane Dutton McNabb.
Assuming the picture was taken mid-1901, the approximate
ages of the persons are as below:
Back row, left to right: William Harrison, 17 (Note the banjo,
and the pistol that he sneaked into the picture); Minnie Jane, 19;
Laura Elizabeth, 14; Lou Ella, 12.
Front row, l. to r.: Samuel McNabb, 61; Franklin Monroe, 4;
Mary Jane Dutton, 40; Samuel James, 6; Maude Mariah, 10.
(The oldest child, Annie Belle, 21, is not in the picture.)
who was born 4 September 1888, daughter of Alfred Monroe Krous and Eliza Emmaline Hall. See the Krous story in "Our Michael Crousz Line", which is a companion to this story.

Their children were:

Burl George, b. 17 January 1908
Murl Jackson, b. 17 January 1908, d. 29 August 1976.
Samuel Alfred, b. 14 March 1911
Norma Louise, b. 19 September 1913
Mary Elizabeth, b. 19 April 1915
Billie Norine, b. 23 November 1922.

From Washington State Bill and Nora McNabb migrated to Idaho in 1910, where they homesteaded 160 acres in Buckskin valley, dry-farming land in the foothills about 12 miles from Pocatello. Pictures of Bill and Nora about the time they were married, and of the family (less Billie, who was not yet born) in Buckskin Valley are shown in Figure 47. The McNabb name still survives in that region, as shown by the five generations of Figure 48. Also in Figure 48 are pictures of Billie Norine McNabb as a young girl.

Further, the last remaining child of Samuel, Sr., and Mary Jane Dutton McNabb, Franklin Monroe, born 4 October 1897, migrated to Idaho after his oldest brother, and still lives near Pocatello.

Billie Norine, the last daughter of Bill and Nora, from whom she got her name, married a distant cousin on her mother's side, the one who at her request wrote down this story. But this McNabb story, with the clearly established line of heritage, could never have been written except for the unrelenting efforts of Jim McNabb of Texas, to whom you McNabbs who may be interested in your heritage owe a debt.
Fig. 47—Nora Jane Krous and William Harrison McNabb, near the time when they were married.

Below, two pictures of the Nora Krous—William McNabb family in 1917 or 1918 in Buckskin Valley, Idaho. The children are: Burl George and Murl Jackson (twins), Samuel Alfred, Louise and Elizabeth. First, on an old stray burro; next, in a more formal picture.
Fig. 48. - Below, Billie Norine McNabb, born Nov. 23, 1921, the last child of Nora Krous - William McNabb. At bottom, five generations beginning with Nora Jane Krous McNabb: her son, Burl McNabb; grandson John Burl McNabb and his wife Joy Loveland; great grandson, John Chester McNabb and his wife, Karen Sims; and her only great-great-grandchild (while she was living) John McNabb. (At the wedding of her great-grandson William Burl McNabb to Lisa Seppi, 7-31-80).
Appendix A

Voucher to Babtis McNabb from Revolutionary Army Accounts

Will of Baptist McNabb, 1784

Will of William (II), 1809

Marriage Bond of Baptist (II), 1794
This verifies that the following information is recorded in a manuscript volume in the custody of the State Archives titled "Revolutionary Army Accounts" (Volume I, Page 2, Folio 2):

Heading: An Account of Specie Certificates paid into the Comptrollers Office by John Armstrong Entry Taker for Land in North Carolina Viz:

Number: 96

By whom Granted: Williams & Carter

To whom Granted: Babtis McNabb

Date: 20 June 1782

Sum: 21 pounds, 12 shillings

Interest: 1 pound, 14 shillings, 5 pence

To what Time: 21st Oct! 1783

Total Amount principal and Interest: 23 pounds, 6 shillings, 5 pence

Other information: None

Raleigh, North Carolina
April 30, 1981

Chief, Archives and Records Section
Some of the legacies to be paid to them one year after his decease by the other executors.

And I desire my son John H. Naff and David H. Naff to be executers of this my last will and testament.

So hereby revoke and disannul and make void all other wills and testaments by me made or ordained and constitute confirming approving this and no other to be my last will and testament signed sealed published and confirmed in presence of us.

James H. Naff

Agnes Campbell

John Campbell
Territory South of the Ohio
Washington County -
I now all men by these presents that we, Baptist
E. S. A. and Andrew Taylor, both of the County
Territory aforesaid, are held and firmly bound
unto William Blount, Governor, or his successors
in the said Territory, one thousand one hundred pounds, You or
Condition that there be no lawful objection why
gray may not
Baptist E. S. A. and
be lawfully joined together as husband and wife in the
Holy Estate of Matrimony; witness our hands in
the third Day of March 1744

Test
James Carter
Appendix B

SOME DESCENDANTS OF OLD WILLIAM IN TENNESSEE

David McNabb's Family

Various Baptist McNabbs
VARIOUS BAPTIST MCNABB

Died Monroe Co., Tenn.

Baptist, McMabb

Margaret Gray

Baptist, McMabb

Hannah Temple

Not in 1830 census of Perry Co., Tenn. (in western Tenn.)

Between 26-44 in 1820 census. (Best estimate about 32 or older. Since oldest boy about 18 at least.)

Baptist, McMabb (40 in 1850 Census)

Revolutionary War

Baptist McMabb

Manumitted (1777) in 1777

Margaret Gray

Baptist, McMabb

Note: for this Baptist, see Rev. Moses I. The case of the Missing Michael, for Sebastian, vol. 13, pp. 6-79.

The children were: Martha Catharine, b. 2/11/1827

Jennett

Tennessee Carter (in 1850 Census)

Elbert Jackson (in 1850 Census)

James Weeks (living in Carter Co.)

Baptist, b. 1815 per 1850 Census of Carter Co., Tenn.
APPENDIX C

Other McNabbs in the Revolutionary War.

PATRIOTS

TORIES, or Loyalists

There were a number of McNabbs, other than those I have mentioned in the story of descendants of the old William, who were in the Revolutionary War -- even some as Tories, i.e., loyalists to the King of Great Britain. The mention of those listed below is simply for the purpose of citing the evidence that is easy to find. In some cases the references are confusing and even conflicting. I have made no attempt to unravel the tangles to find the truth. One confusing factor is that a soldier did not necessarily come from the state in whose forces he served, especially if he served in the Continental Line.
 PATRIOTS

Charles McNabb of Maryland.

Reference: The Archives of Maryland — Muster Rolls and other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution, 1775-1783. — Records of Maryland Troops in the Continental Service (i.e., in the Continental Line, the Regular Troops).

p.233 — Muster of Seventh Regiment
Charles McNabb, enlisted 7 June 1778, Rank: Serjt.

p.325 — Dates and Terms of Enlistments of men enlisted in the 4th and 5th Regts. in 1781:
Charles McNabb — Time of Service: War.

p.356 — 6th Co., 1st Maryland Regiment
Charles McNabb, Serjt.

p.437 — 5 Co., 1 B. Capt Lloyd Beall
Chas. McNabb, Serjt. — Asst. Forge Master

p.546 — Serjt. Charles McNabb — Served between 1 Aug 80 and 1 Jan 82, between 1 Jan 82 and 1 Jan 83, and between 1 Jan 83 and 15 Nov 83.

James McNabb of Maryland.

Reference: The Archives of Maryland, as above.

p. 401 — Return of Recruits, Substitutes and Draughts, raised in Harford County, Agreeable to an Act Entitled, An Act to procure Recruits, in the year 1781.

Draughts Term of Enlistment
James McNabb to the 10th Dec.

John McNabb of Delaware

Reference: Delaware Archives, Military, vol. I (1911)

p.49 — Capt. Charles Pope's Company (Fifth Co. of Col. Haslet's Regt)
Muster Roll in Quarters at Lewis Town, April 11, 1776
Private John McNabb

p.51 — (Repetition of Muster)
Continental Troops (i.e., Continental Line)
Date of enlistment January 15 (1776) — Private John McNabb

p.(?) — Re Colonel John Haslet's Regiment:
* " Sat., Dec. 9, 1775.
On motion, Resolved, That an order issue for raising
four battalions in the colony of Pennsylvania, on the same terms as that already raised.

"Resolved, that a like order issue for raising one battalion in the lower counties on Delaware, on the same terms as those ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania. (Each company to consist of a captain, three lieutenants, four serjeants, four corporals, a drummer or trumpeter, and sixty-eight privates.)"

"That the pay of the Officers and privates be as follows, viz. a captain at 20 dollars per month; a lieutenant at 13 1/3 dollars; a serjeant at 8 dollars; a corporal at 7 1/3 dollars; drummer or (trumpeter) at 7 1/3 dollars; privates at 6 2/3 dollars; to find their own arms and cloaths."


William McNabb of the Pennsylvania Line.

References: (1) Pennsylvania Archives, Series 5, vol. 2
(4) DAR Lineage Book, Mrs. Beulah Young Starlipper, No. 137096, p. 33.

William McNabb served first in the Second Pennsylvania Battalion of the Continental Line, under Col. Arthur St. Clair. He was a private in Capt. John Brisban's company (Jan. 5 to Nov. 25, 1776) (Ref. 1, p. 101)


On pp. 571-2 of Ref. 1 is given "A Return of the Third Class, Eighth Battalion of Cumberland County Militia that marched to camp and served two months, 1782." In Captain James Poe's company there is listed: James Crawford, Sergeant; and in the Eighth Company, Wm. McNabb.

Note: The Wm. McNabb shown could have been the same man, who possibly transferred after his one-year enlistment in the Continental Line, to the Militia. However, the two James Crawfords appear to be different.

Ref. 3, listing Crawford items, gives:

James Crawford - d. 1803 - m. Catharine ---, and under their children lists: Mary (m. William McNabb, 1787).

Ref. 2, says the following (in part):

McNabb, William, was born about 1760, in Ireland, and emigrated to America before the Revolution. The family settled in that part of Amherst which is now Nelson County, Virginia. He
was there married to Mary Crawford.... Mr. and Mrs. McNabb moved from Virginia to Green County, Ky., where they had six children, and moved to Illinois, in 1819, first stopping in Logan County, and in 1820 moved to a point about three miles west of Springfield...

Their six children were: Samuel, Hester, Catharine, Isabella, Martha, James Crawford.

William McNabb died, early in 1831 (Ref. 4 shows 1835), near Springfield...."

William McNabb buried in Tennessee.

References: (1) Lucy Womack Bates: Roster of Soldiers and Patriots of the American Revolution buried in Tennessee(1979) published by Tennessee Society, NSDAR.


Ref. 2 says: "... relative to Clark's Cemetery, Blount Co., Tenn., four miles north on Knoxville Highway: "John Clark and William McNabb, both Revolutionary Soldiers, were buried in this cemetery before Bount County was formed in 1796."

Ref 1 says he was a J.P. in Blount Co. in 1798, and filed a pension claim after 1840 while living in Blount Co.

I have no idea as to who this William McNabb might be.

McNabbs from Virginia.

See p. 136 of main text.

McNabb from South Carolina.


McNabb, John, S.C., S16466.
McNABB TORIES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

James Macnab of Ontario.

Ref.(1) - E.M. Chadwick: Ontarian Families (Genealogies of United Empire Loyalist and other pioneer families of upper Canada), vol. 1, lists:
"James Macnab, a military surgeon in the American Revolutionary War, settled in Canada, and d. at Machiche, Quebec, in 1780, leaving four sons..."

Ref.(2) - Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, vol. 5 (Virginia), p.144:
"Dr. James Macnab, Surgeon to the American Loyal Legion ... "The American Loyal Legion, consisting of about 500 men, was raised by Lord Dunmore in 1775 in Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties. The colonel was Jacob Ellegood and the Major, John Saunders."

Duncan McNabb of Anson County, North Carolina.

Ref.(1) - Hugh E. Egerton: The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785. Book IV. p.214:
Memorial of Margaret M'Nabb & Isabell M'Leod—Sisters
Margaret M'Nabb—one of the Claimants—sworn. 25th of Sept' 1784.
Isabell M'Leod—the other Claimant—sworn.
They went from Scotland to America in 1774. They are Natives of Scotland & were single when they went there. They both married in 1775. The Husband of one is Norman M'Leod & the other Duncan M'Nabb who are both Loyalists & receive Allowances.

p.215:
Memorial of Duncan M'Nabb
Duncan M'Nabb—the Claimant—sworn. 30th of Sept' 1784.
Is a Native of Scotland & went to America in the Yr 1771 to North Carolina & in 1775 he was settled in Anson Co. on a plantation of his own. In Feb' 1776 he join'd his Countrymen under Col' Mc'Donald & went as Volunteer & was in the engagement at Moors Bridge. After that he escaped & was Volun. He went home again in April 1778 & join'd the troops in Philadelphia. He went with the Army again as a Volunteer. He has rec'd Lieut's half pay since he came here in consequence of a Warrant which he had from Govr' Martin & he now receives 21. 4d. a Day for half pay. From 1778 he served till the end of the Bounty £25 in full. He came over to Eng the 10th of Feb' last. He applied to the Treasury in March & rec'd £25 in full. He never took any Oath to the Rebels.

Ref.(2) - R.O. DeMond: The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution (1940). (This book gives a lively and interesting account of the war period from the Tory point of view.)

p.111: "Many of the officers who escaped capture at
Moore's Creek sought safety in the South, while others went to Philadelphia. Among the latter were Duncan McNabb of the North Carolina Highlanders. For several weeks he concealed himself in the forests, expecting daily the arrival of the British. Disappointed in this, he left his wife and family behind and set out overland on foot to join the British in Philadelphia. He finally reached his destination after great fatigue and danger of being captured by the Whigs. After the evacuation of Philadelphia, he marched to New York and later sailed to Georgia and participated in the siege of Savannah. From Georgia he returned to North Carolina and raised a detachment of troops for Governor Martin until ordered to Charleston. Meantime, his wife in North Carolina had been robbed of everything belonging to her, even her clothes, and ordered out of the Province to Charleston. She was compelled to leave her child behind to the mercy of the enemy. Her misfortunes were not unlike Mrs. McLeod's. At Charleston she received a flag of truce to return into the country three hundred miles for her child, but was seized and held a prisoner for several weeks. For the expense her husband was compelled to pay. Soon after her return to Charleston, the city was evacuated, and the distressed family set out for East Florida. Finding that province in the hands of the Spanish, they sought a haven in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Unable to find support for themselves there, in the midst of winter, December 23, 1783, they sailed for London and threw themselves on the mercy of the English Government, as did many of their fellow sufferers.

p.209: "The petition of Duncan McNabb (to the British Board of Commissioners hearing claims by loyalists), who escaped capture after the Battle of Moore's Creek and reached Philadelphia, is typical of a large number. He presented a statement of his claims, which is a good illustration of those filed by the average small planter. (See below.) Like many others in their petitions, he gave a careful account of his services. In spite of all he had sacrificed, the commissioners saw fit to allow him only £162 on his claim for £593 18s."