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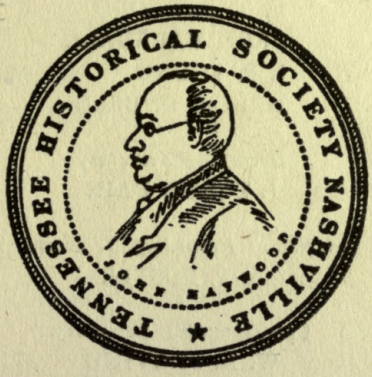

VOLUME IV.

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TENNESSEE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 4 MARCH, 1918 No. 1

INDIAN WARS AND WARRIORS OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1730-1807.

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CHAPTER I.

ATTAKULLAKULLA AND OCONOSTOTA.

The Cherokees adhere to the English; some of their warriors killed by the Virginians; they take satisfaction in the Carolinas; Governor Lyttleton declares war against them; their peace envoys are imprisoned, and subsequently massacred; Colonel Montgomery's campaign against their Middle towns. 1730-1760.

The Cherokee Indians first became known to the white man in 1540, when the daring Spanish adventurer, Fernando De Soto, entered their country in his fruitless search for gold. They were the mountaineers of the south, and held all the Alleghany region from southwest Virginia to northern Georgia, their principal towns being on the headwaters of the Savannah, Hiwassee, and Tuckasegee, and upon the whole course of the Little Tennessee River, grouped in three main settlements, known as the Lower towns, the Middle or Valley towns, and the Overhill towns. Their hunting ground, whose boundaries were vague and shadowy, and in many places contested, may be said, in a general way, to have embraced all the extensive domain encircled by the Ohio and Tennessee rivers, including the blue grass regions of Kentucky and Tennessee which the Indians called the "dark and bloody ground."[1]

Their men were large, tall, and robust; in complexion somewhat lighter than the men of the neighboring tribes; while some of their young women were nearly as fair and blooming as European maidens. Their dispositions and manners were grave and steady; their deportment dignified and circumspect. In conversation they were rather slow and reserved, yet frank

[1]Myths of the Cherokee. By James Mooney, p. 14.

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and cheerful; in council, secret, deliberate, and determined. Like all true mountaineers, they stood ready to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even life itself, to the defense of their homes and hunting grounds.[2]

Early in the struggle between France and England for commercial and territorial supremacy in America, the French conceived the scheme of detaching the Indians from England by means of a strong cordon of military posts, extending through the Ohio and Mississippi valleys from Canada to Louisiana. In 1714 they built Fort Toulouse, on the Coosa River, a few miles above the present Montgomery, Alabama. From this southern stronghold they rapidly extended their influence among the neighboring tribes until it was estimated that three thousand four hundred warriors, who had formerly traded with Carolina, had gone over to France, two thousand were wavering, and only the Cherokees could be considered friendly to the English.[3]

To check this growing influence of the French, Governor Nicholson, of South Carolina, held a treaty of peace and commerce with the Cherokees in 1721. Afterwards the Royal government took the matter up with a view of drawing them into a closer alliance. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was sent to the Cherokee Nation in the spring of 1730, and met the chiefs of all their towns in the council house at Nequassee, on the Little Tennessee River, near the present town of Franklin, North Carolina. He so impressed them by his bold bearing and haughty address that they readily consented to all his wishes, acknowledging themselves, on bended knee, to be the dutiful subjects of King George. He nominated Moytoy, of Tellico, to be their emperor, a piece of trumpery invented by Governor Nicholson nine years before, which was wholly without effect, as the Cherokee Nation made no pretense to a regular government until nearly one hundred years later.[4] However, it was agreed to, and they repaired to their capital, Tennessee, a few miles above the mouth of Tellico, on the Little Tennessee River, where a symbol, make of five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, which Sir Alexander called the crown of the nation, was brought forth, and he was requested to lay it at the feet of his sovereign on his return.[5]

[2]Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulgees or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws. By William Bartram, pp. 482-3.

[3]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 35.

[4]Opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. The State vs. James Foreman, Nashville, 1835, pp. 34-5.

[5]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 46-7; Drake's Indians of North America, 15th edition, pp. 366-7.

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The mention by Sir Alexander Cumming of "Tennessee" as the ancient capital of the Cherokees, is the first time the name occurs in history; from it, and not from any fancied resemblance to a "big spoon," the Tennessee River and the State of Tennessee derive their name.[6]

Seven chiefs accompanied Sir Alexander on his return to England, and there again entered into a formal treaty of friendship, alliance, and commerce with the English. Among these chiefs were two young men who deserve to rank among the greatest leaders of their race; they were Attakullakulla,[7] known to the whites as Little Carpenter, and Oconostota, whom the whites called the Great Warrior. The brilliancy, wealth, and power of the English Court made a powerful impression upon them. Attakullakulla perceived with appalling force the defenselessness of his own people as against such an adversary. It became the ruling purpose of his life, chimerical as it was, to keep his nation at peace with the English. Profiting by his friendly disposition, the authorities of South Carolina took up Attakullakulla, and magnified his authority, in order to break the power and influence of Oconostota.[8] For fifty years he stood out between the contending races, a sublime and, often, a solitary figure, ever pleading, conciliating, pacifying. He was the grandest and most amiable leader developed by his race; and I doubt whether a nobler character, of any race, could have been found on the border.

Though he came of a race of large men, Attakullakulla was remarkably small, and of slender and delicate frame; but he was endowed with superior abilities.[9] He did little to distinguish himself in war, but his policy and address were such as to win for him the confidence and admiration of his people. He was the leading diplomat of his nation, and conducted some of the most delicate missions with singular tact and sagacity.

Oconostota, on the contrary, was a daring and resourceful general, whose achievements won for him the title of the "Great Warrior." It is said that in all his expeditions his measures were so prudently taken that he never lost a man.[10] Under his leadership the Cherokees reached their highest martial glory. Less diplomatic than Attakullakulla, he was more bold and aggressive, and, at first, hoped by forcible resistance to stay the flood of immigration that was threatening to over-

[6]Ramsey, p. 47, note.

[7]Hewat's Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia, Vol. 2, p. 221.

[8]Adair's American Indians, p. 81.

[9]Bartram's Travels, p. 482.

[10]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 72.

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whelm his country. I know not which course was the wiser; neither could do more than retard the progress of the whites. The inexorable decree had gone forth that the Indian should perish, as the mound builder before him had perished.

Although the seven years' struggle between France and England, known in America as the French and Indian War, was not formally declared until 1756, hostilities actually began in April, 1754, when the French seized the English post at Pittsburg, which they afterwards completed under the name of Fort Duquesne. To make sure of the co-operation of their Cherokee allies at this juncture, the English determined to profit by the example of the French, and build forts among them. With this view, Governor Glen, of South Carolina, met Attakullakulla on the treaty ground in 1755, and obtained permission to build two forts in the Cherokee country.[11]

Soon after this cession Governor Glen built Fort Prince George, on the headwaters of the Savannah River, three hundred miles above Charleston, and within gun-shot of the Indian town of Keowee, in the lower settlement. In 1756 the Earl of Loudoun was appointed commander-in-chief of the army throughout the British provinces in America, and the same year he despatched Major Andrew Lewis to build the second fort authorized by the Cherokee treaty. Major Lewis located it just above the mouth of Tellico, on the south side of the Little Tennessee River, in the midst of the Overhill towns, within five miles of Chota, at that time the capital of the Cherokee Nation, and nearly one hundred and fifty miles in advance of any white settlement.[12] A British historian[13] asserts that the establishment of these forts was the result of a deep laid scheme on the part of the Cherokees, persisted in with unexampled policy for many years, for the purpose of gaining hostages from the English; which, he says, they had the sagacity to perceive would be the effect of small garrisons located in the midst of populous Indian towns, hundreds of miles removed from their base of supplies, and their hope of succor. While this clearly was not contemplated by the Indians, these forts offered them inviting objects of attack when they became involved in war with their former allies.

The Overhill towns, scattered along the grassy valleys and sunny slopes that skirt the southern bank of the Little Tennessee, were the remotest and most important of the Cherokee settlements. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, a young Virginia soldier, who spent the winter of 1761-2 with the Overhill In-

[11]Ramsey, p. 50.
[12]Ramsey, p. 51.
[13]History of the Revolt of the American Colonies. By George Chalmers. Vol. 2, pp. 363-4, 366.

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dians, has left an account of his residence among them, with a map of their country,[14] in which he gives the name and location of each of their towns, with the number of warriors it was able to send out. Beginning on the west and proceeding up the south bank of the Little Tennessee River, we find Mialaquo, 24 warriors, at the Great Island, just below the mouth of Tellico, and Tuskegee, 55 warriors, under the very wall of Fort Loudon; these were the towns of Attakullakulla. Tomotley, 91 warriors, under Outacite (Judge Friend) and Toquo, 82 warriors, under Willinawaw, appear at short intervals up the river. Then comes Tennessee, 21 warriors, and Chota, 175 warriors, under Oconostota, described as king and governor. Still higher up were Citico, in the shadow of Chilhowee Mountain, 204 warriors, under Cheulah; then Chilhowee, opposite the mouth of Abraham's Creek, 110 warriors, and Tallasee, in the extreme east, with 47 warriors, whose chiefs we are now unable to identify.

Attakullakulla, in his negotiations with Governor Glen, had not dreamed of a fort that would command their beloved town of Chota, the capital and pride of the nation, their only city of refuge. When he perceived the strength and permanent character of the fortress, the great council at Chota, under his leadership, ordered the work to stop, and the garrison, then on its way, to turn back. But it was too late. The fort was completed, and garrisoned by two hundred British regulars, with twelve pieces of artillery. It was named for the Earl of Loudoun, and apart from its melancholy history, is remarkable as being the first Anglo-American structure erected in Tennessee.

For a time everything seemed auspicious for the garrison of Fort Loudon. The old chiefs earnestly desired peace, and courted friendly relations with the whites. Many of their women found husbands among the soldiers of the garrison.[15] They invited artisans to their towns, and a number of families settled in the neighborhood of the fortress. It looked then like a permanent settlement was being effected at Fort Loudon.

Braddock's defeat had occurred in the year 1755. That crushing disaster was attributed to the Indian allies of the

[14]The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake (who accompanied the three Cherokee Indians to England in the year 1762), containing whatever he observed remarkable, or worthy of public notice, during his travels to and from that nation; wherein the country, government, genius and customs of the inhabitants are authentically described. Also the principal occurrences during their residence in London. Illustrated with an accurate map of their Overhill settlements, etc., London. MDCCLXV.

[15]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 65.

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French. To withstand the French Indians, it became important to enlist the warlike Cherokees on the side of the English; Washington, who had been made commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, thought their presence indispensably necessary. Accordingly, in November, 1755, Colonels William Byrd and Peter Randolph were appointed commissioners to treat with them, and soon afterwards set out for their towns.[16]

Not long before this Major Andrew Lewis had led a company of Cherokees against the Shawnee Indians, who were allies of the French. After his failure to reach Shawnee Town, the object of his expedition, Washington expressed a desire that the Indians might be persuaded to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland, for "without Indians," he says, "we will be unable to cope with the cruel foes of our country."[17] In this, however, he was disappointed, as an event now happened which came near converting them into open and dangerous enemies.

While the Indians who had served with Major Lewis were returning to the Cherokee towns, a back settler in Augusta County entertained a party of them, and when they had taken their leave some of his friends, whom he had placed in ambush for that purpose, fired upon and killed several of them. Those who escaped arrived in their towns just as Colonels Byrd and Randolph were on the point of concluding their treaty. Great excitement ensued, and but for the devotion of Silouee, and the wisdom and tact of Attakullakulla, the treaty would not only have been defeated, but the commissioners themselves would have been murdered.

Attakullakulla hastened to apprise the commissioners of their danger, warning them to keep within their tent, and on no account to appear abroad. But it seems that a number of warriors were about to fall upon the commissioners in their own tent, when Silouee threw himself between them and Colonel Byrd, exclaiming: "This man is my friend. Before you get at him you must kill me," whereupon they desisted, and consented to leave their fate to the deliberations of the council.[18] In addressing the council Attakullakulla expressed the indignation they all felt at the treachery of the Virginians, and declared he would have full satisfaction for the blood of his countrymen. "Let us not, however," he added, "violate our faith, or the laws of hospitality, by imbruing our hands in the blood of those who are now in our power; they came to cement a perpetual alliance with us. Let us carry them back to their own settlements; conduct them safely to their confines;

[16]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 114.
[17]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 135.
[18]Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 99.

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and then take up the hatchet, and endeavor to exterminate the whole race of them."[19]

The council adopted his advice, and the commissioners, being assured of their safety, appear to have made pecuniary satisfaction for the murder of the Indian warriors, and successfully concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Cherokees. Their accounts were audited July 20, 1756, when it was found they had expended the large sum of £1319, 15s.8d. sterling, besides what the governor had paid out of funds in his hands; one of the important items being for "soothing the Indians."[20]

Following the treaty concluded by Byrd and Randolph, many warriors rallied to the British standard, under such famous old chiefs as Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter), Outacite (Judge Friend), Scollacutta (Hanging Maw), Ooskuah (Abraham), and Savanukeh (The Raven), and rendered valuable services in defending the extensive frontiers of Virginia, and also in the expedition against Fort Duquesne. They entered heartily into the cause of the Virginians, but the Indian affairs of the army, which were under the control of Edmund Atkin, Indian agent, were so badly managed that, instead of receiving the encouragement their services and bravery merited, they were met by what they considered injustice, neglect, and contempt. At one time ten of them were imprisoned on suspicion of being spies in the French interest; another party, after having undergone the perils and privations of their long march, went to war in their destitute condition, behaved nobly and rendered valuable service to the colony, but on returning with their trophies of honor, found neither agent nor interpreter to reward or thank them; nor any one who could tell them why they were thus neglected. But for the intervention and kind treatment of Washington, they must have returned to their nation fired with just resentment, if not at open war, against their allies.[21]

Fort Duquesne fell November 25, 1758. General Forbes, who commanded the English, was a trained soldier, accustomed to the strict discipline of the regular army; but he did not understand the Indian, nor appreciate his irregular mode of warfare, and was exceedingly impatient with his Cherokee

[19]Burnaby's Travels Through North America, Ed. 1904, pp. 193-195. The writer gives his account on the authority of one of the gentlemen engaged in the embassy; but he is in error in supposing that the Cherokee war began at that time; it did not commence until 1760. The accounts of the origin of this war are so confused and contradictory that it is impossible to reconcile their statements, and sometimes difficult to reach a satisfactory conclusion from them.

[20]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 252.

[21]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, pp. 245, 260-61, 269, 270.

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auxiliaries. Moreover, he was then a sick man, fretful and peevish. He died the succeeding March. His Indian allies, whom Washington thought so indispensable, soon began to leave the army and return to their towns. Most of them had gone, and the few left were on the point of leaving, when Attakullakulla arrived at his camp with about sixty good warriors. While General Forbes declared him to be "as consummate a dog as any of them," exceeding all of them in his avaricious demands, he thought it bad policy, after laying out so many thousand pounds, to lose him and all the rest for a few hundred more.[22]

So he indulged what he terms their extravagant and avaricious demands, but in such an ungracious and impolitic manner that they left the army some ten days before the fall of Fort Duquesne, and set out for their own country. As soon as he was made acquainted with their "villianous desertion," November 19, 1758, he ordered Colonel Byrd instantly to despatch an express to the commanding officer at Raystown, and, in case Attakullakulla had already passed Raystown, to the commandants at Winchester, Fort Cumberland, and Fort Loudon, requiring them to relieve the Indians of their guns and ammunition, and also of the horses that had been furnished them. They would have been peremptorily stripped of their blankets, shirts and silver truck, had it been deemed of sufficient consequence. This they were to do peaceably if they could, but were authorized to use force if necessary. Being disarmed and dismounted, they were to be accompanied by a sufficient escort to prevent their doing mischief to the frontier inhabitants.[23]

But not all the care of the escort who accompanied them was sufficient to prevent the Cherokees from picking up a few horses running loose on the range, as they passed through the back settlements of Virginia. It is a pity the offense could not have been overlooked, in view of the great service they had rendered the colony, and especially its back settlers. But the rough frontiersmen, regarding all Indians as their natural enemies, pursued their offending allies and killed a number of them, variously estimated at from twelve to forty.

When tidings of this harsh and unfriendly conduct reached the Cherokee Nation, their young men were fired with resentment, and burned for revenge, but their old chiefs dissuaded them from taking up the hatchet until satisfaction had first been demanded of the colonies, in accordance with their treaty

[22]Forbes to Peters, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 33, p. 93.

[23]Forbes to Byrd, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 33, pp. 95-6.

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stipulations. Thereupon they sought satisfaction of Virginia, then of North Carolina, and afterwards of South Carolina, but in vain. Having failed to obtain any redress under their treaties, they determined to take satisfaction for the blood of their relations according to their own customs. To this end the old chiefs sent out a company of young warriors, instructed to bring in as many white scalps as would equal the number of their murdered relations. The ambitious young leaders separated into small parties, and without limiting themselves as to number, killed as many of the white people as were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. Two soldiers of the garrison of Fort Loudon, who chanced to be out hunting were among the victims![24] the white people living in the neighborhood were driven into the fort, and the garrison itself was so threatened that no one was allowed to leave its walls.

When the commander of Fort Prince George informed Governor Lyttleton of these acts of hostility, he ordered the militia of the province to rendezvous at Congarees, and resolved to march to the Cherokee country, and pursue such measures as would bring them to terms. Hitherto the Cherokee depredations were considered as so many murders, and not as acts of war. Twenty-four Indians had been charged with murdering white people; but they claimed only to have taken satisfaction for the blood shed by the Virginians. The Cherokees were really friends of the English, and did not desire war. As soon as they heard of Governor Lyttleton's warlike preparations, thirty-two of their chiefs, headed by Oconostota, head man of the nation, set out for Charleston to settle all differences and prevent war. Governor Lyttleton made them a haughty speech, declaring that he would make his demands known only when he had reached their country, and if they were not granted would take satisfaction by force of arms. He assured them, however, as they had come as friends to treat of peace, that they should go home in safety, and not a hair of their heads should be touched. At the same time he told them that they must follow his troops or he would not be responsible for their safety. The proud chiefs were amazed and indignant; Oconostota immediately arose to reply, but Governor Lyttleton, against the advice of Lieutenant-Governor Bull, stopped him, refusing to hear either a defense of his nation or overtures of peace. The chiefs controlled their rage and quietly marched with the army to Congarees, where some fourteen hundred troops were assembled. When the army left Congarees, the envoys were unexpectedly made prisoners, and a captain's guard was mounted over them to prevent their

[24]Adair's American Indians, pp. 246-7.

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escape. In this manner they were marched to Fort Prince George, where they were shut up in a hut scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of half a dozen soldiers.

As Governor Lyttleton's army was ill armed and undisciplined, as well as discontented and mutinous, he dared not proceed further into the Indian country; he had already sent for Attakullakulla, who was recognized as a firm friend of the English. Indeed, he was so determined in his opposition to the war that his young men compared him in derision to an old woman. He came in at once, bringing with him a French prisoner as an earnest of his loyalty to the English. The governor made him a long speech, demanding that the twenty-four Indians who had killed white people should be given up, to be put to death or otherwise disposed of as he might think proper. Attakullakulla promised to do all that he could to persuade his countrymen to give the satisfaction demanded; yet he frankly told the governor it could not be done, as the chiefs and no coercive authority over their warriors. He then requested that some of the imprisoned chiefs might be liberated, to aid him in restoring tranquility; when Oconostota, and, apparently, seven other chiefs were released, as only twenty-four were retained as hostages. The next day two Indians were delivered up, in exchange for two of the hostages and were immediately put in irons, which so alarmed the other Cherokees in the neighborhood that they fled to the woods. Attakullakulla, seeing no hope of peace, determined to retire to his home and there await the issue; but as soon as Governor Lyttleton was informed of his departure, he sent for him, and on his return a formal treaty was entered into, by which it was agreed that the twenty-two imprisoned chiefs should remain as hostages until a like number of Indian murderers were delivered to the English. This treaty was signed December 26, 1759, by Attakullakulla, Oconostota, Otassite, Kitaguste, Oconeoca, and Killconnokea.[25]

Governor Lyttleton then marched back to Charleston, where he was received as a returning conqueror. But Oconostota still hovered around Fort Prince George with a large number of warriors. The Cherokees were unacquainted with the character and meaning of hostages; to them it conveyed the idea of slaves, whose lives were at the mercy of their captors.[26] Oconostota, therefore, determined to surprise the fort and liberate them. February 16, 1760, having concealed a party of warriors in a dark thicket near at hand, he sent a request that the commanding officer come out and speak with him on business of importance. Captain Coytmore, accompanied by Lieu-

[25]Drake's Indians of North America, p. 375.
[26]Adair's American Indians, p. 252.

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tenant Dogharty, Ensign Bell, and their interpreter, Foster, appeared on the bank of the Savannah River. On the opposite bank Oconostota stood, with a bridle in his hand. He told the captain he was going to Charleston to effect the release of the hostages, and desired that a white man might accompany him; and, as the distance was great, he would go and try to catch a horse. Captain Coytmore promised him a guard, and hoped he would succeed in catching a horse. Oconostota then turned and swung his bridle thrice over his head, at which signal a volley of some thirty shots was fired at the officers. All were wounded, Captain Coytmore receiving a shot in the left breast from which he died two or three days later.

The Indians then stormed the fort; the prisoners on the inside sounding the war-whoop, and shouting to their countrymen to fight like strong-hearted warriors, and they would soon carry it.[27] The garrison attempted to put the hostages in irons. A soldier who seized one of them for that purpose was stabbed and killed; and in the scuffle that followed two or three more were wounded and driven out of the hut. Thus had the prisoners repelled their assailants for the moment, but the fort was too strong to be taken by the primitive arts known to their friends on the outside, and when they were repulsed, the garrison fell upon the helpless hostages, and these twenty-two of the Cherokee peace envoys were massacred in the most shocking manner. More than thirty years afterwards Doublehead referred to it as one of three occasions on which their envoys had been treacherously murdered.

This horrible affair inflamed the hearts of the Cherokees beyond all control. Their warriors everywhere dug up the hatchet, and, chanting the weird war-song, rushed down upon the unprotected and defenseless families on the frontiers of the Carolinas, where men, women, and children, without distinction, fell victims to their merciless fury. The back settlers appealed to their governor, who had so lately posed as a conquering hero, but the presence of smallpox, then a desolating plague, made it impossible to assemble the militia. In this extremity an express was hastened to General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, who ordered a detachment of twelve hundred men, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, afterwards Earl Eglinton, to embark from New York to Charleston, with instructions to strike a sudden blow for the relief of the Carolinas and return to Albany, as the reduction of Canada was the great object then in view. In the meantime Governor Lyttleton was

[27] Adair's American Indians, p. 250.

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succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Bull, a man of much sounder judgment and discretion.

Colonel Montgomery reached Charleston towards the end of April, 1760; rendezvoused at Congarees; and being joined by the colonial militia and many gentlemen who volunteered for the campaign, he marched against the Lower towns. On his way to Fort Prince George, which was still being invested by the Indians, he destroyed a number of towns, killed some sixty Indians, and took about forty prisoners; but their warriors had generally retired to the mountains.

Having arrived at Fort Prince George, Edmond Atkin,[28] the agent for Indian affairs under whom they had served in Virginia, despatched two Indian chiefs to the Middle towns, to inform them that, as the former friends and allies of the English, and especially on account of the many good services of Attakullakulla,[29] Governor Bull was ready to grant them terms of peace; at the same time assuring them, if they did not come in, all their towns would be ravaged and destroyed. But these overtures came too late; Governor Lyttleton had contemptuously thrown away the only opportunity offered by the present crisis to restore friendly relations with the Cherokees.

Finding the Indians implacable, Colonel Montgomery determined to carry the war into their Middle towns. June 27, 1760, he advanced to within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town of the Middle settlements. There he found a muddy river with steep clay banks, running through a low valley so thickly covered with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them. A more advantageous position for ambushing and attacking an enemy, after the manner of Indian warfare, could hardly have been chosen. Captain Morrison was ordered to advance with his company of rangers and scour this dark thicket. Scarcely had they entered it when the Indians raised the war-whoop, sprang from their hiding places, and opened fire upon them, killing the captain and wounding a number of his men. The light infantry and grenadiers gallantly came to the support of the rangers, and charged upon the Indians with great courage. The action now became general and obstinate. Colonel Montgomery ordered the Royal Scots to make a flanking movement and place themselves between the Indians and the rising ground on the right. At length the Indians gave way, and falling in with the Royal Scots, suffered considerably before they reached a neighboring hill, after which they declined to be drawn into a further

[28]Hewat's Historical Account of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, Vol. 2, p. 231.

[29]Trumbull's General History of the United States of America, Vol. 1, p. 435.

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engagement. The English lost an officer and twenty men killed, and about eighty men wounded. The Indians are supposed to have lost about forty men.

The army then pushed forward to Etchoe, but the Indians had deserted the town, taking with them their most valuable effects. Colonel Montgomery destroyed the deserted town. His pickets, however, were attacked with great fury, and he was much annoyed by volleys from the neighboring hills. Though he had won the field and been able to advance to Etchoe, his victory was little better than a defeat, as he found it absolutely necessary to retreat, though Fort Loudon was then blockaded.[30] Having destroyed all his surplus supplies to obtain horses for his wounded, he reached Fort Prince George in safety, though the Indians hovered around and annoyed him to the utmost of their power. Soon afterwards he embarked for New York, in pursuance of his instructions, but he left the frontiers in a more desperate position than that in which he found them.[31]

[30]Chalmers' History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, Vol. 2, p. 375.

[31]In this account of the first Cherokee war I have followed, in the main, Alexander Hewat's "An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia." In two volumes. London, 1779.

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CHAPTER II.

ATTAKULLAKULLA AND OCONOSTOTA—*Continued.*

The Cherokees besiege Fort Loudon; it capitulates and its garrison is massacred; Attakullakulla ransoms and liberates Captain John Stuart; Colonel Grant invades and destroys the Middle towns; the Indians yield and peace is restored. 1760-1761.

While Oconostota was opposing Colonel Montgomery's invasion of the Middle towns, Willinawaw was laying siege to Fort Loudon, in the Overhill towns. All communication with Fort Prince George, the point from which they drew their supplies, being cut off, the garrison was soon reduced to the necessity of eating the flesh of their lean horses and dogs. Many of the soldiers had Indian wives who, notwithstanding Willinawaw's threat to kill any who should assist the enemy, daily supplied them with such food as they could procure. This they did openly, and Willinawaw dared not put his threat into execution, because they told him their relations would make his life atone for theirs.[32] With the assistance of these devoted wives, the garrison was enabled to hold out until the beginning of August. The officers endeavored to encourage the men with hopes of relief.

They had sent runners to Virginia and South Carolina, imploring immediate succor, and stating that it was impossible for them to hold out above twenty days longer. The Virginia Assembly at once voted a considerable force for their relief, but as the troops levied were to rendezvous at Fort Robinson, on the Holston, two hundred miles distant from Williamsburg, and afterwards to march two hundred miles further, through an unexplored and trackless wilderness, the garrison might as effectually have been succored from the moon.[33]

As for South Carolina, the last hope of rescue vanished with the retreat of Colonel Montgomery. Blockaded night and day by the Indians, their provisions being exhausted, and their hope of rescue having failed, the men threatened to leave the fort and die at once by the tomahawk, rather than perish slowly by famine.

In this extremity a council of war was held, and all the officers being of opinion that it was impossible to hold out longer, it was agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained. With this view Captain John Stuart, the second officer in command, a man

[32]Timberlake's Memoirs, pp. 65-6.

[33]Burnaby's Travels Through North America. Ed. 1904, p. 56, note.

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of unusual shrewdness and address, who was well acquainted with the Indian life and character, and had many friends among them, was authorized to enter into negotiations for the surrender of the fort. He went to Chota, and held a conference with Oconostota, which resulted in an agreement upon the following articles of capitulation:

That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officers shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry; that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer may think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during their march; that such soldiers as are lame or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to return to Fort Prince George; that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for payment; that the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops.[34]

These articles were signed by Paul Demeré, on the part of the garrison, and by Oconostota and Cunigacatgoae, in behalf of the Indians.[35]

On the 7th of August, 1760, the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms and drums, escorted by Oconostota and Judge Friend, with a number of their followers. Judge Friend was a chief of great influence, who had an interesting career. His Indian name was Outacite. He was one of the imprisoned chiefs who was liberated along with Oconostota, by Governor Lyttleton, and signed the treaty of Fort Prince George. The first day the garrison moved fifteen miles in the direction of Fort Prince George, and encamped on Tellico Plains. That night the Indians deserted them, and their officers, fearing treachery, placed a strict guard around the camp. Next morning about daybreak a picket came running in, and reported that he had seen a large number of Indians, armed, and painted in the most frightful manner, creeping among the bushes, endeavoring to surround the camp. Scarcely had the officers time to order their men to stand to their guns, when the Indians raised a terrific yell, which struck panic into the hearts of the enfeebled and dispirited soldiers; and at the same time poured a heavy fire in upon them from all directions. Captain Demeré, with three of his officers and about twenty-six men, fell at the first onset. Some fled to the woods, where they were hunted down and carried prisoners

[34]Hewat's Historical Account of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, Vol. 2, pp. 237-8.

[35]Drake's Indians of North America, 15th Ed., p. 377.

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to the Middle towns. Captain Stuart and those who remained with him, were seized, pinioned, and carried back to Fort Loudon. The discovery that the garrison had, in bad faith, concealed a large part of their military stores before evacuating the fort, has been assigned as the cause of this massacre;[36] but the manifest purpose of the Indians was to take satisfaction for the massacre of their peace envoys, at Fort Prince George, which Oconostota and Judge Friend had barely escaped.[37]

The story of Captain Stuart's escape is one of the most delightful romances of Indian warfare. As soon as Attakullakulla heard that he had survived the massacre and had been made a prisoner, he hastened to the fort, and purchased him from his captor, giving all he had, including his rifle and clothes, by way of ransom. He then took his prisoner to Captain Demeré's house, which he had taken possession of on the surrender of Fort Loudon, and there kept him as a member of his family.

In the meantime Oconostota, intoxicated by the successful termination of the siege of Fort Loudon, and inspired by the possession of its great guns, which he expected his prisoners to man, resolved again to undertake the reduction of Fort Prince George. To this end Captain Stuart was brought before the great council at Chota, and informed that he would be expected to take charge of the men selected to manage the great guns, and to write such letters as they should dictate; at the same time reminded of the great obligation he owed them for sparing his life. Captain Stuart was so alarmed at this information that he resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt. He told Attakullakulla how uneasy he was at the thought of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen; acknowledged that he had been a brother to him in the past; and begged him to help him out of his present perilous position. The old warrior took him by the hand and told him he was his friend; that he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended to give another as soon as his brother should return.

Attakullakulla now claimed Captain Stuart as his personal prisoner. As soon as his brother returned he gave it out that he was going on a few days' hunt, and would take his prisoner with him to eat venison, of which he had long been deprived. Accordingly they departed, taking the direction of the Long Island of Holston. After traveling nine days and nights through the dreary wilderness they fell in with a party of three hundred men, who had been despatched by Colonel Byrd to

[36]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 60.
[37]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 243.

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reconnoitre in the direction of Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day they reached Fort Robinson. Here Captain Stuart was delivered to his friends, and Attakullakulla, loaded with presents and provisions, went back to his people, to exert his influence for the protection of the unhappy prisoners, and for the final restoration of peace.

At the conclusion of the war Attakullakulla asked the governor of South Carolina to appoint his friend, Captain Stuart, to reside among the Indians; assuring him that, if he should be appointed, the province would suffer no further molestation from them. The assembly likewise tendered Captain Stuart a vote of thanks, together with a reward of £1,500, for his heroic defense of Fort Loudon, and recommended him to the governor as a man worthy of preference in the service of the province. When, therefore, the Royal government found it expedient that the southern district should have a superintendent of Indian affairs, with powers similar to those exercised by Sir William Johnson, in the northern district, the appointment was given to Captain John Stuart,[38] who discharged the duties of the office with distinguished ability and fidelity until the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

The escape of Captain Stuart, and the good offices of Attakullakulla, prevented the investment of Fort Prince George, which was immediately warned of its danger, and victualed with ten weeks' provisions; while the fury of the Indians was somewhat appeased by the distribution of goods of a considerable value, by way of ransom for the survivors of Fort Loudon. But their warriors were still in an ugly mood, and the province, being apprehensive that the apparent calm would soon be broken by a new eruption, Governor Bull again applied to General Amherst for assistance. As he had completed the conquest of Canada, he could now spare an adequate force for the subjugation of the Cherokees, who were then the only people disturbing the peace of America.[39]

Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having returned to England, the command of the Highlanders devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, who was ordered to return with them to the relief of the Carolinas. He arrived at Charleston in January, 1761, and went into winter quarters, until the opening of spring should permit him to take the field. After being joined by the provincial militia and the Chickasaw and Choctaw allies, his army numbered about twenty-six hundred men.

On May 27, 1761, Colonel Grant arrived at Fort Prince

[38]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 276.

[39]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 336.

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George. Here he was met by Attakullakulla, who made an earnest plea in behalf of his people. He said he had always been and would continue to be the firm friend of the English; though he had been called an old woman by the mad young men of his nation, who delighted in war. The outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief; yet he would gladly interpose in their behalf in order to bring about peace. Often he had endeavored to get his people to bury the hatchet; and again and again he entreated Colonel Grant to proceed no further until he had made one more effort to persuade them to consult their safety and agree to terms of peace.

Colonel Grant, however, declined to give him any assurances, and on the 7th day of June, moved out of Fort Prince George, carrying with him provisions for a thirty days' campaign. He marched rapidly towards the Middle towns, which could be reached only by the gap in the mountains, where Colonel Montgomery had been engaged the year before. At this point the men were ordered to load their guns and prepare for action. Lieutenant Francis Marion, afterwards so distinguished in the Revolutionary War, was sent forward with thirty men to explore the pass. Scarcely had he entered the gloomy defile when a sheet of fire blazed forth from behind the rocks and trees all around him. Twenty-one of his men fell at the first discharge; the remainder were barely able to effect their retreat to the main body.[40] The action then became general.

The Indians had Colonel Grant's army between a hill, which was occupied by their main force, and a river, on the opposite bank of which a large party maintained a brisk fire. They were repeatedly driven from the heights, but only to return with redoubled ardor; while the low grounds were disputed with determined obstinacy. No sooner did Colonel Grant gain an advantage in one quarter, than the Indians appeared in another. While his attention was occupied in driving them from their lurking place on the river side, his rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made to capture his supplies that he was obliged to order a party back for the relief of the rear guard. The battle raged from eight o'clock until eleven in the morning, when the Cherokees gave way. They were pursued for some time, random shots continuing until two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Indians disappeared. The loss of Colonel Grant's army was between fifty and sixty men, killed and wounded; and that of the Indians was probably not greater.

[40]Horry and Weems' Life of Francis Marion, pp. 22-3.

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Though the victory was far from decisive, Colonel Grant followed it up with a punishment which, while cruel and heartless, was thoroughly effective; and it furnished a precedent by which the subsequent Indian fighters of the Old Southwest did not fail to profit. He burned every town in the Middle settlements, destroyed their storehouses and ravaged their fields, leaving them absolutely without food or shelter. Being reduced to the greatest misery, they abandoned all thought of war, and sought refuge for their old men, their women and children, among their more fortunate brothers west of the mountains. This ruthless ruin touched the generous heart of Marion, who thus describes it, in a letter to a friend:

We arrived at the Indian towns in the month of July. As the lands were rich and the season had been favorable, the corn was bending under the double weight of lusty roasting ears and pods of clustering beans. The furrows seemed to rejoice under their precious loads—the fields stood thick with bread. We encamped the first night in the woods, near the fields, where the whole army feasted on the young corn, which, with fat venison, made a most delicious treat.

The next morning we proceeded, by order of Colonel Grant, to burn down the Indian cabins. Some of our men seemed to enjoy this cruel work, laughing very heartily at the curling flames, as they mounted, loud crackling over the tops of the huts. But to me it appeared a shocking sight. Poor creatures! thought I, we surely need not grudge you such miserable habitations. But when we came according to orders, to cut down the fields of corn, I could scarcely refrain from tears. For who could see the stalks that stood, so stately with broad green leaves and gaily tasseled shocks, filled with sweet milky fluid and flour, the staff of life; who, I say, without grief, could see these sacred plants sinking under our swords with all their precious load, to wither and rot untasted in their mourning fields?[41]

This work of destruction occupied Colonel Grant the better part of a month. A few days after his return to Fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chiefs, again appeared at his camp, and sued for peace. Colonel Grant drew up a treaty, to all of which Attakullakulla agreed, except the following article: "That four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at Fort Prince George, to be put to death in front of his camp; or four green scalps to be brought to him in the space of twelve nights."[42] This he said he had no power to concede, and Colonel Grant consented that he might go to Charleston and see whether Governor Bull would yield this demand.

Governor Bull met him, September, 1761, at Ashley's Ferry, and addressed him, in a friendly spirit, as follows:

Attakullakulla, I am glad to see you, and as I have always heard of your good behavior, that you have been a good friend to the Eng-

[41]Horry and Weems' Life of Marion, pp. 24-5.

[42]Hewat, Vol. 2., p. 252.

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lish, I take you by the hand, and not only you but all those with you also, as a pledge of their security whilst under my protection. Colonel Grant acquaints me that you have applied for peace; now that you have come, I have met you with my beloved men, to hear what you have to say, and my ears are open for that purpose.[43]

Then a fire was kindled, the pipe of peace was lighted, and for some time smoked in silence, when Attakullakulla arose and made this pathetic appeal for his people:

When I came to Keowee, Colonel Grant sent me to you. You are on the water side, and are in the light. We are in darkness; but hope all will be clear. I have been constantly going about doing good; and though I am tired, yet I am come to see what can be done for my people, who are in great distress. As to what has happened, I believe it has been order by our Father above. We are of a different color from the white people. They are superior to us. But one God is father to us all, and we hope what is past will be forgotten. God Almighty made all people. There is not a day but that some are coming into, and others going out of the world. The great king told me the path should never be crooked, but open for every one to pass. As we all live in one land, I hope that we shall all live as one people.[44]

This conference resulted in an agreement that put an end to the war, and ushered in a long era of peace.

About the same time that Colonel Grant set out on his campaign against the Middle towns, Colonel William Byrd marched from Virginia against the Overhill towns. Colonel Byrd left the regiment at Stalnaker's, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Stephen, who advanced as far as the Long Island of Holston. Here he halted and began the erection of a fort. While he was still engaged in this work, about the middle of November, 1761, Oconostota, accompanied by four hundred of his people, came in to ask for terms of peace, which were concluded on the 19th of November, 1761.

From the execution of this treaty the colonies were at peace with the whole of the Cherokee nation, but in the meantime Fort Loudon had been permanently abandoned, and the settlement of Tennessee delayed for ten years.

Little more remains to be told of the two famous old chiefs who were the central figures in this war; the one as a warrior, and the other as a peacemaker. For the next fifteen years their talks were white, and their people kept the path straight. They prevented Cameron from removing the Watauga settlers in 1772; and when the British persuaded their young warriors to dig up the hatchet in 1776, they still counseled peace. Both signed the treaty of Holston in 1777, and from that time held the Americans firmly by the hand. They, with Willinawaw, were appointed by the nation to wait upon the governor of North Carolina, for the purpose of inducing him to open trade

[43]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 252.

[44]Hewat, Vol. 2, p. 253.

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with the Cherokees, and thereby counteract the influence of Cameron, who refused to trade with them as long as they were at peace with the Americans.[45] Attakullakulla must have died soon afterwards, as this is the last time his name is mentioned in the records.

Oconostota lived a few more stormy years. Chota, which had been spared by Christian in 1776, was destroyed by Campbell and Sevier during the last days of 1780, and Oconostota was compelled to flee to the mountains, where he established a temporary residence,[46] though he afterwards returned to his beloved town. In the fall of 1781, the British agent in Georgia nominated the Raven as principal chief in opposition to Oconostota, and gave him a medal as a token of his authority.[47] After this revolt of the war party, Oconostota undertook to resign his position in favor of his son, Tuckasee, a friendly chief, and asked Colonel Martin to assist at the ceremony of his installation, in the name of Virginia.[48] Although Oconostota claimed the consent of the whole nation, Tuckasee was never received as its principal chief, that honor having fallen to another friendly chief, called the Tassel.

Oconostota died in the spring of 1785, and his influence was greatly missed by the American agent.[49] His death as well as the death of Attakullakulla, was spoken of at the treaty of Hopewell, in 1785, as an event well known to the whites as well as the Indians.[50]

[45]James Robertson to Governor Caswell, October 17, 1777. State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 11, p. 654.

[46]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 602.

[47]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 446-7.

[48]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 234.

[49]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 54. The story that he was still alive in 1809, a victim of strong drink, as repeated in Thwaites and Kellogg's Dunmore's War, pp. 38-9, is, of course, apocryphal, as he had then been dead nearly a quarter of a century.

[50]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 42.

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CHAPTER III.

CHEROKEE INVASION OF HOLSTON.

The Cherokees join the British at the beginning of the Revolution; prepare to invade the frontiers of North Carolina and Virginia; Nancy Ward gives timely warning to the settlers; battle of Long Island Flats and siege of Fort Watauga. 1776.

The close of the Cherokee War in 1761 was followed in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris, by which France ceded the whole of the western country to England. The French, entertaining little desire for the lands of the Indians, had aroused their jealousy by pointing out the encroachments of the English, who, they asserted, intended to dispossess them of the whole country. To allay this feeling, King George III issued his famous proclamation of October 7, 1763. This was an epoch-making document, and may be fairly called the Magna Carta of the North American Indians. It was the first instrument to assign them territorial limits, and to guarantee their right to the hunting grounds set apart to them. It defines the Indian boundary to be the watershed dividing the waters of the Atlanta from those flowing to the westward; and makes the first distinct general prohibition against British subjects purchasing lands from the Indians, or settling within their hunting grounds.[51]

To enforce obedience to this proclamation, and preserve friendly relations with the Indians of the South, Captain John Stuart, as we have seen, was appointed superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern district. Born in Scotland about the year 1700, he emigrated to America in 1733, received a subordinate command in the British service, and distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Loudon. Upright and faithful dealings with the Cherokees made him a general favorite with them, and gave him an unbounded influence as superintendent of Indian affairs.[52]

The year 1772 found a handful of adventurous pioneers located on the historic banks of the Watauga River, in East Tennessee. They had settled there under the belief that they were within the territorial limits of Virginia, whose back country had been opened to settlement under the treaty of Fort

[51]The State vs. James Foreman, Nashville, 1836, pp. 23-4. Opinion by Chief Justice Catron. See also the Laws of the United States, Resolutions of Congress under the Confederation, Treaties, Proclamations, and other Documents having Operation and Respect to the Public Lands, etc., Washington, 1817, p. 28, where the proclamation may be found in full.

[52]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 203.

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Stanwix, in 1768. But a survey made at this time by Colonel Anthony Bledsoe disclosed the fact that they were on the Cherokee hunting ground, beyond the jurisdiction of both Virginia and North Carolina. When this became apparent, Alexander Cameron, Indian agent resident among the Cherokees, ordered them to move off. This was a supreme crisis in the affairs of the settlement. It was finally solved by the friendly Cherokee chiefs expressing the wish that they might be permitted to remain, on condition that they would not encroach beyond the land they then had. The Watauga settlers being prohibited by the King's proclamation from purchasing their lands from the Indians, availed themselves of the friendly disposition of their chiefs, and leased them for a term of ten years. Three years later, when Henderson and Company made their famous Transylvania purchase at Sycamore Shoals, the Watauga and Nolichucky settlers followed their example, and bought their lands in fee simple.[53] Their deeds were signed by Oconostota, Attakullakulla, Tennesy Warrior, and Willinawaw.

When the Revolutionary War came, the British government determined to employ the Indians against the southern and western frontiers. The organization of the southern tribes was intrusted to Superintendent Stuart. Their general plan, which was only partially successful, was to land an army in west Florida, march them through the country of the Creeks and Chickasaws, who were each to furnish five hundred warriors; and thence to Chota, the capital of the Cherokee nation. Being reinforced by the Cherokees, they were to invade the whole of the southern frontier, while the attention of the colonies was diverted by formidable naval and military demonstrations on the sea coast. Circular letters outlining the plan, intended for the information of the Tories who were expected to repair to the royal standards, were issued May 9, and reached the Watauga settlement May 18, 1776.[54]

The Cherokees, when the plan was first submitted to them, were not prepared to take sides in the contest. A civil war was unknown to their nation, and they could hardly believe that the British government would make war against a part of its own people. Moreover, they had been at peace with the Americans since their treaty with Governor Bull, had no new complaint against them, and were living heedless, happy lives in their own towns. From the summit of almost any hill in the Tennessee mountains one might have beheld a vast expanse of green meadows and strawberry fields, the meandering

[53]Garrett and Goodpasture's History of Tennessee, pp. 34-6.
[54]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 147-8, 161.

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river gliding through them, saluting in its turnings and swellings, green, turfy knolls, embellished with parterres of blooming flowers and ripening fruit. There the young warriors stalked the flocks of wild turkeys strolling through the meads, and chased the herds of deer prancing and bounding over the hills; and there the young maidens gathered the rich, fragrant strawberries, and in a gay and frolicsome humor, chased their companions and stained their lips and cheeks with the red, ripe fruit; or, reclining on the banks of the beautiful mountain stream, their fair forms half concealed in the shadow of the blooming and fragrant bowers of magnolia, azalea, perfumed calycanthus, and sweet yellow jessamin, listlessly toyed in its cool, fleeting waters.[55]

But they had been accustomed to look on King George III as their great father. Attakullakulla and Oconostota, now old and infirm, but still honored and revered, had in their young manhood seen the splendor of his grandfather's court, and witnessed the strength and resources of the British nation; while Judge Friend had only three years before been received at the throne of the great King himself. For more than twelve years Captain Stuart had been the trusted friend and father of the whole tribe, but more especially of Attakullakulla, who had rescued him after the fall of Fort Loudon, and solicited his appointment to the high office he then held. Alexander Cameron, resident agent among the Cherokees, had married an Indian wife, and lived in regal style on an estate called Lochaber, named for the famous seat of the Camerons in the highlands of Invernesshire, Scotland, near the old Indian town of Keowee; had been their earnest champion, possessed their entire confidence, and had a large influence over them. These considerations, together with promises of clothing, booty, and the restoration of their hunting grounds to what may be called their charter limits, enabled the English to win most of the headmen over to their interest.

The campaign was planned with the utmost secrecy. William Bartram, the eminent American naturalist, left Superintendent Stuart at Charleston, April 22, 1776; was with Cameron at Lochaber on the fifteenth of May; later, dined with the chief of Watauga at his mountain home; and towards the end of the month met Attakullakulla on the border of the Overhill settlements. The Watauga chief inquired about Stuart, and Attakullakulla announced that he was then on his way to Charleston to see him, but none of them gave any intimation of the perilous operations that were being planned

[55]Bartram's Travels, pp. 354-5.

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against the back settlements, though Stuart's circular letter had already reached Watauga.[56]

It was agreed that North Carolina and Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, should be attacked simultaneously; the Overhill towns were to fall upon the back settlements of North Carolina and Virginia; the Middle towns were to invade the outlying districts of South Carolina; and the Lower towns were to strike the frontiers of Georgia. We are concerned only with the movements of the Overhill towns, which mustered about seven hundred warriors. They were to move in three divisions; one was to march against the Holston settlements, another was to strike Watauga, and the third was to scour Carter's valley. The first division fell to the command of Dragging Canoe (Cheucunsene), of Mialaquo,[57] who has been called a savage Napoleon;[58] the second was entrusted to Abraham (Ooskuah), of Chilhowee, a half-breed chief who had fought with Washington on the frontiers of Virginia;[59] and the third was under the Raven (Savanukeh), of Chota, who had served in the same campaign, but with little credit, having been detected in undertaking to palm off two white scalps brought from his own country, for trophies of an unsuccessful scout against the French.[60]

At this time there lived in Chota a famous Indian woman named Nancy Ward. She held the office of Beloved Woman, which not only gave her the right to speak in council, but conferred such great power that she might, by the wave of a swan's wing, deliver a prisoner condemned by the council, though already tied to the stake.[61] She was of queenly and commanding presence and manners, and her house was furnished in a style suitable to her high dignity. Her father is said to have been a British officer, and her mother a sister of Attakullakulla.[62] Her daughter, Betsy, was the Indian wife of General Joseph Martin. She had a son, Little Fellow, and a brother, Long Fellow (Tuskegetchee), who were influential chiefs.[63] The latter boasted that he commanded seven towns, while thirteen others listened to his talks; and though he had

[56]Bartram's Travels, pp. 362-4.

[57]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 435.

[58]Phelan's History of Tennessee, p. 43.

[59]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 342.

[60]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 284.

[61]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 71.

[62]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, pp. 203-4.

[63]General Joseph Martin and the War of the Revolution in the West. By Prof. Stephen B. Weeks, p. 423; Publications of the Southern History Association, Vol. 4, p. 458.

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once loved war and lived at Chickamauga, at the request of his nephew, General Martin, he had moved to Chestua, midway between Chota and Chickamauga, where he stood like a wall between bad people and his brothers, the Virginians.[64] Like her distinguished uncle, Nancy Ward was a consistent advocate of peace, and constant in her good offices to both races. She gave timely warning and assistance to the traders when the young warriors dug up the hatchet in 1781;[65] and delivered condemned prisoners from the stake, as we shall see. When Campbell's army was straitened for provisions, she had cattle driven in and furnished them with beef.[66] She was a successful cattle raiser, and is said to have been the first to introduce that industry among the Cherokees,[67] who, though they had numerous breeds of horses and hogs, were entirely without cattle and sheep, as late as 1762.[68] Afterwards she interceded with the victorious Americans for her unhappy people.[69] She intervened with conspicuous success in private disputes between the frontiersmen and the Indians.[70] Haywood has justly called her another Pocahontas.

When Nancy Ward found that her people had fallen in with the plans of Stuart and Cameron, she communicated the intelligence to a trader named Isaac Thomas, and provided him with the means of setting out as an express to warn the back settlers of their danger. Thomas was a man of character and a true American, who has left distinguished descendants in the state of Louisiana. Accompanied by a man named William Faulen, he lost no time in conveying the alarming intelligence to the people on the Watauga and Holston. His services were afterwards recognized and rewarded by the state of Virginia.

The information conveyed by Thomas produced great consternation on the border. Couriers were despatched in every direction. They had not had an Indian war since the settlement was begun, some seven years before. There was not a fort or blockhouse from Wolf Hills westward. But preparations for defense now became nervously active; the people rushed together in every neighborhood and hurriedly constructed forts and stockades. For our purpose it is necessary to mention only Eaton's Station and Fort Watauga.

[64]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 307.

[65]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 458.

[66]Weeks' General Joseph Martin, p. 431.

[67]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 213, citing Nuttall's Travels, p. 130.

[68]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 47.

[69]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 435.

[70]Ramsey, p. 273.

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Eaton's Station was six miles from the Long Island of Holston, on the road leading to Wolf Hills. It had been built in advance of the settlement, and was garrisoned by a small body of men, who fortified it on the alarm of the approaching Indians. Here five small companies, aggregating one hundred and seventy men, raised in the Holston settlements, and commanded by their senior captain, James Thompson, collected for the purpose of opposing Dragging Canoe, who was understood to be advancing with his detachment of the Indian forces.

July 19, 1776, Captain Thompson's scouts came in and reported a great number of Indians making for the settlements. A council of war determined that it would be best to move forward and meet them, engaging them wherever found, as they might otherwise pass the fort, break into small parties, and massacre the women and children in its rear. On the 20th they marched about six miles to the low, marshy ground, called the Flats, that lay along the north bank of the Holston, opposite the Long Island. There the scouts encountered and repulsed a small party of Indians. The ground being unfavorable for pursuit, a council of officers determined that it would be best to retire to the fort; but before they had gone more than a mile, they were attacked in the rear by a force not inferior to their own. The Indians engaged them in the open, and fought with great fury, making vigorous but ineffectual efforts to surround them. The battle lasted only a few minutes, when the Indians retired, leaving thirteen dead on the field, besides the dead and wounded they were able to carry off. None of the whites were killed, and only four of them were seriously wounded.[71]

The next day, July 21, at sunrise the Indians under Abraham assaulted Fort Watauga, on the Watauga River. This fort was defended by Captain James Robertson and Lieutenant John Sevier, with a garrison of forty men. The Indians were repulsed with considerable loss, which could not be definitely ascertained. It was here that Lieutenant Sevier received to his arms, as she fled from the Indians, Miss Catherine Sherrill, who subsequently became his wife, and is affectionately known as Bonny Kate.[72] The investment continued with more or less rigor for twenty days, when the Indians finally withdrew.[73]

[71]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 62; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 154, where the official report of the battle may be found; Phelan's History of Tennessee, p. 43.

[72]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, p. 52.

[73]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 156-7.

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The party led by the Raven struck across the country to Carter's Valley, but finding the inhabitants shut up in forts, and being intimidated by news of the defeat of Dragging Canoe, and the repulse of Abraham, abandoned the enterprise and returned to their towns.[74]

A fourth division, or more probably, the first division, after its defeat at Long Island Flats, divided into small parties and swept up the valley of the Clinch from the remotest settlement to the Seven Mile Ford, in Virginia. One of these parties made a sudden descent on the Wolf Hills settlement, and attacked the Reverend Charles Cummings, a militant Presbyterian preacher, noted for his habit of riding to his appointments with his rifle on his shoulder, which he deposited on the pulpit before commencing the services of the day. He had four companions with him at the time, and was on the way to his field. At the first fire William Creswell, one of the heroes of Long Island Flats, was killed, and two others were wounded. But with his remaining companion, and the trusty rifle, which he carried to the field as well as to the pulpit, he held his own with the Indians until relieved by the men from the fort.[75]

Upon the whole, the Indian invasion was a failure, owing to the timely warning of Nancy Ward, and the concentration of the inhabitants in forts built in consequence of the information she conveyed. If the well-guarded secret of the Indian campaign had not been disclosed, and they had been permitted to steal upon the defenseless backwoodsmen, who, in fancied security, had remained scattered over the extensive frontiers, every soul of them would probably have been swept from the borders of Tennessee. As it was, only slight injury was inflicted on the whites; two or three were killed, a few more wounded, and two were taken prisoners. On the other hand, its consequences were fatal to the Indians. The whites having felt their strength no longer feared them; and the Overhill towns, which had never yet been invaded, were soon to feel their avenging arm.

The two prisoners mentioned who were taken during the siege of Fort Watauga were Mrs. William Bean, mother of the first white child born in Tennessee, and a boy named Samuel Moore. They were carried to one of the Overhill towns, called Tuskegee, situated just above the mouth of Tellico, on the Little Tennessee River, in what is now Monroe County, Tennessee. There they were condemned to be burned at the stake. Mrs. Bean was bound, taken to the top of a mound, and was

[74]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 159.

[75]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 160.

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about to be burned, when Nancy Ward interposed and pronounced her pardon.[76] Moore was not so fortunate; he was actually tortured to death by burning.[77] The Tassel afterwards asserted, no doubt truthfully, that he was the only white person ever burned by the Indians in Tennessee.[78]

[76]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 157.
[77]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 158.
[78]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 306.

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CHAPTER IV.

RISE OF THE CHICKAMAUGAS.

Colonel Christian marches an army against the Overhill towns, and dictates terms of peace; treaty of Long Island; Dragging Canoe's party refuse to treat, and secede from the old towns; rise of the Chickamaugas. 1776-1782.

The Cherokee invasion of 1776 aroused the neighboring states to extraordinary exertions. They determined to strike the Indians such a blow as would deter them from again listening to the talks of the British. By a concerted movement, four expeditions were speedily organized to enter their country simultaneously, from as many different directions. North Carolina sent twenty-four hundred men under General Griffith Rutherford, who laid waste their country upon the Oconaluftee and Tuckasegee, and on the headwaters of the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee; the South Carolina men, eighteen hundred and sixty strong, carried frightful destruction to their towns and settlements on the Savannah; while two hundred Georgians, under Colonel Samuel Jack, devastated their towns on the head of the Chattahoochee and Tugaloo.

The Virginia forces, including those from the Tennessee settlements, numbered about two thousand men, and were commanded by Colonel William Christian, an officer of great humanity, as well as courage and address. They marched against the Overhill towns, which they took without resistance, the Indians being daunted by their overwhelming numbers. Pursuing the same policy followed by the other commanders, Colonel Christian destroyed many of their towns, but with diplomatic discrimination, he spared those like Chota, which had been disposed to peace, his purpose being to convince the Indians that he warred only with enemies.

The Cherokee country was desolated from the Virginia line to the Chattahoochee. Their loss of life and property was appalling. More than fifty of their towns had been burned, their orchards cut down, their fields wasted, their cattle and horses killed or driven off, and their personal property plundered. Hundreds of their people had been killed, or died of hunger and exposure. Those who escaped were fugitives in the mountains, living on nuts and wild game, or were refugees with Superintendent Stuart, who had fled to Florida.[79]

Under these circumstances the Cherokees were compelled to sue for peace. Two separate treaties were made. The first was concluded with South Carolina and Georgia, at Dewitt's

[79]Mooney's Myths of the Cherokee, p. 51.

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Corner, May 20, 1777, and ceded all their lands in South Carolina and eastward of the Unaka Mountains.[80] After Colonel Christian had destroyed the Overhill towns, he invited their chiefs to come in and treat for peace. Six or seven of them appeared. The terms imposed upon them were the surrender of all prisoners, and the cession of the disputed territory occupied by the Tennessee settlements, as soon as representatives of the whole tribe could be assembled in the spring.[81] In accordance with this agreement the treaty with Virginia and North Carolina was held at Long Island of Holston, July 20, 1777, and was signed by twenty of their principal chiefs.[82]

At the conference Colonel Christian regretted the absence of Judge Friend, Dragging Canoe, Lying Fish, and Young Tassel; and Captain James Robertson, who was appointed temporary agent at Chota, was instructed to discover their disposition toward the treaty, and whether there was any danger of a renewal of hostilities by one or more of them.[83] These were influential chiefs and their disaffection was ominous to the settlers.

Judge Friend was a picturesque character. The Indians called him Outacite, which means the "Man-killer," on account of his martial exploits,[84] while his English name of Judge Friend (corrupted from Judd's Friend) was given him for saving a man named Judd from the fury of his countrymen.[85] He fought with Washington against the French and Indians on the frontiers of Virginia; and on his return took a leading part in the war against the Carolinas. He was imprisoned and liberated with Oconostota by Governor Lyttleton, and with him received the surrender of the garrison of Fort Loudon.

After the treaty with Colonel Stephen in November, 1761, Henry Timberlake was sent to the Overhill towns. On his arrival at Tomotley, he was received and entertained by Judge Friend, who gave him a general invitation to his house while he remained in their towns. The following March, Timberlake conducted him, and a large party of Indians, to Williamsburg. A few days before he was to return home, Mr. Harrocks invited him to sup with him at the college, where, among other curiosities, he showed him the picture of His

[80]The Cherokee Nation of Indians, by Charles C. Royce, Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 150.

[81]Myths of the Cherokee, p. 51.

[82]The whole treaty, and a report of the proceedings during the negotiations, may be found in the appendix to Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee (2nd Ed.), pp. 501-14.

[83]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 506, 512.

[84]Miller's History of Great Britain, p. 35.

[85]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 72.

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Majesty King George. The chief viewed it long and attentively; then turning to Timberlake, said: "Long have I wished to see the king my father; this is his resemblance, but I am determined to see himself; I am now near the sea, and never will depart from it till I have obtained my desire." He made his wish known to the governor next day, who, though he at first refused, finally consented, and Judge Friend set off for England, accompanied by Timberlake and two Cherokee warriors.[86]

His presence in England created a great furor; thousands of people called to see him, whom he would receive only after going through the elaborate ceremonies of the toilet, which sometimes required as much as four hours. He had his boxes of oil and ochre, his fat and his perfumes, which were quite indispensable to his appearance in public. Among his callers was the poet Goldsmith, who waited three hours before he could gain admittance.[87] In the course of his visit he presented the chief with a present, who, in the ecstasy of his gratitude, gave him an embrace that left his face well bedaubed with oil and red ochre.[88] Afterwards he was presented to the king, who received him with great affability, and directed that he and his companions should be entertained at his expense. They carried home with them many presents of such things as they fancied.

Judge Friend had refused to participate in the treaty with Henderson and Company in 1775, as he was now holding aloof from the treaty of Long Island. But being now seventy-five years of age, he was too old to take the field, and though he withdrew from the friendly towns, and joined the new settlement at Chickamauga, the settlers had little reason to fear his active hostility.

The Young Tassel, who, as we shall see, afterwards made a noise in the world under the name of John Watts, was both a good-natured and a diplomatic young fellow, and, while he abandoned the old towns and moved further down the river, he did not then attach himself to the Chickamauga faction. Of Lying Fish we have no information.

But Dragging Canoe (Cheucunsene), the stout-hearted young chief of Mialaquo, or Big Island town, who had commanded the most important division of the Indian forces in their late irruption, and had suffered defeat at the decisive battle of Long Island Flats, still declared he would hold fast to Cameron's talks, and refused to make any sort of terms with

[86]Timberlake's Memoirs, p. 112.

[87]Goldsmith's Animated Nature (Phil., 1823), Vol. 1, pp. 351-2.

[88]Irving's Life of Goldsmith, Ch. 13.

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the Americans;[89] and had already been fighting with Captain James Robertson, on the Watauga. He seceded from the Nation's councils; drew off a large number of the most daring and enterprising young warriors of the Overhill towns; was joined by some of the refugees who fled across the mountain before the merciless devastation of Rutherford and Williamson; moved down the Tennessee River to Chickamauga Creek, a few miles above Chattanooga, and founded the notorious band called Chickamaugas.

More has been said of this remarkable chief, and less is known of his personal history, than of any other Indian of his time. One historian says he was killed in the beginning of his career, at the battle of Long Island Flats, in 1776;[90] another thinks he was killed at the battle of Boyd's Creek, in 1780;[91] while a third says he served with Jackson in the Creek War, and participated in the last great encounter at Horseshoe Bend.[92] Even a contemporary, well informed on Indian affairs, thinks he died soon after his removal to Chickamauga.[93] All are equally in error; he died in his own town, Running Water, in the spring of 1792. No doubt this want of information is due to the fact that he was always at war with the Americans, dealt with them at arm's length, and in the sixteen years following the first Cherokee invasion, never once met them on the treaty ground.

At this time he was about twenty-four years old; in person large and powerful, with coarse, irregular features. He was the implacable enemy, not of the white man, for he was the devoted and faithful friend of the English, but of the Americans, who were the despoilers of his country. Ambitious of great achievements, he had a mind capable of bold resolutions. He was brave, daring, and magnanimous.[94] On one occasion he is said to have shot a warrior dead on the spot, for insulting a white woman, though she was the warrior's own prisoner.[95]

Dragging Canoe was the son of Ookoonekah, or White Owl,

[89]Ramsey, pp. 172-3.

[90]Phelan's History of Tennessee, p. 43.

[91]Gilmore's Rear Guard of the Revolution, p. 281.

[92]Handbook of American Indians, North of Mexico. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, pp. 399-400.

[93]Colonel William Martin, in the Publications of the Southern History Association, Vol. 4, pp. 454-5.

[94]Weeks' Joseph Martin, p. 462; William Martin, in the Publications of the Southern History Association, Vol. 4, p. 454. Both of these accounts are on the authority of William Martin, but they cannot be wholly reconciled.

[95]Publications of the Southern History Association, Vol. 4, p. 455.

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a prominent Overhill chief, and a signer of the treaty of Holston. He first became conspicuous in the public affairs of his nation at the famous Transylvania treaty at Sycamore Shoals, on the Watauga River, in 1775, the only treaty with the Americans he is known to have attended. Haywood has given the outline of a great speech delivered by a Cherokee orator, "said to have been Oconostota," in opposition to this treaty;[96] but, so far as I have been able to find, Dragging Canoe was the only chief who publicly opposed the cession in open conference. On the second day of the treaty, when Henderson named the boundaries of his proposed purchase, Dragging Canoe became indignant at his pretentions, and withdrew in a passion from the conference. He was immediately followed by the other Indians, and the meeting was broken up for the day.[97] Afterwards he warned Henderson that it was "bloody ground," and would be "dark" and difficult to settle.[98] Some have thought this was the origin of the significant appellation "dark and bloody ground."[99]

After the great grant had been agreed to, Henderson asked the Indians to sell him the land between them and his purchase, for a path by which emigrants might reach Kentucky without passing over their hunting ground; hence known as the Path Deed. Dragging Canoe then arose, stamped his foot against the ground imperiously, waved his hand in the direction of Kentucky, and said, "We give you all this."[100] Colonel Charles Robertson, who was present on behalf of the Watauga Association, was alarmed lest this description should be taken to include the lands his Association had leased.[101] But it seems clear to me that Dragging Canoe meant only to express his contempt for Carter's Valley as compared to Kentucky; as if he had said: "We give you our great hunting ground; there is no game between Watauga and Cumberland Gap; when you have that you have all." He did not sign the deeds, though he suffered them to be executed by the old chiefs on behalf of the whole nation.

The Chickamauga towns prospered. A general tribal movement to the west, made necessary by the encroachments of the white settlements east of the mountains, had already set in. Refugees from the Savannah towns were building new homes

[96]Civil and Political History of Tennessee, pp. 58-9.

[97]Deposition of James Robertson, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 286; Deposition of Charles Robertson, same, p. 291.

[98]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 283.

[99]Smith's History of Kentucky, p. 52.

[100]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 284, 292.

[101]Deposition of Charles Robertson, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 292.

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upon the Coosa. Many of those driven out from the headwaters of the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee joined themselves to the Chickamaugas. They held fast to the talks of the English and continued in open hostility to the Americans. Chickamauga became the rallying point for the British interest in the Southwest. Colonel Brown, the successor of Superintendent Stuart, and his deputy, John McDonald, were regularly quartered there.[102] They had also gotten in communication with the British Governor, Henry Hamilton, at Detroit, and promised a contingent of warriors to assist him in the reduction of the northwestern frontiers.

In the summer of 1778, Colonel George Rogers Clark made his famous campaign against Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi River, which being taken and conciliated, Cahokia, near the present East St. Louis, and Vincennes, on the Wabash, also hoisted the American flag, and accepted American commandants appointed by Colonel Clark. News of Clark's success greatly irritated Governor Hamilton, and he determined not only to drive Clark from the Mississippi Valley, but to deliver a blow to the northwestern frontiers that would prevent a repetition of his bold exploits. In October he moved, with a considerable force, against Fort Vincennes, and its garrison, which contained only two Americans, surrendered, December 17, 1778. Instead of pushing on at once and taking Kaskaskia, as he might have done, Governor Hamilton remained at Vincennes, and spent the winter planning a great spring campaign, in which he would first destroy Colonel Clark, and then, turning southward, would sweep through Kentucky, driving back every American settlement west of the Alleghanies.[103] To accomplish this bold project he expected the assistance of five hundred Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other Indians, who were to rendezvous at the mouth of the Tennessee River. He caused the British agent to collect a supply of stores and goods at Chickamauga to the value of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, for distribution at their meeting.

Before the spring had arrived, however, Colonel Clark, after one of the most arduous and difficult marches on record, retook Fort Vincennes, February 25, 1779, and sent Governor Hamilton a prisoner to Virginia. The spring campaign in the northwest having now failed, the Chickamaugas determined to invade the frontiers on Holston. Warning of their purpose

[102]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 271; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 327, 532.

[103]Colonel Clark to the Governor of Virginia, Jefferson's Correspondence. By Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Vol. 1, p. 451; Thwaite's How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest, pp. 41-2.

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was conveyed to the settlements by Captain James Robertson from the friendly town of Chota, where he was stationed as the first American agent to the Cherokees, and the border counties of Virginia and North Carolina at once raised a force of three hundred and fifty volunteers under Colonel Evan Shelby, of King's Meadows. They were joined by a regiment of one hundred and fifty twelve-months men under Colonel John Montgomery, which had just been enlisted for the reinforcement of Colonel Clark, and embarked on the Holston River, April 10, 1779. They descended the river in pirogues and canoes built for the occasion, and took the Indians so completely by surprise that the few warriors not out on the war path, fled to the mountains without making the slightest resistance.

Colonel Shelby, following the now well established and most approved method of Indian warfare, burned the town of Chickamauga and ten villages around it, destroyed twenty thousand bushels of corn, which had probably been collected there to forward the expeditions which were to have been launched at the council they were to hold with Governor Hamilton at the mouth of the Tennessee, and other provisions, and carried off their cattle, horses and peltries, together with the British stores, which sold for one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.[104] Their warriors, on learning through runners of the destruction of their towns, abandoned their campaign against the frontiers, and returned to their desolated homes.[105]

The temporary tranquility that followed the destruction of the Chickamauga towns gave the patriots of Watauga and Holston an opportunity to win glory for their country and laurels for themselves by their unprecedented victory over the British at the battle of King's Mountain. But their temporary absence from the border likewise afforded the Chickamaugas an opportunity to form a coalition with the Overhill towns for a second general invasion of the frontier settlements.[106] This was frustrated by the promptness with which the border militia took the field and carried the war into the Indian country. Colonel John Sevier, without a day's rest after his return from King's Mountain, was the first in the field, with about three hundred men from Washington County, N. C. On the sixteenth of December, 1780, he fell in with a large party of Indians, and won the brilliant victory of Boyd's Creek—the battle in which Gilmore erroneously supposes that

[104]Jefferson's Correspondence, Vol. 1, p. 163.

[105]Ramsey, pp. 186-8; Mooney, p. 55.

[106]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 271.

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Dragging Canoe was killed. He was probably not present, as the Indians engaged were mostly from Chota. Colonel Sevier then retired to the Big Island of French Broad, to await reinforcements.

On the 22d he was joined by Colonel Arthur Campbell, of Washington County, Va., and Major Joseph Martin, of Sullivan County, N. C., with some four hundred men. The united forces marched, first against the Overhill towns, and then to those on the Hiwassee, where many of the Chickamaugas had taken refuge after the destruction of their towns by Colonels Shelby and Montgomery, but they nowhere encountered any further resistance. They did not penetrate as far south as Chickamauga. After destroying the Indian towns and property in the usual fashion, they began their homeward march on the first day of January, 1781.[107]

In the summer of 1781 a treaty of peace was concluded with the Overhill towns, but the Chickamaugas were still inflexible, and instead of suing for peace, were winning over to the war party new allies in the Cherokee towns on the Coosa, and among the neighboring Creeks.[108] They were a constant menace to the peace and safety of the frontiers, and in September, 1782, Colonel Sevier again invaded their country. Passing by the friendly towns on the Little Tennessee, he devastated the Indian settlements from the Hiwassee to the Coosa River, without meeting a foe in the field.[109] This was the third time in three years that their country had been overrun.

These annual incursions which laid waste their country, and destroyed the meager stores provided for their subsistence, became intolerable to the Chickamaugas. They could not have lived—they would have died of starvation, if such conditions had continued. The whites hoped it would result in a general peace, but the genius of the indomitable Dragging Canoe found another solution of their difficulties.

The passage of the Tennessee River through the Cumberland Mountain range at Chattanooga is one of the most unique achievements of nature. In its rapid descent it has cut deep through the solid stone, leaving towering cliffs and precipices on either shore, in some places scarcely leaving room for a path between them and the impetuous current of the river. The prospect from Lookout Mountain is almost incredible, reaching, it is said, the territory of seven states. The favorite

[107]Arthur Campbell's Report, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 135-7; Ramsey, pp. 261-8; James Sevier, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 6, pp. 41-2.

[108]Ramsey, p. 271.

[109]Ramsey, pp. 272-3; American Historical Magazine, Vol. 6, p. 43.

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view is called the Point, a projecting angle of the cliff, almost directly above the river, which affords a commanding "Lookout" from which the mountain received its name. Confined within its narrow banks, the rapidly descending stream rushes with fretful turbulence over immense boulders and masses of rock, creating a succession of cataracts and vortices, making it extremely difficult of navigation. Along its wild and romantic shores are coves and gorges running back into the mountains, forming inaccessible retreats. At a point about thirty-six miles below Chattanooga, Nickajack Cave, an immense cavern, some thirty yards wide, with a maximum height of fifteen feet, opens its main entrance on the river.[110]

Among these impregnable fastnesses Dragging Canoe found an asylum for his people; here he built the five Lower towns of the Chickamaugas—Running Water, Nickajack, and Long Island towns, in Tennessee, and Crow and Lookout Mountain towns, in Alabama and Georgia, respectively. In addition to the security offered by their positions, it gave them the advantage of being near the Indian path, where the hunting and war parties of the Creeks of the south, and the Shawnees of the north, crossed the Tennessee River. Their strength was augmented from the Creeks, Shawnees, and white Tories, until they numbered a thousand warriors, and became the most formidable part of their nation. It has been said that they abandoned Chickamauga Creek on account of witches,[111] but I agree with Colonel Arthur Campbell,[112] that the real cause was the raids of the Watauga and Holston militia.

[110]Ramsey, pp. 183-4.
[111]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 431.
[112]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 271.

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CHAPTER V.

CHICKASAW INVASION OF CUMBERLAND.

Captain Robertson plants a Colony on Cumberland; voyage of Colonel Donelson from Fort Patrick Henry to the French Salt Lick; the Chickasaws invade the infant settlements; massacre of the refugees from Renfroe's at Battle Creek; assault on Freeland's Station; restoration of peace, and Chickasaw treaty at Nashville; Piomingo and the Colberts. 1780-1783.

The magnificent country that Henderson and Company bought from the Cherokee Indians in 1775, and which they called Transylvania, included within its boundaries the beautiful valley of the Cumberland in Tennessee. The pioneers of Cumberland, being widely separated from the nearest station then being planted by Henderson and Company in Kentucky, and still more distantly removed from their parent settlements on the Watauga and Nolichucky, had a career unconnected with either of them, and made a history distinct from them both. At the treaty of Sycamore Shoals, Dragging Canoe, afterwards the founder and head chief of the Chickamauga towns, warned Colonel Henderson that the land he was getting was bloody ground, and would be dark and difficult to settle. This prophecy was mercilessly fulfilled, both in Kentucky and on the Cumberland; and the principal agent in working its fulfillment in the latter district was Dragging Canoe himself, though the settlement was surrounded by hostile Indians on every side.

Captain James Robertson, who had been present at the treaty of Sycamore Shoals, believing the Indian title to the land on the Cumberland had been extinguished by the deed to Henderson and Company (as in fact it proved to be, though the purchase did not inure to the benefit of the enterprising promoters, who were, however, liberally compensated for their trouble and expense by the States of North Carolina and Virginia), in 1779 conducted a small party to that region, and grew a crop of corn for the sustenance of the colony he purposed to conduct there the succeeding year. In the fall he returned to Watauga, after having visited Kentucky for the purpose of securing cabin rights, and collected a considerable company who were to form the beginning of his new settlement. The men were to go through with Captain Robertson by land, and the women and children were to follow by water, for which purpose a flotilla of numerous small crafts of every description, from the canoe to the flatboat, was collected at Fort Patrick Henry, on the Holston, and put under the command of Colonel John Donelson. Captain Robertson and his

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party reached their destination without accident, in a season distinguished as the "cold winter," drove their cattle and horses across the Cumberland on the ice, and arrived at the Bluff on the first day of January, 1780.

Colonel Donelson kept a charming diary of his voyage, to which we are indebted for the history of this daring and perilous adventure.[113] In the spring of 1779, Colonels Shelby and Montgomery had destroyed the Chickamauga towns. Taken completely by surprise, their warriors swarmed like a nest of hornets, and finally settled again amid the ashes of their old homes at the mouth of Chickamauga Creek, still unconquered, and thirsting for vengeance. Under the temporary quiet produced by this invasion, Colonel Donelson sailed from Fort Patrick Henry on December 22, 1779. He reached Chickamauga March 7, 1780, and found the upper town evacuated. The next day he came to a village that was inhabited, and would have suffered serious damage but for the warning of a half-breed called Archy Coody. Proceeding down the river, he soon came to a third town; here young Payne, on board Captain John Blackmore's boat, was killed by Indians concealed on the shore. Thomas Stuart and his family, to the number of twenty-eight souls, had embarked with the company, but smallpox having broken out among them, by agreement they kept in the rear of the other boats, being notified each night, by the sound of a horn, when they should go into encampment. The Indians discovering Stuart's helpless situation as he passed this town, intercepted his boats and killed or captured his entire party, whose cries were distinctly heard by some of the boats in advance. More than two years afterwards William Springston, a trader, brought a son of Mr. Stuart, a little fellow about ten years of age, to Long Island and delivered him to Colonel Martin, the Indian agent.[114] He is the only one of the party who is known to have been spared.

Among the boats in Colonel Donelson's flotilla was that of Jonathan Jennings, containing himself and wife, a daughter, Mrs. Ephraim Peyton, whose husband had gone through by land with Captain Robertson, a son nearly grown, and another young man, besides a negro man and woman. While on the way from Chickamauga to Lookout Mountain, Mrs. Peyton

[113]Journal of a Voyage, intended by God's permission, in the good boat Adventure, from Fort Patrick Henry, on the Holston River, to the French Salt Springs on the Cumberland River, kept by John Donelson. The original manuscript is preserved in the archives of the Tennessee Historical Society. It is published in full in Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, p. 69, and in Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 197.

[114]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 243.

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was delivered of a child, in consequence of which her father's boat fell slightly behind the others. The next day the flotilla passed through the dangerous narrows, where the river cuts through the mountain. The Indians, who had followed them down the south bank of the river, now lined the bluffs overlooking them, from which they kept up a constant fire upon their boats. All went well, however, until John Cotton's canoe capsized and lost its cargo. The company, pitying his distress, landed on the north bank of the river and undertook to assist him in the recovery of his goods, when, to their astonishment, the Indians opened fire from the cliffs above them. They retreated to their boats and immediately moved off, the Indians continuing to fire until they were out of range. Four of the party were slightly wounded, among them Miss Nancy Gower, daughter of Abel Gower, Sr. The crew of her father's boat being thrown into disorder, she took the helm and steered the boat, exposed to the fire of the enemy. While engaged in this work an Indian bullet pierced the upper part of her thigh, but she uttered no cry or word of complaint, and it was only after the danger was over that her mother discovered she was wounded by the blood flowing through her clothing. She recovered from her wound, and subsequently married Anderson Lucas.[115]

As Colonel Donelson moved out into the placid waters beyond the narrows, he saw Jennings' boat run on a rock that projected from the northern shore immediately at the "whirl," but being unable to render him any assistance, he continued his course and left them to their fate. The Indians were at once attracted by this accident, and centered their fire on Jennings' boat, piercing it in numberless places, and sending many bullets through the clothing of the party, especially those of Mrs. Jennings. Jennings ordered all his goods to be thrown overboard to lighten his boat, while he returned the fire of the Indians. Before they had completed their work, the two boys and the negro man became panic-stricken and deserted the boat. Jennings now had no other support than that of his heroic wife and a negro woman, Mrs. Peyton and her infant being both a care and an impediment. After they had finished unloading the boat, Mrs. Jennings jumped into the water and shoved it off. When the boat was loosened from the rock it started so suddenly that Mrs. Jennings came near being left in the river, a victim of her own intrepidity. Mrs. Peyton's child was killed in the hurry and confusion consequent on such a disaster; and she was herself frequently exposed to wet and cold, but neither health nor courage failed her. Two days

[115]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 102.

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later at four o'clock in the morning, while Colonel Donelson's company were gathered around their camp fires, they heard from up the river the pathetic cry, "Help poor Jennings!" His family was in a most wretched condition, but they were taken up and distributed among the other boats, and so continued their journey.

Donelson's flotilla was not again molested by the Indians until they reached the Mussel Shoals, where a predatory band of Cherokees and Creeks had formed a settlement. They had selected the place, apparently, as a strategic point from which they could fall upon such parties of immigrants as might, unhappily, be stranded in the dangerous rapids of the shoals; though they subsequently traded with French adventurers from the Illinois, and robbed American immigrants on the Cumberland. At the upper end of the shoals the boats were fired upon, without injury; two days later, a short distance below them, they were less fortunate. Some boats coming too near the shore were fired upon and five of their people were wounded, but not dangerously. That night they camped near the mouth of a creek. Having kindled fires, they prepared for rest, and one negro had actually gone to sleep, when the incessant barking of the dogs so alarmed the company that they beat a hasty retreat to their boats, fell down the river about a mile, and camped on the opposite shore. Next morning a canoe which had been sent over to the first camp, found the negro, who had been overlooked in the hurried retreat, still asleep by the fire.

These were the last Indians encountered on their voyage. Having descended the Tennessee to its mouth, they rowed laboriously up the Ohio and Cumberland. On the 12th of April, 1780, they came to a little river running in on the north side, called Red River, up which Moses Renfroe and his company intended to settle. Here they took their leave of Colonel Donelson, and, ascending Red River to the mouth of Person's Creek, near the present village of Port Royal, they landed and commenced the settlement known as Renfroe's, or Red River Station, about forty miles northwest of Nashville. Donelson and the main company continued on to the Big Salt Lick, where they arrived April 24, 1780.

The immigrants settled in numerous stations scattered along the valley of the Cumberland. The central and most important of these was the Bluff, at Nashville; then came Eaton's, on the east side of the river, near Lock A; Freeland's, in north Nashville; Mansker's, at Goodlettsville; Asher's, near Gallatin; Donelson's, at Clover Bottom, on Stone's River; Union, about six miles above Nashville; and Renfroe's, which has already been mentioned. There were probably not above one

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hundred men in all the settlement at this time; there were less than two hundred in the year 1783. Colonel Donelson's experience proved that they were threatened by hostile bands of Indians on at least two sides: The Chickamaugas, on the east, who wished to exterminate the whites; and the marauding Cherokees and Creeks of the Mussel Shoals, on the south, who desired to plunder them. They had already been disturbed by the Delawares, of the north, a party of whom camped on a branch of Mill Creek, since called Indian Creek, in January, 1780; and in July or August of that year killed poor Jonathan Jennings.[116] But they came in contact with the settlers by accident, and did them comparatively small damage.

To complete the circle of their enemies, an event happened this year that brought upon the young colony a dangerous invasion from the Indians of the west. The Chickasaws, who lived upon the east bank of the Mississippi, about the present city of Memphis, were the undisputed proprietors of all the lands lying between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. As early as June, 1778, Governor Jefferson had instructed Colonel George Rogers Clark to establish a military post near the mouth of the Ohio. Just at that time, however, he was engaged in his marvelous campaign in the Northwest, which resulted in the capture of Governor Hamilton at Vincennes, February 25, 1779. In March Colonel Clark reached the conclusion that the only method of maintaining American authority in the Illinois, was to evacuate their present posts, and center their whole force at, or near, the mouth of the Ohio; which would still be ineffective unless a considerable number of families could be settled around the fort, for the purpose of drawing reinforcements and victualing the garrison.[117] Soon afterwards he took two hundred men from the Falls of the Ohio, and proceeding down the river, built Fort Jefferson, and established a settlement at the Iron Banks, about five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, and within the hunting grounds of the Chickasaw Indians.[118] As soon as the Chickasaws learned that this fort had been erected, and a number of families settled about it, without their consent, they took up arms to defend their hunting ground.[119] They not only laid siege to Fort Jefferson, and destroyed the settlement around it, but they invaded the frontiers of Kentucky, and even penetrated as far as the infant settlements on the Cumberland.

[116]Haywood, p. 125.
[117]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 338-9.
[118]Collin's History of Kentucky, p. 39.
[119]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 284.

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Renfroe's Station, as we have seen, was the most western station on the Cumberland, being some forty miles northwest of the Bluff. In June or July, 1780, a party of Chickasaws killed Nathan Turpin and another man at Renfroe's, which so alarmed the stationers that they resolved to abandon the settlement, and take refuge at Freeland's; and, that they might not be impeded in their flight, they concealed some of the least portable of their property about the station before they departed. Isaac Renfroe left some iron, which afterwards became the subject of litigation before the Committee of Cumberland, and enough of it was awarded to David Rounsevall to satisfy his debt of £31, 12*s.*, and costs.[120] This is mentioned to show how much they valued the few supplies they were able to bring with them to the settlement. Having traveled as far as they could through the forests and canebrakes, over a very broken country, they halted for the night. Most of the party continued their journey the next day, and reached their destination in safety; the others, finding they had been thus far unmolested, reproached themselves for having left their property in their hasty flight, and, upon consultation, determined to return to the abandoned station for it. They immediately retraced their steps, cautiously approached their deserted cabins, and by daybreak had collected up their property and resumed their march. On the way they picked up their families, and at night all camped together about two miles north of Sycamore Creek, beside a branch since called Battle Creek. Next morning Joseph Renfroe went to the spring for water. While he was stooping to drink the Indians fired upon him from ambush, killing him instantly They then rushed upon the camp and massacred the whole party—eleven or twelve persons—with the exception of Mrs. Jones, who made her escape. By following the trail of the first party this lone and frightened woman made her way to Eaton's Station. Her clothing was torn into shreds as she hurried through the bushes and cane for a distance of nearly twenty miles. The stationers promptly visited the scene of slaughter, and buried the dead; but the Indians had made off with the horses and such other property as they cared for, and destroyed what they did not take. The ground was white with the feathers of the beds they had ripped up to get the ticks.[121]

After this massacre by the Chickasaws, and similar ravages by the Chickamaugas, presently to be noticed, all the stations

[120]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 135.

[121]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 109-110; Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 127; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 448-9.

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on the Cumberland were abandoned except the Bluff, Eaton's and Freeland's. At this juncture Colonel Robertson found it necessary to make a journey to Kentucky for the threefold purpose of concerting measures for the defense of the Cumberland; finding means to conciliate the Chickasaws, and procuring a supply of ammunition for the stationers. He returned to the Bluff on the 11th day of January, 1781.[122]

The same day a small party of Indians had appeared in the neighborhood. While David Hood was passing from Freeland's to the Bluff, they fired upon him from ambush near the Sulphur Spring. He was pierced by three balls, and seeing no means of escape, fell upon his face and simulated death. The Indians rushed on him, and one of them, twisting his fingers in his hair, began to scalp him. His knife being very dull the scalp did not yield readily; he took a new hold, and sawed away until he could pull it off. Hood stood this painful operation without a groan or other sign of life. After scalping him, he stamped upon him to dislocate his neck, and left him for dead. He lay perfectly quiet until the Indians disappeared, when he cautiously peeped out and found himself quite alone. He then arose, weak and bloody from his many wounds, and slowly wended his way towards the Bluff. When he reached the top of the bank he was amazed to find the whole party of Indians in front of him, grinning and laughing at his bloody figure and bewildering predicament. He turned and trotted back as fast as his waning strength would carry him, when they again fired upon him, wounding him slightly in two places. They did not pursue him, but his strength failed, and he crept into the brushwood, and fainted from loss of blood. He lay in this condition until the men from the fort who had heard the firing, found him, brought him in, and laid him in an outhouse, thinking him dead or in a dying condition.[123] That night the Chickasaws assaulted Freeland's Station, the old swivel at the Bluff sounded the tocsin of alarm, its men marched to the relief of their friends, and poor Hood was, for the time, forgotten in his outhouse.

Colonel Robertson had reached the Bluff in the evening, and learning that his family was at Freeland's, he proceeded

[122]Dr. Felix Robertson, Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery, Vol. 8 (1855), quoted in Eve's Remarkable Surgical Cases; give this date as January 15th, but Dr. Robertson, who associated the date with that of his own birth, is more probably correct.

Haywood and our other historians following him, give this date January 15th, but Dr. Robertson, who associated the date with that of his own birth, is more probably correct.

[123]Dr. Felix Robertson, Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery, Vol. 8 (1855); John Rains, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 266; Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 156-8; Haywood, pp. 133-4; Ramsey, pp. 455-6.

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to that station, where he joined them late in the night. His wife had that day borne him a son, the first male child born in the city of Nashville. That child was the eminent Dr. Felix Robertson, long an intelligent and influential citizen of Tennessee. After Colonel Robertson had exchanged greetings with his family, and satisfied the eager questions of his friends, all retired for the night. About the hour of midnight the alert ear of Colonel Robertson heard a movement at the gate that aroused his suspicion. He raised himself up, seized his rifle, and gave the alarm, "Indians!"

A large party of Chickasaws, having found means to unfasten the gate, were now entering the stockade. In an instant every man in the fort—eleven in number—was in motion. Major Robert Lucas, who occupied a house that was untenable because the cracks between the logs had not yet been chinked and daubed, rushed out into the open, and was shot down, mortally wounded. A negro man of Colonel Robertson's, who was in the house with Major Lucas, was also killed. These were the only fatalities, though the death of Major Lucas alone was a serious loss to the colony. He had been a leading pioneer on the Watauga, as he was on the Cumberland. He was a party to the treaty of Sycamore Shoals, and in connection with Colonel John Carter, had received from the Cherokees a deed to a part of Carter's Valley. On his removal to Cumberland, he was elected major in the first military organization of the district.

Hundreds of shots had been fired into the houses; and so great was the uproar from the firing, and the whooping and yelling of the Indians, that the stationers at Eaton's and the Bluffs were aroused, and the sound of the small cannon at the latter place gave notice that relief was at hand. The Indians then withdrew. They had lost one killed, whose body was found, and the traces of blood indicated that others had been wounded.[124]

Early next morning Colonel Robertson returned to the Bluff, and with his fatherly oversight of his people, went out to see Hood, who was still in the outhouse. Finding him alive, he inquired how he was. "Not dead yet," he replied, "and I believe I would get well if I had half a chance." Colonel Robertson told him he should have a whole chance; and proceeded himself to dress his wounds. His treatment of the scalp wound was curious. On the Holston he had seen many persons who had been scalped, and there learned from a traveling French surgeon how to treat them. He took a pegging

[124]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 223-4; Haywood, p. 131; Ramsey, p. 451.

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awl and perforated thickly the whole naked space. This was done that granulation might spring up through the awl holes, and gradually spreading, unite and form a covering to the denuded skull before it should die and exfoliate, and thus expose the brain. This operation became so common that there were persons in every station who could perform it.[125] In 1796 there were some twenty persons still living on the Cumberland who had lost their scalps.[126] Hood recovered and lived to a ripe old age.

ALBERT V. GOODPASTURE.

(To be continued.)

[125]Dr. Felix Robertson, Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery, Vol. 8 (1855).

[126]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, p. 26.

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THE VOLUNTARY EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN TENNESSEE AS REFLECTED IN THE STATE'S LEGISLATION AND JUDICIAL DECISIONS.

While the general history of slavery in the Southern states is pretty well understood, a more accurate knowledge of it, in some of its aspects, can be gotten from viewing it in the concrete, observing the progress and application of the legislation affecting it, and considering the contemporary utterances of those who were among the leaders in forming and in expressing public sentiment. This article deals only with the subject of the voluntary emancipation of slaves in Tennessee, as reflected in the legislation and judicial decisions of that state.

There was a good deal in slavery that was harsh and hardening, but it was not altogether so, and the growing sentiment was toward voluntary emancipation. While much could be said in favor of emancipation, there was also—leaving out of consideration the money loss to the owners—much to be said against it, for it meant the admission to citizenship of a servile race which was without the education or the means or the moral qualities to fit them for that status; and "free negroes" were often found to be a demoralizing influence in slave communities—an influence that became more and more dangerous as the activities of the abolitionists increased.

At common law there were no restrictions upon the right of a master to free his slaves at pleasure,[1] but in 1777 it was enacted in North Carolina that slaves could be freed only with the consent of the county court and for meritorious services,[2] which act continued in force during the first few years of Tennessee's existence as a state, and always thereafter it was recognized that the state had an interest in the emancipation of slaves and that its consent was, therefore, necessary.

"Degraded by their color and condition in life," says Judge Catron, "the free negroes are a very dangerous and most objectionable population where slaves are numerous; therefore, no slave can be safely freed but with the assent of the government where the manumission takes place. . . . It is an act of sovereignty, just as much as naturalizing the foreign subject. The highest act of sovereignty a government can perform is to adopt a new member, with all the privileges and

[1] *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 127, 157 (1834).
[2] Acts, N. C., 1777, ch. 6.

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duties of citizenship. To permit an individual to do this at pleasure would be wholly inadmissible."[3]

The act of 1777 operated harshly by reason of the requirement of "meritorious services," which often forbade the emancipation of children while permitting that of their parents,[4] and in 1801 this injustice was removed, and it was provided that the county court should have the right to free slaves upon petition of their owners, provided the court "should be of opinion that acceding to the same would be consistent with the interest and policy of the state"[5]; but the act went on to declare that the petitioner must enter into bond "to reimburse such damages as the county may sustain in consequence of such slave or slaves becoming chargeable," and the policy of exacting a bond to indemnify the county against the former slaves becoming a public charge was thereafter adhered to up until the adoption, in 1831, of the new policy of exclusion.

The procedure usually followed under this act was for the master, who wished to free his slave, to file the petition and give the bond, or for the executor to do this, for in most cases slaves were freed by will, so as not to be effective until the master's death; and it was held that, if the executor failed or refused to take the necessary steps to effect the emancipation, a court of chancery would compel him to.[6]

However, any difficulty on account of a recalcitrant executor was removed in 1829 when the chancery court was given the same power to emancipate that the county court had theretofore exercised,[7] the act providing that, if the executor or administrator failed or refused to file the prescribed petition in the county court, the slaves themselves might "file a bill in equity by their next friend, and, upon its being made satisfactorily to appear to the court that said slave or slaves ought of right to be set free, it shall be so ordered by the court."[8] In a very elaborate consideration of the question it was held that the provisions of this act were available to slaves who had been given their freedom prior to its passage, and that a later legislative attempt to deprive them of its benefits[9] was unconstitutional.[10]

[3] *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 126-127 (1834).

[4] *Ibid.*, 127.

[5] Acts 1801, ch. 27.

[6] *Hinklin* vs. *Hamilton*, 3 Hum., 569 (1842); *Howard* vs. *Clemons*, 5 Hum., 367 (1844).

[7] *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 128 (1834); *Isaac* vs. *McGill*, 9 Hum., 616 (1848); *Lewis* vs. *Daniel*, 10 Hum., 305 (1849).

[8] Acts 1829, ch. 29, sec. 1.

[9] Acts 1831, ch. 101, sec. 1.

[10] *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 157-166 (1834).

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It has been seen that two things were requisite to effect a legal emancipation, namely, the consent of the master or owner, and the consent of the state given through the courts thereunto by law appointed. These two acts of 1801 and 1829 were highly favorable to emancipation, that is to say, they were designed to encourage the freeing of slaves and to furnish a simple and sure method of procuring the state's formal consent; and equal liberality was shown by the courts in their effort and inclination to extract from some source the necessary consent of the master. An acknowledged or witnessed instrument was not required, nor any writing at all, nor even an explicit oral declaration, but it was sufficient if the court could infer from the acts and conduct of the master a purpose or intention that the slave should be freed.[11]

It was of the highest importance to the slave to be able to show his master's consent to his emancipation, even though it appeared that there had been insufficient steps, or no steps at all, to procure the state's consent; for the courts held that there existed in such cases a kind of twilight zone of freedom, in which the slave, while not legally free, enjoyed what they termed "an imperfect right to freedom," so that he was, as between him and his master, or those claiming under his master, discharged from all duty of service. Thus Judge McKinney said that "the legal character and condition of the slave is changed" by his master's consent, even without that of the state; "his relations to his former master and to the community are likewise changed. By the act of the master imparting to him an imperfect right to freedom, he ceases to be in the state and condition of slavery; ceases to have an owner or master within the meaning of the law."[12] And a few years later Judge Turley said that "a devise of freedom is a substantive thing, whether it be recognized by the state or not, and no one but the state can interfere in relation thereto."[13] "There always has been," said Judge Nicholson, "an intermediate state between absolute slavery and absolute freedom recognized by our courts, in which intermediate state the inchoate legal right to freedom, and the vested equitable right to its benefits, have been regarded as substantive things, capable of being enforced and consummated in courts of equity."[14]

[11] *Hope* vs. *Johnson*, 2 Yerg., 123 (1826); *Greenlow* vs. *Rawlings*, 3 Hum., 90 (1842); *Lewis* vs. *Simonton*, 8 Hum., 185 (1847); *Isaac* vs. *McGill*, 9 Hum., 616 (1848); *James* vs. *State*, 9 Hum., 308 (1848); *Abram* vs. *Johnson*, 1 Head, 120 (1858); *Isaac* vs. *Farnsworth*, 3 Head, 275 (1859); *McCloud* vs. *Chiles*, 1 Cold., 248 (1860).

[12] *Lewis* vs. *Simonton*, 8 Hum., 185 (1847).

[13] *Lewis* vs. *Daniel*, 10 Hum., 305 (1849).

[14] *Young* vs. *Cavitt*, 7 Heisk., 30 (1871). And see also *Boone* vs. *Lancaster*, 1 Sneed, 578 (1854); *Bedford* vs. *Williams*, 5 Cold., 202 (1867); and *Jamison* vs. *McCoy*, 5 Heisk., 108 (1871).

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This recognition of an inchoate or imperfect right to freedom was usually invoked, and successfully, for the purpose of defeating the claims of next of kin[15] or the attempts of creditors to levy on the slaves;[16] and it is in such cases especially that we find striking illustrations of the court's manifest desire to discover a purpose on the part of the master to free the slaves, which alone, even in the absence of a legal emancipation, was sufficient to defeat such claims.

To illustrate: Elias, having been legally emancipated, married Tenor with the consent of her master, Read, who permitted Tenor to live with Elias; and, Read, having died without making any disposition of Tenor, his administrator offered her and her child for sale, and Elias, with the acquiescence of Read's next of kin, was permitted to buy them in for $10, whereas they were worth as slaves from $600 to $700. Elias neglected to take the necessary steps to emancipate them, and thereafter a judgment creditor of Elias levied on Tenor and her child, and Elias then filed a bill to enjoin the levy and to establish their freedom. Judge Reese said that the court was of opinion that "both Read and his heirs purposed the emancipation and freedom of the woman and child . . . and therefore clothed Elias with the mere form of a legal title, to the end that he might be able at any time to emancipate; accompanying this transfer of the mere legal title was a trust in favor of the freedom of the wife and children, arising necessarily from the very nature of the whole transaction." "But," he went on to say, "they trusted, and not rashly, it seems, to the heart of the husband and father, as being at least equivalent to the deed of another. If he, stifling the voice of nature, and severing the paternal tie, had been such a barbarian and monster as to have meditated a sale of them for his pecuniary advantage, upon the strength of his mere legal title, is there a chancery court in Christendom, having jurisdiction over such a trust, which would not have promptly interposed, at their instance, and enjoined him from perpetrating against them so flagrant a wrong? And will not such a court interpose in a case little short in its enormity of that supposed, where a creditor of Elias seeks to produce the same result by an execution sale at law? Certainly it should. That much we have power, and it is our duty, to do."[17]

[15] *David* vs. *Bridgman*, 2 Yerg., 557 (1831); *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 127 (1834); *McCullough* vs. *Moore*, 9 Yerg., 305 (1835); *Howard* vs. *Clemmons*, 5 Hum., 367 (1844); *Isaac* vs. *McGill*, 9 Hum., 616 (1848).

[16] *Elias* vs. *Smith*, 6 Hum., 33 (1845); *Porter* vs. *Blakemore*, 2 Cold., 556 (1865).

[17] *Elias* vs. *Smith*, 6 Hum., 33 (1845).

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Another case was this: George, having purchased his own freedom, had then by his industry and economy purchased his wife, by whom he had had six children during the bondage of the mother, which children, being born of a slave mother, were slaves. George emancipated his wife, and they were legally married and were prosperous, and their efforts were directed towards the purchase and emancipation of their children. One after another of the older children were purchased and set free, but complainants, who were the younger children, were not thus acquired, although their master had expressed his purpose to permit the father to purchase them whenever he could. In this situation the master died insolvent, and complainants were sold and bid in by their father for $1,050, being much less than their real value; but they were not legally emancipated. In course of time their father became oppressed with debts and had to borrow money, and eventually died insolvent, and complainants were levied on by his creditors; and thereupon they filed a bill to establish their freedom, claiming that there was an agreement between their father and their late master that he was to purchase them in order to set them free. The court again adopted the theory of an implied trust, and accordingly held that complainants were purchased by their father for the purpose of giving them their freedom, and that they never became assets of his estate so as to be subject to the claims of his creditors.[18]

The foregoing cases have been referred to because of their humanitarian interest, but there are very many other cases that illustrate the strong inclination of the court to resolve all doubts in favor of freedom or of quasi freedom.[19] Thus very often emancipation proceedings in the county court were defective and invalid, but the courts always held that the mere institution of such proceedings by the master was a sufficient indication of his consent to give the slave at least an inchoate right to freedom and to release him from servitude.[20]

While, as we have seen, the mere consent of the master put an end to the condition of slavery, it did not discharge the master from responsibility for the misconduct of the slave. Thus, where a slave, who had been freed by his master but not legally emancipated, had been indicted under a statute forbidding a "free person of color" to sell spirituous liquors, the

[18] *Porter* vs. *Blakemore*, 2 Cold., 556 (1865).

[19] *Harris* vs. *Clarissa*, 6 Yerg., 227 (1834); *Levina* vs. *Duffield's Exr's.*, Meigs, 118 (1838); *Isaac* vs. *McGill*, 9 Hum., 616 (1848).

[20] *McCullough* vs. *Moore*, 9 Yerg., 305 (1835); *Stewart* vs. *Miller*, Meigs, 174 (1838); *Hinklin* vs. *Hamilton*, 3 Hum., 569 (1842); *Hartsell* vs. *George*, 3 Hum., 255 (1842); *Abram* vs. *Johnson*, 1 Head, 120 (1858).

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court quashed the indictment, saying that "the master, by failing to petition the county court and give bond according to law, remains liable to all the penalties of the law as though he had never consented to his freedom." "Until that is done," the court continued, "the master may be indicted for permitting him to act as a freeman, and is liable to all the other consequences that would have existed if he had not consented to the defendant's freedom."[21]

Where one considered that he was illegally held in slavery, the practice was for him to institute a suit for trespass and false imprisonment,[22] or sometimes for assault and battery,[23] against the person so holding him, in which suit the defendant set up that plaintiff was his slave, so that that issue was directly presented. While, as a general rule, slaves, being mere chattels—so that they, their services and their property belonged to their masters[24]—could neither sue nor be sued, there was from the beginning a recognized exception in favor of their right to sue for their freedom or for property interests connected therewith[25]; and, in order to protect plaintiffs during the pendency of such suits, the court was given legislative authority to have them taken and kept in custody by the sheriff,[26] an act which—it was held later on—did not deprive the chancery court of its inherent right and power to render even more efficient protection.[27]

"But," says Judge Green, "we are met with the objection that none but free persons have a right to sue, and that the persons of color in this case are still slaves. A slave is not in the condition of a horse or an ox. His liberty is restrained, it is true, and his owner controls his actions and claims his services. But he is made after the image of the Creator. He has mental capacities, and an immortal principle in his nature that constitute him equal to his owner but for the accidental position in which fortune has placed him. The owner has acquired conventional rights to him, but the laws under which he is held as a slave have not and cannot extinguish his high-born nature nor deprive him of many rights which are inherent in man.

[21] *James* vs. *State*, 9 Hum., 308 (1848).

[22] *Vaughan* vs. *Phebe*, M. & Y., 4 (1827); *Harris* vs. *Clarissa*, 6 Yerg., 227 (1834); *Blackmore* vs. *Negro Phill*, 7 Yerg., 452 (1835).

[23] *Matilda* vs. *Crenshaw*, 4 Yerg., 299 (1833); *Stewart* vs. *Miller*, Meigs, 174 (1838).

[24] *University* vs. *Cambrelins*, 6 Yerg., 79 (1834); *Jenkins* vs. *Brown*, 6 Hum., 299 (1845).

[25] *Ford* vs. *Ford*, 7 Hum., 91 (1846); *John* vs. *Tate*, 7 Hum., 388 (1846); *Stephenson* vs. *Harrison*, 3 Head, 728 (1859).

[26] Acts 1817, ch. 103.

[27] *Sylvia* vs. *Covey*, 4 Yerg., 297 (1833).

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Thus, while he is a slave, he can make a contract for his freedom, which our laws recognize, and he can take a bequest of his freedom, and by the same will he can take personal or real estate."[28]

Doubtless very many slaves were emancipated under the acts of 1801 and 1829, and the practice of emancipating, especially by last will, was becoming more and more frequent. But likewise the activities of the anti-slavery agitators were, in the latter years, becoming more and more objectionable, so that, in the course of time, the large and growing body of free negroes in the state came to be regarded as so dangerous to its welfare as to require preventive legislation.

Accordingly, in 1831, a law was passed forbidding "any free person of color (whether he be born free, or emancipated agreeably to the laws in force and use, either now, or at any other time, in any state within the United States or elsewhere), to remove himself to this state to reside therein, and remain therein twenty days,"[29] and likewise forbidding the emancipation of any slave "except on the express condition that such slave or slaves shall be immediately removed from this state," and requiring a bond in an amount equal to the value of the slave to guarantee the performance of this condition.[30]

"This policy," according to Chief Justice Nicholson, "was based upon the belief that the peace of the state would be endangered by an increase of the number of free colored persons";[31] and, going deeper into the cause of this change, Judge Nelson, with manifest bitterness, remarked: "Before the unjust, unwarrantable, unconstitutional and impertinent interference of enthusiasts and intermeddlers in other states with this domestic relation rendered it necessary for the state to guard against the effect of their incendiary publications, and to tighten the bonds of slavery by defensive legislation against persistent and untiring efforts to produce insurrection, the uniform course of decision in this state was shaped with a view to ameliorate the condition of the slave, and to protect him against the tyranny or cruelty of the master and all other persons."[32]

In one of the first cases to deal with this statute, Chief Justice Catron said: "All the slaveholding states, it is believed, as well as many of the non-slaveholding, like ourselves have adopted the policy of exclusion. The consequence is the

[28] *Ford* vs. *Ford*, 7 Hum., 91.
[29] Acts 1831, ch. 102, sec 1.
[30] Acts 1831, ch. 102, sec. 2.
[31] *Jamison* vs. *McCoy*, 5 Heisk., 108 (1871).
[32] *Andrews* vs. *Page*, 3 Heisk., 660 (1871).

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freed negro cannot find a home that promises even safety in the United States, and assuredly none that promises comfort."[33] He said that it was unjust to impose free negroes on other states that did not want them, and he accordingly ordered that the slaves whom the court was then emancipating be exported to Africa.

In the same case Judge Catron depicts the status of a free negro in the following vivid language: "The slave who receives the protection and care of a tolerable master holds a condition here superior to the negro who is freed from domestic slavery. He is a reproach and a by-word with the slave himself, who taunts his fellow-slave by telling him 'he is as worthless as a free negro.' The consequence is inevitable. The free black man lives amongst us without motive and without hope. He seeks no avocation, is surrounded with necessities, is sunk in degradation; crime can sink him no deeper, and he commits it, of course. This is not only true of the free negro residing in the slaveholding states of this Union. . . . Nothing can be more untrue than that the free negro is more respectable as a member of society in the non-slaveholding than the slaveholding states. In each he is a degraded outcast, and his fancied freedom a delusion. With us the slave ranks him in character and comfort, nor is there a fair motive to absolve him from the duties incident to domestic slavery if he is to continue amongst us. Generally, and almost universally, society suffers and the negro suffers by manumission."[34]

Chancellor Reese—afterward a distinguished member of the Supreme Court—had decided this case below, and in the course of his opinion he used the following strong language: "When permitted to indulge my feelings and opinions as an individual, I find them in strong and direct hostility to all schemes for emancipating slaves, under existing circumstances, in the bosom of our community."[35]

A "free person of color" from another state came into this state and remained more than twenty days, in defiance of this act of 1831, and was indicted and convicted; and, on appeal, it was earnestly urged in his behalf that the act was unconstitutional upon the ground that he was entitled, under the Federal Constitution, to all of the privileges and immunities of citizens of this state. But the Supreme Court had no difficulty in holding otherwise.[36] "Free negroes, by whatever ap-

[33] *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 130 (1834).
[34] *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 130 (1834).
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[36] *State* vs. *Claiborne*, Meigs, 331.

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pellation we call them," said Judge Green, "were never in any of the states entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens, and consequently were not intended to be included when this word was used in the Constitution. . . . How can it be said that he enjoys all the privileges of citizens when he is scarcely allowed a single right in common with the mass of the citizens of the state?" And the court went on to say that a free negro was not a "freeman" within the meaning either of the Constitution of Tennessee or of Magna Carta.

The requirement of the act of 1831 that all slaves thereafter emancipated should forthwith be sent out of the state was a severe one, and efforts were accordingly made to alleviate its hardships, first in 1833, by exempting from its provisions those who had contracted for their freedom before its passage,[37] and second, in 1842, by giving the county court the power, upon application being made to it, to permit emancipated slaves to remain in the state "if the court is satisfied that the person making the application is of good character and ought to be permitted to reside in the county."[38]

In its construction of these two statutes the court gave additional evidence of its merciful regard for those who had been unfortunate enough to be in a condition of slavery. The validity of certain emancipation proceedings, had in 1837, was questioned because of the failure to give the required bond that the slave should leave the state, and the court thereupon held that, while the record was silent on the subject, it must have been made to appear to the county court, in the emancipation proceedings, that the slave had contracted for his freedom prior to the passage of the act of 1831, so as to bring himself within the saving clause of the act of 1833.[39] Again, a slave mother who had been emancipated applied to the county court for permission, under the act of 1842, to remain in the state so that she might be with her children, who were still in slavery. The county court declined to grant the permission, and the supreme court, while holding that this was "a political rather than a judicial power," so that its exercise was not reviewable, went on to say that "in acceding to the prayer of the petition the liberal and humane views of the legislature would have been better effectuated by the county court"; and then added, suggestively, that petitioner was at liberty to renew her application to the same court at any time or present it to any other county court in the state.[40]

[37]Acts 1833, ch. 81, secs. 1 and 2.
[38]Acts 1842, ch. 191, sec. 1.
[39]*Greenlow* vs. *Rawlings*, 3 Hum., 90 (1842).
[40]*The case of F. Gray*, 9 Hum., 513 (1848).

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There was a slave named Phill, and his master wished to free him and some other slaves, and accordingly had them carried to Illinois and emancipated; and they, desiring still to serve their aged master, and believing that their liberty would not thereby be jeopardized, returned to Tennessee, and, after their former master's death, were claimed as slaves by his distributees upon the ground that the course that had been pursued was a mere device to evade the exclusion laws of Tennessee. But Judge Peck said that the court did not think there had been any scheme to evade the laws, and further that, if there was any such design, the result would not be to make them slaves again, since, "once freed in Illinois, the return to Tennessee does not replace them in the condition of slaves."[41]

In 1849 the authority given the county court to permit emancipated slaves to remain in the state was withdrawn, so as to reinstate the strict exclusion policy of the act of 1831.[42] Commenting on these changes in the law Judge Caruthers said: "It is a vexed and perplexing question, upon which public opinion, acting upon the representatives of the people, has been subject to much vibration between sympathy and humanity for the slave and the safety and well-being of society. Hence the frequent changes in our legislation on the subject."[43]

But the problem of what to do with the freed negroes was not solved, for, while it was certain that neither Tennessee nor any of the Southern states wanted them, it had come to be made just as clear that none of the states in which slavery was forbidden wanted them.[44]

In 1852 it was provided that the county court should appoint trustees for slaves who had been freed by their masters, but to whose freedom the state had not given its consent, and that the trustees should hire out these slaves and apply the proceeds to their support;[45] but this act was very promptly repealed in 1854, and the state then promulgated its final policy, that all emancipated slaves—excepting those who, before its passage, had been legally emancipated and had acquired the right to reside in the state—"shall be transported to the western coast of Africa," and that, if means are lacking for this purpose, they "shall be hired out by the clerk of the court until a sufficient fund is raised, which he shall turn

[41] *Blackmore* vs. *Negro Phill*, 7 Yerg., 452 (1835).

[42] Acts 1849, ch. 107.

[43] *Bridgewater* vs. *Pride*, 1 Sneed, 197 (1853).

[44] *Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 130 (1834); *Nancy* vs. *Wright*, 9 Hum., 597 (1848); *Bridgewater* vs. *Pride*, 1 Sneed, 195 (1853); *Boone* vs. *Lancaster*, 1 Sneed, 578 (1854).

[45] Acts 1852, ch. 300.

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into the state treasury, and the governor shall arrange for the transportation of the slaves."[46] "We regard this," said Judge Caruthers, "as the most wise and judicious plan which has been yet devised, and, with some amendments, it should become the settled policy of the state."[47]

In 1833 the state had directed the payment "to the Treasurer of the Colonization Society for the use of said Society $10 for each free black person that said treasurer of said Society shall certify to said treasurer of Tennessee has been removed by said Society . . . from the state of Tennessee to the coast of Africa";[48] and occasional mention by the courts of the American Colonization Society which had "formed a colony of free blacks at Liberia on the coast of Africa" shows that this act of 1852 undoubtedly referred to that colony.[49]

Where a master, ignoring these exclusion laws, had bequeathed to his slaves their freedom "provided, however, and upon condition that said slaves mentioned shall be permitted by law to remain in the state of Tennessee," Judge Turley said that, if the condition was regarded, it would defeat the gift, and that, since the controlling intent of the testator was manifestly that the slaves should have their freedom, this should be given effect and the condition treated as a nullity.[50] But a few years later the court was considering another will which gave certain slaves their freedom if "they can be emancipated according to the laws of Tennessee and remain in Tennessee as free persons of color, or, when emancipated here, if they can be removed to the State of Illinois and live there," etc.; and Judge Caruthers said that "this is not a case where there is a general predominating intent to emancipate, . . . but the intent is made to depend entirely upon the annexed condition," and he therefore held that, since the slaves, if freed, could not legally remain in Tennessee, and were forbidden by Illinois to remove to that state, the bequest must fail.[51]

Two maiden sisters living in Sumner County made their wills in almost identical language in 1858, directing that, upon the death of the survivor, their slaves should be set free and transported to the Republic of Liberia, and giving their property to these slaves "upon their embarkation from the United States." The property was claimed by their next of kin upon

[46]Acts 1854, ch. 50.

[47]*Boone* vs. *Lancaster*, 1 Sneed, 584 (1854).

[48]Acts of 1833, ch. 64.

[49]*Fisher's Negroes* vs. *Dabbs*, 6 Yerg., 130 (1834); *Isaac* vs. *McGill*, 9 Hum., 616 (1848).

[50]*Lewis* vs. *Daniel*, 10 Hum., 305 (1849).

[51]*Bridgewater* vs. *Pride*, 1 Sneed, 195 (1853).

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the ground that the bequests were conditional upon the slaves being transported to the western coast of Africa, which had not been done. But Special Judge John C. Gaut said that the controlling purpose was to free the slaves and to give them the property, and that the direction to transport them to Africa was only because that was thought necessary at the time in order to effect their emancipation, and that, since their removal was now no longer necessary (this was in 1865), their right to the property could not be defeated on this account.[52]

A slave could lawfully contract for his freedom, and the courts were vigilant in protecting the rights of the slave thus acquired. A case in point is that of Isaac, whose master bequeathed him to his (the testator's) widow for life with remainder to his children equally, but with the right given the widow "to rent out or sell my tract of land, hire or sell my two negro boys," etc. The testator, perhaps astutely, but vainly, declared his further will to be that "no court nor power of law, either of county or state, shall have anything to do with my estate." The widow proposed to Isaac that, if he would procure some one to advance $300, she would give him his freedom, and he then made a contract with Michael George that, if the latter would advance the money, he (Isaac) would work for him for eight years; and the widow, in pursuance of this agreement, executed a bill of sale to George with a verbal understanding that, at the end of the term, he would emancipate Isaac. Shortly before the end of the term the widow, in disregard of this agreement, understook to sell Isaac to a man named McCampbell, and made him a bill of sale, and thereupon McCampbell paid George $100 for the balance of the term, and took Isaac, and Isaac then brought suit to establish his freedom. "It would be as useless as disagreeable," said Judge Caruthers, "to comment upon the picture of depravity and the perversion of truth among near relations and speculators which the record in this case exhibits. It is revolting to see to what an extent some men will go against the rights of the weak, in the eager pursuit of gain. We prefer not to develop the deformity of this case by an analysis of the proof, but simply to state our conclusions as to the facts." It was held that, while the widow was given a life estate, nevertheless the unqualified power of disposition vested in her made her title absolute, so that she had the right to contract for Isaac's freedom, and the contract entered into constituted George, in effect, a trustee of Isaac with the duty to free him at the end of the term, a trust that he could neither violate nor

[52] *Banks* vs. *Banks*, 2 Cold., 547 (1865).

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surrender. Isaac was accordingly awarded his freedom, but was ordered to be deported to Liberia.[53]

There were instances where slaves who had purchased or been given their freedom preferred, either in order that they might work out the redemption of their wives and children, or because they had acquired a little property, or because of their natural aversion to being sent away in exile from the only home they had known, to sacrifice something of their freedom in order to avoid removal or deportation. The transfer of the slave to another in trust to be freed was, Chief Justice Nicholson said, "a common mode by which the rigid laws against increasing the number of free persons of color in the state by emancipation was evaded."[54]

Thus, Caesar had purchased his freedom from his master, and had leased some property and built a house on it, and had then purchased his wife with a view of freeing her; and, as he was remaining in the state, he was afraid that, after his master's death, he would be returned to slavery, so that, to avoid this danger, he had his master to make a bill of sale of him to a friend of the master. A man named McCoy won Caesar's confidence, and succeeded in having the guardianship transferred to him, and removed with Caesar and his family to a different part of the county, and finally began to treat Caesar as a slave, so that Caesar ran away to his old master; but the matter was smoothed over, and McCoy assured him that he could return and get his wife and property. When he did return for this purpose, he and his wife were seized by McCoy and sold to a Mr. Jamison in Mississippi; and when, later on, they told Mr. Jamison of the wrong that had been done to them, and he ascertained that their story was true, he set them free. Nevertheless they continued to live with him, and removed with him to Arkansas; and some years later Caesar and his wife died. Mr. Jamison then took out letters of administration on Caesar's estate in Dyer County, Tennessee, and brought suit against McCoy to recover the value of Caesar's property. The court said that McCoy was liable, and that Caesar ceased to be a slave from the moment he purchased his freedom, even though he had not, for the lack of the state's consent, become a freeman, and that, while the state had the right to object, no one else could exercise any dominion over him or his property. In this connection the court said: "It matters not that he was remaining in the state in opposition to the then policy of the state. His imperfect right to freedom

[53] *Isaac* vs. *Farnsworth*, 3 Head, 277 (1859).

[54] *Jamison* vs. *McCoy*, 5 Heisk., 110 (1871); *Lewis* vs. *Simonton*, 8 Hum., 185 (1847).

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was not thereby affected. So long as the state did not object, his right to remain and to exercise all the privileges which attached to his new situation and condition could be interfered with by no one.[55] He was master of his own time and of his own conduct. He could labor and receive the reward therefor. He could not sue and be sued, but he could hold and possess the fruits of his industrious earnings, and none could question his title thereto."[56]

For the purpose, perhaps, of legalizing such evasions of the law as we have just referred to, it was enacted in 1860 that all negroes "who have been set free by their former owners, by deed, will or otherwise, and who have not been emancipated, shall have the privilege of going into voluntary slavery under the laws now in force in this state, and, if said negro or negroes shall choose to go into slavery, the county court shall not hire them out as now required by law."[57] It will be recalled that the act of 1854 had directed that emancipated slaves should be hired out by the clerk in order to provide means for their deportation. There is one reported case wherein a slave, Susan, was given her freedom, but elected to go into voluntary servitude under the terms of this act. The executor then undertook to claim her on the ground that the act was invalid, but the court said that, inasmuch as general emancipation by act of government had intervened, it was not necessary to determine that question.[58]

The constitution of 1834 had declared that "the General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owner or owners."[59] In the fall of 1864 there was a call for a convention of Union men to be held in Nashville on December 19th, but "the presence of the rebel army around Nashville prevented the convention from assembling," and the convention was postponed until January 8, 1865. The convention accordingly met on January 9th, and recommended that the above quoted constitutional provision be abrogated, and that there be substituted therefor a provision declaring that slavery was forever abolished and that the legislature should make no law recognizing the right of property in man. These constitutional changes were submitted to a popular vote of Union men on February 22, 1865, as a result of which Andrew Johnson, commissioned by the Secretary of War to be Military Governor of Tennessee, an-

[55]See also *Lee* vs. *Cone*, 4 Cold., 392 (1867).
[56]*Jamison* vs. *McCoy*, 5 Heisk., 121 (1871).
[57]Acts 1859-60, ch. 128.
[58]*Nelson* vs. *Smithpeter*, 2 Cold., 13 (1867).
[59]Art. II, Sec. 31.

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nounced to the people that the amendments had been adopted, and that "the shackles have been formally stricken from the limbs of more than 275,000 slaves in the state."[60]

It was this constitutional amendment, and not Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, that forever put an end to slavery in Tennessee.[61] "The Emancipation Proclamation issued by Mr. Lincoln on the first day of January, 1863," said Judge Nelson, "had no effect in this state, because Tennessee was not one of the states embraced in it, as was held in *Gholson* v. *Blackman,* 4 Cold., 586, 587. That case might also have rested upon the broader and firmer ground that the President of the United States had no constitutional authority to issue the proclamation, and that it was issued in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, which was then universally understood as legalizing slavery in the states where it existed, as well as of the joint resolution adopted by Congress on the 25th day of July, 1861, which disavowed all purpose of interfering with the rights or established institutions of the states in rebellion."[62] The judge intimated some doubt of the validity of the constitutional amendment, but said that it was not necessary to determine that question, "as the existence of slavery in this state was annihilated beyond all doubt or question by the Constitution of 1870, which was freely and voluntarily adopted by the people."

Governor Brownlow, in his first message, spoke of the fact that, by the census of 1860, there were in the state about 275,000 slaves of an average value of $886.40, from which it would appear that the property loss to Tennessee through governmental emancipation was approximately $250,000,000.[63] It is interesting to observe that the governor, while characterizing slavery as "the monster institution which has embroiled the government for half a century, and culminated in the most wicked, uncalled for, and bloody war known to the history of the civilized world," seemed to regard the freed slaves as a quite undesirable population, stating that it was for the legislature to determine "to what extent this state shall be overrun with the emancipated slaves of other states," and that he, personally, was "the advocate of providing for them a separate and appropriate amount of territory and settle them down permanently as a nation of freedmen."[64]

[60] Acts 1865, pp. ii-xiii.

[61] *Taylor* vs. *Mayhew,,* 11 Heisk., 596 (1872); *Gholson* vs. *Blackman,* 4 Cold., 580 (1867).

[62] *Andrews* vs. *Page,* 3 Heisk., 653 (1871).

[63] Acts 1865, p. 8.

[64] *Ibid.,* pp. 3, 5.

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This review clearly shows the strong inclination and effort of the courts of Tennessee in concrete cases to interpret both the law and the facts in the interest of the liberty, wherever possible, and always of the amelioration, of the slave. Many other evidences of this inclination might be adduced, but there is space for only a few.

It is well settled that the status of a child follows that of the mother, so that a child born of a slave mother is a slave.[65] Clarissa was bequeathed her freedom when she should arrive at the age of twenty-five, and thereafter she had three children before she reached that age, and the question was whether these children were free or were slaves. The court said that, in determining this question, it should be borne in mind that the claim was "one involving human liberty, and that the testator's intention must be favorably interpreted to this end"; and, in order to effect this result, the court held that Clarissa took a "vested and undoubted right to freedom by the will," subject only to the condition that she give her personal services until she reached the age of twenty-five.[66]

Another similar case was that of Jennie, who was given her freedom to take effect "at or upon the happening of the death of petitioner or wife or the survivor of them," and before that time arrived she had a child, George, who was taken by a son of her master and sold; but the court, nevertheless, awarded him his freedom, declaring that the legal effect of what had been done was "an act of emancipation *in praesenti*, to be enjoyed, however, on the part of the slave in the future. . . . The act was consummate. The concession of freedom on the part of the owner and assent on the part of the public were final and complete."[67]

Interesting questions arose where slaves were given their freedom by will, and it turned out that the estate was insolvent; but the court found a way, nevertheless, to preserve to them their liberty. In a case of this kind the lower court had held that the slaves were primarily assets of testator, and that, since his estate was insolvent, they must forfeit the freedom that was bequeathed to them and be sold to satisfy the debts of the estate; but Judge Green said that they were "legatees of their own freedom," which was just as much a specific legacy as money or tangible property, and that the only consequence of the insolvency was that they must contribute, just as legatees of personal property would be bound in such case

[65] *Edwards* vs. *McConnell*, Cooke, 303 (1813); *Porter* vs. *Blakemore*, 2 Cold., 556 (1865).

[66] *Harris* vs. *Clarissa*, 6 Yerg., 227 (1834).

[67] *Hartsell* vs. *George*, 3 Hum., 259 (1842).

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to contribute, and that, "should they fail to raise the money to discharge said debts, they will be placed in the hands of a receiver and hired out until the debts shall be paid, at which time they will be entitled to the enjoyment of their freedom according to the will."[68]

In another somewhat similar case the testator had directed that his negroes should be held by his executors in trust until the year 1853, and that they should then be asked whether they were willing to go to Liberia, and those who were willing should be freed on that date, and those who were not should be sold, $20 for each negro going to Africa to be paid to the American Colonization Society, provided it would transport them. The executors went into court to have the will construed, and, under the orders of the court, hired out the negroes until January 1, 1861, and paid out a part of the proceeds on debts of the estate and the distributive share of the widow, leaving a fund on hand of $3,100 in 1867. The negroes then asked to be made parties to the suit and claimed this fund as being the proceeds of their labor; and the court said that they were entitled to their freedom from January 1, 1854, and that the fund on hand belonged, therefore, to them. Then the question arose of whether it was proper to apply their earnings to the satisfaction of other legacies, which otherwise must fail for lack of funds, and the court said that it was not proper to do this, since "the bequest of freedom to these slaves was specific, and the slaves did not constitute the primary fund for the payment of debts as between them and other legatees, either general or specific." "The bequest of freedom," said Judge Andrews, "is of a higher nature than a pecuniary legacy, and in the absence of any indication of the testator's intention to that effect, will not abate in order to satisfy such a legacy, or be compelled to contribute if it is absorbed by the debts of the estate. If there be two legatees of personal property, the one may easily and consistently with its nature contribute to the exoneration of the other from a common burden; but where the bequest to a man is of his personal liberty, the legacy can be made to contribute only by selling the legatee, or continuing him in slavery until he shall work out the required contribution."[69]

Phebe sued a man named Vaughn "in an action of trespass and false imprisonment," and Vaughn pleaded that Phebe was a slave and his property. The case was heard by a court and jury, and judgment rendered "that the plaintiff recover against the defendant her freedom and her damages." Phebe

[68] *Harry* vs. *Green*, 9 Hum., 185 (1848).
[69] *Armstrong* vs. *Pearre*, 7 Cold., 178 (1869).

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had undertaken to establish her freedom by evidence that she was reputed to be of Indian descent, and that her mother, Beck, was reputed to be of Indian descent, and that her mother and grandmother had claimed to be, and were reputed to be, free; and, while it had long been settled that pedigree might be proven by reputation, the question of whether the right to freedom could be proven in that way was a novel and interesting one.[70]

"How is an individual in this country, who is unfortunate enough to have a woolly head and a colored skin, to prove that he is free?" said Judge Crabb, in holding this evidence admissible. "Not being white nor copper-colored, nor having straight hair and a prominent nose, the presumption is that he is a slave. Contrary to the general rule, he who is charged with having trespassed upon his person pleads an affirmative plea, and yet need not prove it. He says, in justification of his trespass, that the plaintiff is a slave, and yet on that plaintiff is devolved the *onus probandi* to show himself a free man. How is he to show it? He may, perhaps, procure testimony that he or some ancestor was for some time in the enjoyment of freedom; that he has acted as a freeman; that he has been received as a freeman in society; and very soon will find himself under the necessity, increasing in proportion to the distance he has to travel into time past for want of other evidence, to use hearsay, that he or his ancestor was commonly called a freeman or commonly reputed a freeman, or, in other words, evidence of common reputation. And why should he not? Is it a concern of so little moment that the law in its benignity ought to refuse it those aids for its support and protection that have been so exuberantly extended in analogous cases? Is it of less importance than the right of digging stone upon the waste of the lord of a manor? (*Moorwood* vs. *Wood*, 14 East., 327.) Or the right of the lord to take coals from under the lands of those holding under him? (*Barnes* vs. *Wamson*, 1 Maul. and Sel., 77.) Or a right to have a sheep-walk over a piece of land? (3 Starkie's Ev., 1209.) Or a right of way over a piece of land? (Bul. N. P., 295.) Or to a modus by which sixpence an acre should be paid in lieu of small tithes? (*Harwood* vs. *Sims*, Wright's Ex. Rep., 112.) These are a few of the many cases."

And, in reply to the suggestion that evidence of hearsay or reputation was admissible only to prove rights or franchises of a public character, the court said: "We put it to the candid and the enlightened whether the right to freedom has not in this respect very much the advantage over many

[70] *Vaughan* vs. *Phebe*, M. & Y., 4 (1827).

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of those rights where such evidence is every day received in the English courts. Indeed, it is no light matter to be a freeman in these United States. Freedom in this country is not a mere name—a cheat with which the few gull the many. It is something substantial. It embraces within its comprehensive grasp all the useful rights of man; and it makes itself manifest by many privileges, immunities, external public acts. It is not confined in its operations to privacy, or to the domestic circle. It walks abroad in its operations—transfers its possessor, even if he be black, or mulatto, or copper-colored, from the kitchen and the cotton-field to the courthouse and the election ground; makes him talk of Magna Carta and the Constitution; in some states renders him a politician, brings him acquainted with the leading citizens, busies him in the political canvass for office, takes him to the ballot box; and, above all, secures to him the enviable and inestimable privilege of trial by jury."

It is already impossible to look back and visualize truly the institution of slavery as it existed in the Southern states. It was suited to the times in which it originated and flourished, when every large plantation constituted a kind of patriarchal community, whose proprietors exercised a dominant influence on the life of the state. The institution has passed away, never to return, and, while for many reasons this is not to be regretted, nevertheless it is just as well to be reminded that the natural trend of public opinion was toward amelioration, and that this was persisted in in the face of the most harmful and ill-considered anti-slavery agitation, and was fostered and helped by the lawmakers and the courts, and that, therefore, there is linked in the retrospect with the type, so well known, of the faithful and affectionate slave the equally benevolent types of the sympathetic and merciful master and of the compassionate and protecting court.

CHARLES C. TRABUE.

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THE SPANISH "CONSPIRACY" IN TENNESSEE.

To the Editor of the TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

Please permit me a few words in reply to the article under the above caption in your number of December, 1917, just called to my attention.

While no man has the right to object to or to protest the facts of history, neither has any man the right to pervert those facts, nor unjustly to characterize them according to his own whim or fancy, and thereby to detract from the good name and fame of men, who in their day and generation served the State and its people faithfully and well, with singular disinterestedness, sacrifice and devotion.

"The dead, but sceptered sovereigns, who still rule our spirits from their urns."

Let us make this matter entirely clear; no one objects to authentic records and ancient documents being brought to light and published, even though they may contain little or nothing that is new. But what every honest man must emphatically object to, and reprobate as most unjust, unfair, uncalled for and altogether reprehensible, is for any private individual to add his own disparaging characterization to those documents, especially when that characterization is wholly at variance with the record itself, and any just interpretation thereof.

"CONSPIRACY.

"A combination of men for an evil purpose; an agreement between two or more persons to commit some crime in concert, as treason, sedition or insurrection; an agreement for the purpose of wrongfully prejudicing another, or to injure public trade, to affect public health, to insult public justice, etc.; a plot."—*Webster.*

"Conspiracy. A combination of persons for an evil purpose; an agreement between two or more persons to commit in concert something reprehensible, injurious, or illegal; particularly a combination to commit treason, or excite sedition or insurrection; a plot; concerted treason."—*Century Dictionary.*

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."—*Constitution of the United States,* Article III, Section 3.

Now with these authoritative definitions before us, can it be truthfully said that the pioneers, Sevier, Robertson, Bled-

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soe, and Daniel Smith, were guilty of the crime of conspiracy?

Who were these men?

Sevier was the first Governor of Tennessee. James Robertson was a General in the United States Army, commissioned by Washington while serving as first President of the United States. Bledsoe was a leading pioneer of the State, a man of distinction and importance in his day, while Daniel Smith was a United States Senator, one of the first to represent Tennessee in the Congress. As for Dr. White, he was the ancestor of the present Chief Justice of the United States.

Such men ought not to be lightly, much less unjustly and wantonly, accused of crimes, for if their reputations may be thus assailed, then no man's reputation is safe, neither that of the living nor that of the dead. These men have lain in honored graves for more than a century, and since they cannot defend themselves when thus wrongfully attacked, it is our sacred duty to defend for them, on their own accounts as well as on account of their descendants, also to protect the fair name of the State of Tennessee, that they did so much to found and defend with their arms and their blood.

A few dates will help not a little to set this matter in a clear and unmistakable light.

October 19, 1781, the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown ended the Revolutionary War.

By the treaty of peace England acknowledged North Carolina, as well as each of the other original thirteen States, to be severally independent, sovereign States.

They were then so loosely joined together by the Articles of Confederation of 1777-8 that no one then disputed what was expressly stated in Article II, that each State was an independent sovereign, and its inhabitants were its citizens and owed allegiance in the last analysis to it alone and acknowledging no other sovereign.

In practice the Articles of Confederation failed to give satisfaction. Under them the government of the United States was so feeble as to be little better than no government at all, and the country was rapidly drifting towards disintegration and anarchy.

Thereupon Virginia, taking the lead, a constitutional convention was called to form a more perfect Union and frame a better constitution.

Washington presided and the Constitution of the United States was drafted.

It provided that when nine States should ratify it, then it should go into effect between the States so ratifying.

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It was so ratified, and went into effect in the spring of 1789.

But the new Constitution was not to the liking of North Carolina, nor of Rhode Island. On August 1, 1788, North Carolina rejected the Constitution, and did not recede from this stand and join the Union until November 21, 1789, some time after the new government had been organized. Rhode Island did not join until 1790.

None of the letters brought forward and quoted as proof of this so-called conspiracy were written after North Carolina joined the Union, November 21, 1789, and before that joinder the citizens of North Carolina owed no allegiance to the new United States government, therefore they were at perfect liberty to form an alliance with Spain, or even to give their allegiance to Spain, provided only, they got the consent of North Carolina; and it is plain from the face of the article now being replied to that they did everything openly and above board, and never contemplated moving one decisive step in this business without such an act first passed by North Carolina as would enable them rightfully and legally so to do, and since this is so, how can it be said that they were criminal conspirators, plotting treason? On the contrary, they were free men, proposing to exercise the right of self-determination in a perfectly just and legal way. If there were a conspiracy, then the State of North Carolina was *particeps criminis* when it passed an act naming the new district in Middle Tennessee Miro, after the Spanish Governor at New Orleans.

North Carolina had never shown any but the slightest interest in the welfare of these western settlers who had crossed the mountains to make homes for themselves in the wilderness. The older part of the State did not wish to stand the taxation necessary to care for and build up the newer part, and North Carolina would probably have been glad to get rid of the western settlements on any terms. Neither she, nor the United States, had ever supplied them with so much as powder and ball to defend themselves against the Indians, while the Indians were supplied by both Spain and England. As to the United States, they cared so little for these people that they offered at one time to trade away to a foreign nation for twenty-five years the right of these westerners to navigate the Mississippi River in order to further by the trade the codfish industry of New England. The navigation of the Mississippi was to the pioneers a vital matter, since it furnished the only means of transportation to the only possible market for their produce.

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"You take my house when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

Being a strong and hardy race, accustomed to rely upon self-help, finding themselves abandoned in the distant forests far to the west of the mountains, and left to shift for themselves by both the United States and North Carolina, they naturally looked about them to see what arrangements they might make for the protection of their property, their own lives and those of their wives and children. But it is nothing less than a reckless abuse of language to characterize them as conspirators.

A deputation once called upon Lincoln with some request which he thought did not sufficiently discriminate between the names and the substance of things. The President asked, How many legs a sheep would have if you called its tail a leg. "Five," was the prompt reply. "No," said Lincoln, "calling his tail a leg would not make it one." Your contributor in your number of last December owes an apology to the State of Tennessee and to its pioneers.

THOS. E. MATTHEWS.

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DOCUMENTS

SKETCHES OF NOTABLE MEN.

BY S. H. LAUGHLIN.

In Volume II, No. 1 (March, 1916), of the TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, were published some diaries of Samuel H. Laughlin, with introduction by St. George L. Sioussat. It will be remembered that Laughlin was for a time the editor of the Democratic paper, the *Nashville Union;* that he was the close friend of Jackson, Grundy, Carroll, Polk and other Democratic leaders, a member of the Tennessee Senate of 1841-42, and a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1840.

Recently another diary kept by him has been found, which contains interesting sketches of Felix Grundy, James K. Polk and Judge John Catron. The intimate account of the intellectual habits of Grundy, the facts of the early life of Judge Catron, hitherto little known, and the description of Polk as a schoolboy will help the reader materially to visualize these great leaders of that era. Laughlin's estimate of Catron is not very friendly, although they were of the same party; but this diary was written when Catron was but in the early part of a service of nearly thirty years as an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. He was noted for the force and vigor of his opinions and for his knowledge of the land laws of the Southern States. J. H. D.

FELIX GRUNDY.

In 1839-40, at the instance, and on petition of Uriah York, Wm. Armstrong as surveyor, and three or four hundred citizens living on Caney Fork of Cumberland, Rocky River, Cane Creek, etc., I procured the new county of Van Buren to be established, and, as there were then a majority of democratic members in both branches of the Assembly, I had the honor of giving the name of Mr. Van Buren to it; and the seat of justice, Spencer, was named by Mr. Samuel Turney, a Senator from White County. In 1843-4 on petition of large numbers of citizens living on the head of Elk River, Hickory Creek, Cumberland Mountain and Collins River, I assisted zealously in the State Senate, in getting Grundy County established, and by my pertinacious perseverence, got it named after my old valued friend, Felix Grundy, who had died in November, 1840, while holding the appointment of Senator in Congress, which I had aided in bestowing upon him in the winter of 1840, and in inducing to resign the office of Attorney General of the U. S., which he then held under an appointment from President Van Buren. In May, 1840, as a member of the Baltimore Convention, he had aided powerfully, by his wise counsels and eloquence, in producing harmony in that body, resulting in the unanimous nomination of Mr. Van Buren for re-election to the presidency, and unanimous agreement to nominate no democratic candidate for the vice-presidency. This was done to produce harmony. Col. Johnson desired a re-nomination in Tennessee in the Assembly. In 1839 I had introduced and the democracy had carried a legislative nomination of Mr. Van Buren and Col. James K. Polk for these high offices. When the convention was about to meet, to prevent all collision of claims, Col. Polk had magnanimously withdrawn his name—but these matters are all noted in the diaries, and

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form only a digression and brief repetition here. One word in regard to Mr. Grundy, I proceed with this introduction. In the recess of Congress in 1840, he labored incessantly in public discussion and speeches, in favor of Mr. Van Buren's re-election. He returned home from Washington in the spring and early summer, after Congress adjourned, through Virginia and East Tennessee, by way of Abingdon, Knoxville, McMinnville, etc., to Nashville, accompanied by Harvey M. Watterson, Hopkins L. Turney, they being representatives in Congress. He made speeches to the people (Messrs. Turney and Watterson doing the same) at nearly every town and place of public note on the whole route. At McMinnville, my county town, my residence being at Hickory Hill, one mile distant from it, these gentlemen, Mr. Grundy leading, all made speeches to a very large and attentive assembly of people, including many ladies. This was in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Mr. Grundy, although indisposed, laboring under an inveterate derangement of the bowels, made one of the happiest efforts I ever heard him make. I had been in the habit of hearing Mr. Grundy at the bar, and in the Assembly, and before the people, and then more recently in Congress from the fall of 1815, when I removed from McMinnville to Murfreesboro, for the purpose of concluding my studies, and engaging in the practice of law. After I came to the bar, and had been elected Attorney-General, at the very outset of my professional career, in 1817 I was thrown into constant professional and social intercourse with him. He honored me thus early with his confidence and friendship, and it continued without abatement—in fact, greatly increased on both our parts—up to the day of his death. He was a really great man. He never was a hard student as far as reading books was concerned, but he read men—he understood men at first sight, as if by intuition, better than any man I have ever known. He was in another sense an intense student. He was more in the habit of what Mr. Wirt, in the "British Spy," denominates, "close and solid thinking," than was known generally, even to his most intimate friends. In the progress of trials of great causes in court, especially criminal cases, his habit was to take but very few brief notes of leading facts and points. When the court would adjourn over to the next day, Mr. Grundy was always among the first to leave the court room and retire to his lodgings, and from that moment until after tea or supper, he mingled with every person about him in all manner of cheerful conversation, telling anecdotes, which he did inimitably, and in hearing and joining in the heartiest laughs at those told by others. He always seemed to have forgotten the cause in hand, even if it were one of life and death. But after this relaxation, and eating temperately, he immediately retired to his room. He generally preferred to have some friend with him in his room at all times. On such occasions, I have no doubt, I have spent a hundred nights in his room, rooming together, during the fifteen or sixteen years we attended courts from our respective homes together. If the weather were cold, he always, if the beds were large, preferred sleeping together. After going to his room, unless some indispensable consultation prevented, he was always the first to propose going to bed, and he always had the unusual and extraordinary power, by abstracting his thoughts, of going to sleep in two or three minutes after the time came when he chose to sleep. Going to bed and to sleep thus early, and always sleeping soundly, he usually awoke about one o'clock in the morning. It was *then* and *not till then*, that he commenced the intense and profound study and preparation of his case, and arranged in his own mind all the heads of the speech he had to make the next day, or before the case closed. If the trial lasted three or four days, as many impor-

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tant cases, civil as well as criminal, often did, this nightly task of study and preparation was regularly taken up every night; but always with more care and system the night before he had to deliver his argument. Even in Chancery cases, after the reading of all papers and records, and notes taken of dates, facts, leading points fixed and concluded by proofs and depositions, he made the same nocturnal preparation. Even the splendid sentences and occasional poetical or classical quotations by which he embellished his speeches before juries, were thus prepared, perfectly committed to memory—and nothing committed to his memory was ever lost or forgotten—and the order and connection in which he would introduce them were all thus arranged and prepared. To me, for many years, he made no secret of his art. To those who heard him in court, and saw him scarcely ever looking at or taking a note, unless it were in the conclusion of a speech, when he would occasionally turn over and look at his notes, out of abundant caution, for fear the warmth of debate had caused him to overlook some fact or authority, I say to the lookers-on all this appeared perfectly extempore, when in fact it was the effect of cautious, and careful preparation. Such, however, was the exuberance of his splendid imagination and the excellence of his memory, that upon thousands of occasions, upon incidental points, arising off hand, and altogether extempore, he made many of his most masterly speeches, both of eloquence and argument. Scarcely any man ever lived who needed the discipline and preparation to which he schooled himself less than he did. But he felt it to be a duty to his client, to his cause, and to himself, less by a more careless method he might perchance omit some argument, or some ground which would be beneficial to his cause. In all cases when the proofs were all submitted, he saw at once, with perfect intuition, the very point—or the several points—always few, however—upon which the cause must turn. To fortify and maintain these, throwing all extraneous matters to the winds, was his method. Hence, generally, his speeches were not labored or very long—never apparently too long or too short. The great contracting faculty of his mind was his profound and clear judgment. He was embued with a greater share—always ready and always at hand—of common sense than any man I ever was acquainted with. The man nearest to him in this respect whom I have known, is his favorite pupil and friend, James K. Polk, the present President of the United States.

Mr. Grundy by his labors in the public cause of democracy, in which he believed the best interests of his country were at hazard, during the presidential canvass of 1840—his traveling to distant places, over-fatiguing himself—and neglecting the constant disordered state of his stomach and bowels—caused the disease to become so permanently seated that he was compelled at length to retire to his own house and shortly to be confined to his own room. He was still cheerful, apprehending no immediate danger, although he suffered much, and had become considerably emaciated and enfeebled. He still took a lively interest in the pending contest, and all his regrets were occasioned by the madness, folly, ribaldry and infatuation of the Whigs and people misled by them, under their false professions and promises, and their ridiculous emblems of *coons*, canoes on dry land, and other absurdities. He continued, however, to grow weaker and weaker and worse and worse until his kind physicians, Drs. Samuel Hogg and Felix Robertson—two of his oldest and best friends—despaired of his life. He was surrounded by a most affectionate family and his excellent wife—the beloved wife of his youth—and they were unremitting in ministering to all his comfort. At last, it was foreseen that he must die. He was in his perfect mind and

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believed so himself. One of his physicians, while he pressed his hand, and with eyes suffused with tears and a choked voice, whispered kindly to him, that they had concluded it to be their duty to tell him as a Christian man, that he could not live much longer. He returned the pressure of the hand, and said calmly, "The Lord's will, not mine, be done." These were nearly the last words he uttered.

After his death, in the winter of 1843-44, at the request of Mrs. Grundy, Mr. John M. Bass, his son-in-law, consulted me, and put into my hands various drafts of inscriptions to be put on a monument—which they had bespoke in Philadelphia, and which was nearly completed, except the inscriptions. One was by Mr. Silas Wright, now Governor of New York, with whom Mr. G. had served long in the Senate of the United States, and the other intended for a different side of the monument, or rather cenotaph, by Mr. Bass himself. I made copies of both at Hickory Hill, adding some points in the public life of Mr. Grundy, which I obtained from Marshall's and Butler's histories of Kentucky, which had escaped the recollection of Mr. Wright and Mr. Bass. With these additions the inscription may be seen on the monument at the public burial ground near Nashville, where Mr. Grundy's remains repose.

JUDGE JOHN CATRON.

In the summer of 1812, while living in McMinnville and before I commenced reading law regularly, I became acquainted with the Hon. John Catron, now an associate judge of the United States. He was then engaged with a brother or kinsman as partner in buying beef cattle for the eastern market, for the Zimmerman kinsmen of his. They had all lived at one time in Wythe County, Va. They lived before this in Pennsylvania, were Dutch and called Catherine—as the family remaining in Pennsylvania are still called. The judge adopted the spelling of Catron and I think induced his father and family to do likewise. The old men of the family could scarcely speak English, and perhaps could never read nor write it. The way I came to know the judge was this: One afternoon in 1812 he came to our store in McMinnville, having known Mr. Buchanan when he was associated with John M. Moore in Kentucky. When Catron called Mr. Buchanan was not in, and Catron told me he was then buying and driving cattle. We had at that time in the store a fine copy of some book—Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, I think—and the Judge wished to buy it on credit, said he would be passing and pay for it soon. Being a decent looking young man (but exceedingly uncouth) I trusted him for it, and he did call and pay for it as he promised. He was then exceedingly illiterate and Mr. Buchanan, who had a good knowledge of books and of Mr. Catron, laughed heartily at his purchase. He afterward, perhaps in the fall of the same year, came from Kentucky, where he had just been living, to Sparta, and commenced reading law, and history and geography in the office of Gen. Gibbs in White County. About the season he came there he had charge of a racing horse belonging to his father called Agricola, and many are the stories told by way of characteristic anecdotes of his means of showing off and proving the fine qualities of his horse. Harvey H. Brown, from Perry, formerly of the Tennessee Senate, and Adam Huntsman, a lawyer at this time living in McMinnville, who, later defeated Davy Crockett for Congress from the Western District, and others who witnessed these displays, used to repeat them with much effect, and greatly to Mr. Catron's annoyance, after he came to the bar and to the bench.

After Mr. Catron came to the bar, on the resignation of Isaac

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Thomas he obtained the appointment of Attorney-General for prosecuting state cases in the White and Warren County Circuit, then called the 3rd Circuit. After practicing law for a while in the 3rd district he removed to Nashville about the time Gen. Gibbs died. He assumed great consequence at the bar and because he affected professional learning and had no capacity for public speaking—having never delivered an argument before a jury or court that deserved the name of speech—he acquired among the people the name of a man of deep learning. The dignity he assumed coupled with the wise, mysterious knowing manner and avoiding all social intercourse with common people, added to his reputation for knowledge, he became even more dignified and distant in his manner after his removal to Nashville. He continued to make and save money. After a year or so he married Matilda, daughter of John Childress, who had long been United States Marshal for the district of West Tennessee. From this and a previous mercantile association he realized a considerable estate. About the year 1821, on a change of the judicial system of the State as related to the Supreme Court, he came to Murfreesboro where the Assembly sat from 1810 to 1825, and was elected. When he first mentioned his pretensions both Mr. Felix Grundy and Mr. Andrew Buchanan, who were members at the time (one a representative from Davidson and the other from Warren), treated his claims as a matter of jest. In a few days it became pretty clear he would be elected. It was during this canvass that Harvey H. Brown, then a member, told the story that ten years before when he (Brown) was a peddler with a horseman's pack, and Catron a groom to the race horse Agricola, who would have thought they would meet again as they had at Murfreesboro, one a State Senator, and the other a candidate for a judgeship on the bench of the Supreme Court? After his election he continued on the bench, having become Chief Justice under the system adopted under the old constitution of 1796, until he went out of office under the constitution of 1834, ratified in 1835, by vote of the people in the spring, and under which the newly organized and apportioned legislature met in October, 1835, to adopt a judicial system, and fill all the offices vacated by the new constitution, of which the chief justiceship was one. He had taken sides against Judge White's nomination for the Presidency in 1835, and was otherwise unpopular and could not be re-elected. In 1836 he became a warm friend of Mr. Van Buren in the presidential election, wrote many articles, same signed, "Kinderkook"—all rewritten by me, and published in the *Union*. In this way he scribbled and electioneered himself into the nomination for an associate judgeship on the bench of the Supreme Court, on an increase of the number of circuits and judges, by which he and John McKinley came to the bench. He was nominated by Mr. Van Buren, and since his election has assumed great and vast dignity. Although profoundly aristocratic in all his habits and bearing as all men raised to wealth and station by concurrence of accidents have ever been and always will be—yet he still professes to belong to the Democratic party and was in favor of Mr. Van Buren's election in 1840, and of Mr. Polk's in 1844.

JAMES K. POLK.

When I went to reside at Murfreesboro, Col. Wm. Mitchell, who was principal land surveyor of the Mountain District with office at McMinnville, and who had been distinguished in the Creek War and at the siege of New Orleans in 1814-15 as a major of volunteers, also lived in town and kept tavern at the old Jetton house on the east side of the public square. Mr. Joel Childress, a merchant, owned

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and lived in the frame portion of the tavern-house on the west side of the square, now owned and kept by Capt. Geo. Sublett. Mr. Childress was a highly respectable man and the father of Mrs. Sarah Polk, wife of the president. A sister of Mrs. Polk was Mrs. Susan Rucker, wife of Dr. W. R. Rucker of Murfreesboro. Capt. Childress's widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Childress, now lives in Murfreesboro. She was a sister of Col. Whitsett, once of Sumner County, Tenn., where Mr. C. married her. About December, 1815, was the first time I ever saw President Polk. He was then a very young man, little older than myself, and was a student at Bradley Academy, an institution which had been removed from near Col. Rucker to Murfreesboro, and was under the care of the late Samuel P. Black, an excellent and learned man. The old academy house was a spacious log building and stood near where the brick Presbyterian church now stands. About the date mentioned Mr. Black had an examination of his pupils which concluded with the enacting of portions of plays and the delivery of orations. In attending this examination—called exhibition—I was remarkably struck with young Mr. Polk. He was small for his age—like myself not arrived at his full growth—and his hair was much fairer and of lighter growth than it was afterward. He had fine eyes, was neat in appearance, and boarded I think at old Capt. Lytle's. He showed the finest capacity for public speaking I had ever heard in a youth. In one of these plays I remember well he enacted the part of "Jerry Sneak" in the "Mayor of Gamet" in which he showed infinite humor. I remember after leaving the examination to have told Col. Mitchell with whom then I boarded and Capt. Samuel Wilson, that he was much the most promising young man in the school, and that if he lived he would rise to distinction. I became acquainted with him soon afterward before he went home to his father's house in Maury County, and that acquaintance has ripened into a friendship which has lasted ever since. Shortly after this he went to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and afterward graduated with the highest honor from this school.

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HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

It is with great regret that the TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has lost the services of its editor, Professor St. George L. Sioussat, who in 1917 left the chair of History at Vanderbilt University and became the professor of American History at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. As a labor of love he brought out the first three volumes of this magazine, not only doing the editorial work but also contributing many valuable papers to its pages. His work has been done according to the very best standards. While yet a young man he has become distinguished as scholar, teacher and editor. A native of Maryland, he spent about a decade in Tennessee, as professor of history, first at the University of the South and then at Vanderbilt University. By careful research he became remarkably familiar with the history of Tennessee. The members of the Tennessee Historical Society greatly miss the genial and stimulating association which they enjoyed with him. Until a worthy successor to Professor Sioussat as editor can be obtained, this magazine will be conducted by the Committee on Publications, but this committee is assured of his continued interest, and of his willingness to make further contributions to the magazine. The Society will ever be grateful for his very valuable services, always so cheerfully and efficiently rendered.

Beginning with this issue, this magazine will publish in four installments, "Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest," by permission of its author, Mr. Albert V. Goodpasture, of Montgomery County, Tennessee. Probably no one has so comprehensively given as in this manuscript the dramatic elements of this rich subject and set forth its relation to the development of the white man's civilization. It is earnestly hoped that it can later be published in book form. The generosity of Mr. Goodpasture in allowing it to be first published in this magazine is here acknowledged with very deep appreciation. It recalls, too, the long, devoted services rendered by him as Secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society and editor and publisher of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The committee having in charge the publication of this magazine begs its readers to realize that under the present conditions of war, this work is attended with many difficulties, but it assures them of continued publication and invokes their co-operation. The members of the Society are not overlooking their obligations to it, and its work will go on with the least possible interference.

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TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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MEMPHIS RAILROAD CONVENTION, 1849.

The decade 1840-1850 was pre-eminently an era of railroad building in the South. During this period a conscious, if not altogether successful, effort was made by the South Atlantic cities, Charleston and Savannah, to revive their prosperity by tapping the upper Mississippi trade with railroads to Memphis, Nashville and Vicksburg.[1] But a rival scarcely recognized—the Northern railroads—built during this period directly into the old Northwest, and by 1849 it was fairly evident that the trade of the Northwest would be deflected not to Charleston but to New York. With the conclusion of the Mexican War in 1848, with its acquisition of Pacific territory, the South saw its way to transfer the commercial struggle from the valley to the Pacific. The struggle now became one for the Pacific trade, and the weapon a continental railroad from the valley to the Pacific. Both North and South wanted the railroad, but they were entirely unable to agree on its route.

The first definite project for a Pacific railroad had come in 1845 from Asa Whitney, a merchant of New York, who had lived for several years in China and was ambitious to exploit her trade. In 1845 and succeeding years he petitioned Congress for a land grant to aid him in constructing a railroad from Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Columbia. He kept up also a constant agitation before the state legislatures and chambers of commerce, and for three years his plan attained great notoriety in the newspapers over the land. When the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo brought the Mexican war to a formal conclusion, the South, which had beforetime acquiesced in Whitney's scheme, began to plan for a more southern route. There were various routes suggested, beginning at Natchez, Vicksburg and Memphis, but the favorite plan was for a railroad from Memphis to Monterey. This plan was popularized

[1] "Southern Railroads and Western Trade" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March, 1917.

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if not originated, by Lieutenant Matthew F. Maury, and was quite generally known as the Maury plan. With the coming of 1849, St. Louis became a contender for terminal honors and in February of that year Senator Benton introduced into Congress a bill for a railroad from St. Louis to San Francisco, with branches to the mouth of the Columbia.

It remains to notice the attitude of New Orleans and Chicago to these plans. New Orleans, unable to see any possible commercial advantage for herself in the Memphis plan any more than in any of the others, steadfastly withheld her support and advocated instead a railroad across the isthmus of Tehuantepec or Panama. The commercial fortunes of Chicago were bound up with the political aspirations of Stephen A. Douglas. He had what he termed a "compromise plan" for a railroad from Council Bluffs to the Pacific through South Pass. He had been advocating this as early as 1845.

For some time the arguments and recriminations of the advocates of these different routes went on through newspapers and speeches and memorials to Congress until finally in 1849 the West bethought itself of its old weapon used at Memphis in 1845 and at Chicago in 1847. The spring of 1849 saw two cities, St. Louis and Memphis, preparing to hold general railroad conventions for the purpose of advancing their respective interests.

The initiative in the calling of a convention to consider the question of the Pacific railroad was taken in 1849 by Arkansas; it will be remembered that the Memphis convention of 1845 also had its origin in Arkansas. In 1845 the primary motive actuating this State was the completing of her military road from Memphis to Little Rock; in 1849 the prospect of obtaining the Pacific railroad through her land impelled her to action. January 6, 1849, the citizens of Pulaski County, members of the State legislature and others organized themselves into a convention at Little Rock to consider the question of the Pacific railroad. This convention, among other things, adopted a resolution for a general convention to be held at Memphis, July 4, to deliberate on the same question. Two days later the Arkansas legislature passed formal resolutions to the same purpose, and the movement for the Memphis convention was under way.[2]

The press of Tennessee and Arkansas echoed the resolutions of the Arkansas legislature. In a short time—March 30, 1849—the mayor of Memphis called a mass meeting to take action. This meeting resulted in the appointment of the usual com-

[2] *Arkansas Democrat*, January 12, 1849.

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mittees of correspondence and of arrangements.[3] The committee of correspondence in the latter part of April issued the call for the convention by a "Circular to the Citizens of the United States."[4] The circular declared that the question of reaching the riches of California was now engaging the attention of all the people. A railroad thither was not visionary. It would be fraught with benefit to all, and would be specially useful in opening up the trade with Asia. Of all the prospective routes for the railroad, that from Memphis was the best one for reasons of distance, topography and climate. The railroad must start from a point below the mouth of the Ohio, since most of the West was above it. The St. Louis route would mean that the trade of the lower Mississippi must come up stream and this would necessitate the use of steamboats instead of flatboats.

This "circular" was sent out to the press for publication and was thus distributed widely over the country. As in the case of the conventions of 1845 and of 1847, invitations were sent out to the prominent leaders of both parties urging their attendance. The invitation to Calhoun drew from him a most remarkable reply. In a letter written from Fort Hill May 26, he pleaded a previous engagement as his reason for not attending. The object of the convention was an important one, but before deciding on the termini of the railroad, the route plan and cost should be settled; a survey would be required for this. Moreover, the connections to be made with the Eastern roads were to be taken into consideration; *the good of the entire Union was to be considered.* Yet, as Calhoun closed his letter, there was little use for the South to build into the West if the Southern people were to be shut out of the western territory.[5] The shadow of the coming slavery dispute lay heavily over Calhoun's spirit; already he was brooding over his speech of next March. Railroads and internal improvements meant little to the dying statesman; his whole thought was given to safeguarding the rights of his "poor South." The letter of Calhoun was widely published in the southern and western papers, and excited great comment—much of it adverse. Before the writing of this letter it was the general expectation that Calhoun would preside over the convention of 1849 as he had over that of 1845.[6] The Arkansas *Democrat* criticized Calhoun for injecting the slavery issue into the railroad question. It called him a "politician with favorite theories" who had one eye on

[3] *Ibid.*, May 18, 1849.
[4] *Charleston Mercury*, May 22, 1849.
[5] *Arkansas Democrat*, June 22, 1849.
[6] *Western Eagle*, June 8, 1849.

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the presidency.[7] The New Orleans *Commercial Bulletin* approved of the letter of refusal, but printed the slavery portion without comment.[8] The Richmond *Whig* said that Calhoun's attitude toward the Pacific railroad was like the action of the tribesman in interior Russia who when greatly insulted by another goes and hangs himself before his door for revenge.[9] The Memphis *Eagle* asserted that there were not twenty sane men who approved Calhoun's course. He was a "South Carolina nullifier—the great Impracticable" and had a "gloomy and erratic mind.[10] A letter from "One of the People" to the St. Louis *Reveille* defended Calhoun, saying rather pointedly that he was not the only politician trying to connect the Pacific railroad with the presidency.[11]

Meanwhile, the delegates were being selected. The Governor of South Carolina appointed over one hundred; the Governor of Florida appointed sixty; the Governor of Georgia appointed one hundred; the delegates from Arkansas were selected at county mass meetings; the larger cities of the South and West sent special delegations.[12] But in 1849, as in 1845, Memphis seemed destined to ill luck in getting her convention assembled. In the summer of 1849 the cholera appeared in the West and swept the valley like a flame. Not a city escaped it. From Galena to New Orleans men died like cattle falling in the streets and prostrated in their homes. The West had never experienced such an affliction. Hospitals failed the people and at the last even the cemeteries. No relief could be had from medical art and the plague raged unchecked until it literally wore itself out. In the midst of such conditions, men gave no thoughts to internal improvements or railroad terminals. On June 5 the committee on arrangements changed the date of holding the convention, postponing it from July 4 to October 16.[13] The same committee at once sent out a circular to the newspapers announcing the change of date and the reason for it.[14] The *Reveille* the next week suggested that the date had been changed because it did not suit Calhoun's convenience to be present in July, and voiced the suspicion that the whole scheme for a convention had been concocted by him for fur-

[7]Issue of June 22, 1849.
[8]Issue of June 12, 1849.
[9]Quoted in the *St. Louis Weekly Revielle*, July 30, 1849.
[10]Quoted in the *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, June 23, 1849.
[11]Issue of July 7, 1849.
[12]*Arkansas Democrat*, May 21, June 13 and July 13, 1849.
[13]*Ibid.*, June 15, 1849.
[14]*Charleston Courier*, June 16, 1849.

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thering his personal ambitions.[15] The Memphis *Eagle,* however, pointed out that the convention had been changed without any reference to Calhoun and before he had been heard from.[16] On the 19th of June the committee on arrangements again changed the date of the convention from October 16 to October 23 in order to avoid a conflict with the convention to be held at St. Louis on the former date.[17]

During July and August, while the cholera raged in the valley, the convention movement languished. On September 1, however, the committee on invitations sent out another circular through the press saying that the danger from cholera was now past, and renewing the invitation to the convention.[18] From this time until the meeting of the convention the press of the South and West gave much attention to the subject. The New Orleans *Crescent* urged that the Louisiana delegation selected for Memphis should also attend the St. Louis meeting so as to get a comparison of views. The Mobile *Herald* opposed the convention and wanted a railroad from the mouth of the Ohio westward.[19] The *Reveille* urged that St. Louis and Memphis compromise or else Whitney would win over them both. The railroads of South Carolina and Georgia announced free passage for the delegates to and from both conventions.[20] Whitney prepared to attend the Memphis convention.

St. Louis appointed delegates to the Memphis convention and Memphis returned the courtesy. The papers of Charleston urged that the South be well represented at Memphis in order to extend the Southern railroads west.[21] Nashville selected a delegation charged with the same purpose. The sentiment of New Orleans ranged from passive resignation to open hostility. A delegation was chosen to attend the Memphis convention, but it was instructed by a mass meeting October 5 to work for the Tehuantepec route and at a meeting of the delegation a few days previous a resolution was offered that the Tehuantepec route be brought to the notice of the convention.[22] Before leaving for Memphis the delegation met and voted down a resolution offered by DeBow to support any measure for a Pacific railroad via El Paso and the Gila River, no matter what the

[15]Issue of June 12, 1849.
[16]Issue of June 16, 1849.
[17]*Arkansas Democrat,* July 27, 1849.
[18]*American Railroad Journal,* 22:615.
[19]*New Orleans Commercial Bulletin,* October 2, 1849.
[20]*Charleston Mercury,* September 14, 1849.
[21]*Charleston Courier,* October 9, 1849.
[22]*Commercial Bulletin,* October 2 and 6, 1849.

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eastern terminal should be.[23] And so in the midst of conflicting interests the convention of 1849, like that of 1845, assembled for its deliberations.

At 11:30 o'clock on the morning of October 23, 1849 the delegates assembled in the Exchange building at Memphis and were called to order by Dr. Fearn of Alabama.[24] On motion, Col. Absalom Fowler, of Arkansas, took the chair, after which a prayer was offered by the Right Reverend Bishop Otey. The usual routine of organization was followed; a secretary with two assistants was appointed and a committee selected of one from each State to select permanent officers. A recess of fifteen minutes afforded time for the different delegations to select their respective members and with this business achieved the convention rested from its labors and adjourned until 4 p.m. The delegation were to hand in a list of their members during the time of adjournment.

Upon coming together in the afternoon Lieutenant Maury was named as president of the convention. Maury's part in advocating the Pacific road has already been mentioned. He had been present at the St. Louis convention now just ended and had acted as one of the vice-presidents of that gathering. Upon taking the chair he made a short speech of some twenty minutes duration. He gave the reasons why a railroad to the Pacific was necessary and asserted that even if the road should not prove profitable, still it was needed for military reasons. He had examined fifty railroads, he said, and had come to the conclusion that heavy articles could never be carried over a Pacific road because of the heavy freight rates. Cotton, sugar, tobacco, etc., could be transported for three cents a mile. He thought that the Isthmus road should be built at once. The conclusion of his speech was an eloquent plea for harmony.[25] Maury's speech came as a surprise to most of the delegates and was much criticized for its approval of the Tehuantepec route. That subject had not been included in the call of the convention, but Maury's speech and the advocacy of the Louisiana delegation kept it from now on prominently before the convention. The convention closed the first day by naming fourteen vice-presidents and nine secretaries and forming a Rules committee of one from each State.

When the lists of delegates were handed in, there proved

[23] *Arkansas Democrat*, October 12, 1849; *Memphis Appeal*, October 6, 1849.

[24] *Minutes and Proceedings of the Memphis Convention* (Memphis, 1850). The details of the convention are taken from the minutes unless other reference is cited.

[25] *Charleston Courier*, October 29, 1849; *Arkansas Democrat*, November 16, 1849; *Minutes and Proceedings*.

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to be 392 members present.[26] Of these 221 came from the two states of Tennessee and Mississippi, and the remainder were distributed among thirteen states. Of the Southern states only Florida and North Carolina were unrepresented. Illinois had two, Pennsylvania five, Massachusetts two and New York one. None of Virginia's three delegates were residents of Virginia. A fair percentage of the delegates had been accredited to the St. Louis convention as well as to that of Memphis. There is hardly a doubt that many of the delegates were not delegates at all, but only visitors in Memphis or transient residents. In number the convention fell below that of 1845 nor was there an equality in the character of the delegations. Maury was by all odds the best known man. Loughborough, of Missouri; Clay, of Alabama; Hall, of Illinois; De Bow, of Louisiana, and Trezevant, who served as a representative of Virginia were all well known men in various walks of life, but the list cannot well be increased. Whitney was present as a visitor and was invited to a seat in the convention. Jefferson Davis looked in at the closing hours and was warmly greeted. But a student of the convention cannot rid himself of the feeling that the South had failed to send her best men. No doubt the coming political storm was distracting the attention, and perhaps there was some feeling gaining ground that, after all, railroads were not likely to be prodigiously advanced by conventions. At any rate the papers took no such stock of this meeting as of that in 1845. The reports were brief and stereotyped; even the Memphis papers went to little trouble in reporting the meetings, and a reading of the papers in this connection adds little to the account given in the Minutes.

eYt the proceedings of the convention were far from being uninteresting. On the morning of the second day, the rules committee reported a resolution which was adopted, that the rules of the House of Representativs should prevail except in case of a division; at such times each state should have one vote. A resolutions committee was formed by each state selecting two of its members to serve thereon. So far the business had been only that of the necessary routine. A spice of variety was injected when the convention invited Whitney to take a seat as the guest of the convention. A member at once moved that a like invitation be extended to all ladies within 100 miles; this was promptly amended to 3,000 miles and adopted. With the convention in this hilarious mood, the committee sent from the St. Louis convention asked leave to make a report.[27]

[26]The *Arkansas Democrat*, November 2, 1849, gives a list of 372.

[27]For an account of the St. Louis Convention see the *Missouri Historical Review* for July, 1918. The convention closed its work by

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The report asserted that St. Louis had held her convention free from party and sectionalism; it had been a national undertaking. In its final resolution St. Louis showed its desire for harmony and cooperation with Memphis. "We have had sad experience at St. Louis," said the committee, "of the folly and danger of awakening discussions which in their nature must be productive of strifes and divisions." The report was laid on the table.

With the report of this committee the dormant jealousies of the different factions made their appearance. From this time on little trace was to be seen of the high good humor with which the convention began its work; St. Louis, Memphis and New Orleans set to work resolutely and acrimoniously to sway the convention. Benton, Calhoun and Douglas all had formulated plans, said the *New York Herald;* "all candidates," it added with a criminal attempt at punning, "have plans for the railroad and must define his route or be routed." Anthony, of Arkansas, criticized Maury's opening speech for bringing before the convention irrelevant schemes; Arkansas in proposing the convention had supposed its attention would be limited to plans for a railroad through Arkansas. Maury replied and the discussion grew heated. Then began the offering of a wild medley of resolutions from every section of the house. Five of these, at least, may be termed resolutions of compromise. Larue, of Louisiana, wanted the territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific surveyed by the United States for a military road, and contracts to be made in the meantime for carrying the mails across the Isthmus by railroad or canal. Another member of the Louisiana delegation, De Bow, asked for a committee of seven to memorialize Congress on the subject of a Pacific railroad. Col. R. Topp offered four resolutions declaring it the duty of the United States at an early date to build a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific with branch lines to the Lakes and the Gulf—the best route to be determined by a survey. Campbell, of Arkansas, thought that in view of the constitutional doubts that had been displayed at St. Louis, an amendment should be made to the United States Constitution authorizing the proposed railroad, and that land should be granted to the states to aid them in their internal improvements. Loughborough offered the resolutions that had been adopted by the St. Louis convention.

The two resolutions offered on this day for the purpose of binding the convention to a specific route both came from Texas

adopting a resolution for a Pacific railroad to start outside the limits of the States, but to have branch lines to Chicago, St. Louis and Memphis.

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delegates. One was that the route should be from the mouth of the Ohio through northern Texas and El Paso to San Diego, and if necessary a further purchase of land from Mexico should be made for the right of way. From Watkins, of Arkansas, came a resolution that brought the day's confusion to a climax. It was to the effect that the building of the Pacific railroad by the United States was constitutional and that Congress had legal power to undertake it. All the other resolutions had been referred as a matter of course to the committee on resolutions, but this last called for a different action; a determined effort was made to lay it on the table and as a division was necessary an adjournment was taken till 4 p.m. to enable the delegation to consult. Upon re-assembling the resolution was tabled 10 to 4. This was the only business attempted in the afternoon and the convention adjourned in confusion. The proceedings of the entire day had been marked by laxness and informality. As usual the undercurrents had been most important and of these, perhaps the attention given to the Tehuantepec route was the most significant of all. Maury's opening speech, with the proselyting efforts of the Louisiana delegation, had introduced a bone of contention into the deliberations.[28]

It can hardly be said that the third day of the convention was an improvement on the second. Maury was ill—as, indeed, he might well be—and Senator Clay presided. The time was mostly taken up by fierce wrangling on the part of Borland, of Arkansas, Bowlin, of Missouri, and Woodward, of South Carolina. The beginning of the dispute was two resolutions offered by Borland that the United States Army should make a survey in order to find the best route, and that the best naval station on the Pacific coast should be determined by a hydrographical survey. In explanation, Borland said that everyone was ignorant about the routes to the Pacific; even the Senate committee on public lands had not had enough information to justify it in committing the United States to any certain route. He asked for a vote on his resolutions. Walker, of Louisiana, at once undertook to reply, saying that Louisiana favored all routes, but thought that the public mind should give attention to the Tehuantepec route as the most practical project at present. Borland rejoined that he did not suppose the convention had met for the purpose of furthering an alien route. Woodward injected further acrimony into the debate by offering resolutions for the Memphis-San Diego route and supporting them in a speech filled with sarcastic reference to the other plans. He was frankly local, he said, and did not have any great opinion of "national" projects. An allusion to Walker's

[28] *Arkansas Democrat*, November 2, 1849.

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use of metaphors brought from that gentleman the retort that he considered his metaphors as good as the wooden wit of some other people. Bowlin took occasion too deplore localism in considering a question so great. He declared that St. Louis was holding out an olive branch to the other sections by the action of her convention; she has specially taken Memphis under her wing. These unfortunate expressions brought Walker again to his feet with the reply that St. Louis was not so much offering an olive branch to Memphis as a railroad branch, and a motion was at once made that Memphis take St. Louis under her wings in return for her favor to Memphis.[29] A Mississippi delegate, with the obvious intention of oiling the troubled waters, moved that Congress be memorialized *only* for surveys of possible routes, but the convention contented itself with referring all resolutions to the committee, except that of DeBow offered the day before. This is adopted and then adjourned—it may be supposed, thankfully—until the next day at ten.

On the fourth day the convention resumed its sittings with Clay again in the chair. The day opened with a speech by Hall of Illinois denouncing Whitney's scheme for a railroad and, without announcing a plan of his own, pleading for harmony.[30] The convention, being impartially hostile to both men, invited Whitney to reply in the afternoon. The committee on resolutions now presented its report. This report embraced nine resolutions setting forth that it was the duty of the national government to provide for a Pacific railroad, that for this purpose surveys should be made and then the route chosen which appeared the best—that being the best road which was easiest of access, best for national defense, most central, convenient and cheap. From this trunk line, branches should be built by donations of the public domain, making connections with all state roads. Military posts should be established in the West to facilitate surveying and construction.

To these six resolutions of a general nature were added four more of a very specific meaning. The Isthmus railroad and canal movement should be encouraged by giving to companies, formed for such purposes, contracts for mails, etc. Public lands within the limits of any state should be granted to such state as an aid to it in making internal improvements. And, finally, the convention recommended to the United States that the railroad should be built by a route from San Diego *via* the Gila River, El Paso, the northeastern boundary of

[29]For a lively account of this debate see the *Memphis Appeal* of October 27, 1849.

[30]Hall had been the most active promoter of the River and Harbor Convention held in Chicago in July, 1847, and had then taken occasion to denounce Whitney.

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Texas between 32 and 33 degree, and reach the Mississippi between the Red and the Ohio.

This surprising and contradictory set of resolutions had been wrought out by the committee with much effort and debate.[31] The question of the Tehauntepec road, brought up in Maury's opening speech and strongly advocated by the Louisiana delegation, had occasioned much trouble; finally it was decided to formulate two kinds of resolutions—general and special. A sub-committee was formed for the former task and the first six resolutions resulted from their labors. All these were drafted with the design of agreeing with the action of the St. Louis convention. The grestest debate came on the special resolutions forming the last part of the report. Some of these had been passed with the greatest reluctance and, if we may trust a St. Louis account, the most important of all—the Gila route—actually by a mistake owing to a misreading by the secretary. It is unnecessary to say that the final resolution undid anything that had been accomplished for harmony by the preceding ones.

Whatever may have been the heartburnings of the committee, the convention showed little hesitation in adopting the report "with tremendous applause." A resolute effort was made to defeat the Gila resolution by Bowlin, Kirkwood of Arkansas, and Woodward. The first named gentleman demanded the yeas and nays. The vote when taken showed 10 to 4 for the resolution. Kirkwood and Woodward objected rather to the phraseology of the resolution than to the subject matter.

In such manner did the Memphis convention reject the "olive branch" extended it by the St. Louis convention. There was to be no amalgamation of Southern interests with those of the North. If St. Louis and the border states chose to dally with the North, they need not expect sympathy from the lower South. The South would even go its own path. Yet nothing is clearer than the fact that the sectionalism of the South as displayed at the convention was a commercial sectionalism alone; the most minute search will find in it little of any other spirit than that of commercial rivalry with the North. The time was to come, however, in the next decade when the South was to deem its railroad extension as of no more worth than the expansion of slavery. When that time came in 1854 there was effected between the Northwest and the South what may fairly be called a concession by the South to the Northwest of the Pacific railroad in return for the concession to the South of

[31]There were eight members of this committee, and among them DeBow and Maury. For inner workings of this committee see the *Reveille*, November 19, 1849.

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the expansion of slave territory. But in 1849, at least, the mutual concession was yet unthought of.

The uncompromising spirit of the South at this time was still further shown by the action of the convention in rejecting the invitation of St. Louis to meet with her in convention at Philadelphia next spring. On the night of the 25th the convention held its last session.[32] Its business was finished and the only purpose of the meeting was speech-making. Whitney came first with an interesting, though familiar, talk on the relation of Asiatic commerce to the need of a Pacific railroad. He illustrated his speech with maps, but declared that he was advocating no special route. He did, however, oppose the Gila route on account of the distance involved and asserted that such a route would be at a disadvantage compared to the relatively short way around the Cape of Good Hope. Forsby, of Louisiana, spoke briefly in vindication of Whitney, and Woodward also made an address. In the closing minutes it was discovered that Jefferson Davis was in the house. He was called on for a speech but declined; he was weary, he said and travel worn. An imaginative recorder might see in his appearance at the close of the convention a significant portent of the rise and predominance of other issues than railroads at the South.

In due time there was prepared a *Memorial to Congress* and an *Address to the People of the United States.* The *Memorial* recited and explained the ten resolutions adopted by the convention, pointing out specially that, although it advocated the use of public lands for railroad construction, it was careful not to specify the method. The address set forth that a Pacific railroad was necessitated by the increasing population of the West consequent on the acquisition of Oregon and the territory of Mexico. The convention had recommended three things—a Pacific railroad, an Isthmus canal or railroad, and a military road along the Mexican frontier. It adverted to the Asiatic commerce, and declared the nation equal to the task of securing it. The reasons for the Gila route were set forth in detail. The Isthmus road was to be a private one. Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana and Mississippi were in favor of it. Representative Stanton of Tennessee made himself sponsor for the *Memorial* and on the 25th of February, 1850, introduced it into the House of Representatives. Objection was made to its reference and the *Memorial* never came up for consideration; even when Stanton asked leave to withdraw it, as he did on the fourteenth of March, permission was not given him and it remained unnoticed by a body that was bent on considering things more exciting in their nature than Pacific railroads.

R. S. COTTERILL.

[32] *Memphis Appeal,* October 30, 1849.

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SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE EQUIPMENT NEEDED IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

How to make more efficient the teaching of our boys and girls is a matter which has constantly the thoughtful consideration of those who have at heart the welfare of our future citizens. The solution of the problem is always progressive. New subjects make their demand for admission to the curriculum, new readjustments and reorganizations of the course of study and of administrative methods are tried out, the better preparation of teachers is sought. In recent years vast progress has been made in many ways, and more advance is in sight. In school buildings, particularly, has there been a wonderful improvement. With regard to the needs of some subjects there has been a clear realization of the importance of equipment as well as buildings; but as to others, and particularly as to history, the tendency has been to continue old methods, with a sacrifice of efficiency. It is the purpose of the writer of the following pages to offer some reasons for the necessity of a proper material equipment if we would secure the best results from the teaching of history, and to make some suggestions as to the steps which may be taken to secure and organize such resources.

We shall discuss briefly the following topics: (1) What is history, and why should we teach it? (2) The need of equipment for teaching history. (3) The kinds of equipment needed and how these are to be obtained.

I. What Is History, and Why Should We Teach It?

We may answer this question as follows: History is the literary expression of our knowledge of the past life of the human race. This knowledge leads directly up to the present structure of society. The study of all present institutions has as one of its foundations the historical point of view.

But how do we get this knowledge? We do not see the facts of history around us, for they are past. We cannot actually bring to life again Socrates, Queen Elizabeth, the Battle of King's Mountain, or even the Battle of the Marne. We cannot put such persons or such events under the microscope or into a test tube. Neither can we deduce them from pure reason by processes like those of logic or mathematics. There is only one way that what has happened in the past comes into the knowledge of later generations, and that is through *records*. Every historical book, whether it be a history of the world in one volume, or a great detailed study of a limited period in several volumes, depends ultimately on the survival from the past of the *records* of that past. Without these there can be no history.

The writing of history, then, is a process by which we can pass from dead records to living thought, and recreate in our minds what happened long ago. This process has its own rules and method, just as chemistry and physics have their own laws. The rules may not be the same as those of the natural sciences, but they are just as important.

We now begin to see the answer to the second part of our question: Why should we teach history? We should teach history, first for the same reason that we teach literature and science, because history, like these subjects, is an important part of human knowl-

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edge. We should teach history because of its content, because of the information that it gives. There is no subject more humanizing than history, which deals with humanity. How modern states, modern civilizations, modern religions all came to be what they are; does not that inquiry bear directly on our life today? The wider our view of life, the wider will be our view of history. Not only the fate of kings and the waging of wars, but also the great social concepts of the present, with their ever-widening interests, must be in the pages of our text-books. History in mediaeval times might be a subject for lords and ladies and monks; now it is more and more a study for the common man.

But the amount of historical information, viewed merely as information, that the high school student can store up in his memory and carry away with him is small; memory is a frail gift with most of us. The study of history, however, also helps to train thought. It is not necessary to claim that this study will develop some one faculty and other subjects some other faculties of the mind; but it is right to urge that the method peculiar to history has its place in education just as much as the method peculiar to mathematics and the method peculiar to the natural sciences. This is why history teaching which is limited to the use of a textbook fails to give the best results. Such teaching lays excessive stress on the power of memory to the exclusion of other mental activities.

Let us be perfectly clear on this point. We are in no way suggesting that high school boys and girls should write history, or they should discover new truths. We do not ask our boys and girls to write chemistry, or to discover new truths in physics. Yet today no one proposes that children should study chemistry or physics out of the textbook only. On the contrary, we send them to the laboratory. Why do we do this?

II. The Need of Equipment for Teaching History.

We send them to the laboratory because we insist that they shall know something of the method of the science which they are studying; that they shall gain the scientific point of view; that they may try to think scientifically. So with history. We insist, first, upon the use of a good textbook. We urge the use of the memory and the accumulation of facts carefully organized—the more the better. But the difference between the old and the new teaching of history is this, that the new teaching demands something more. It demands an equipment which shall serve its peculiar purpose as the laboratory serves the purposes of the teacher of the natural sciences, and teachers who shall use this equipment to develop reasoning powers in addition to the development of memory and the inculcating of facts.

Most of the good textbooks of today presuppose, indeed, the existence or the acquisition of such equipment, and are arranged with a view to the advantage to be derived from the use of it. But experience shows that the advice offered in the textbook, and the assumption that the advice will be followed are alike unheeded. There are so many suggestions offered, so many books listed, so much expense apparently involved, that the history teacher and, more especially, the administrative officers, discouraged with the prospect, give up the attempt to introduce new methods, take the line of least resistance, and fall back on the old method of textbook and recitation.

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III. The Kinds of Equipment Needed, and How These May Be Obtained.

To show clearly and definitely what is meant by "equipment," and how a beginning may be made at very small cost, and to indicate the *minimum* that should be expected of even the less favored high schools will be the purpose of the pages that follow. The equipment will consist of books, maps and charts, and illustrative material in the shape of pictures, etc.; but the chief necessity is that of *books*. It will be best to consider this equipment under several heads.

1. Books for the Teacher.

A. *On the Course of Study.*

For many years the course of study laid down for the work in history has included four distinct fields of work, to each of which a full year course should be devoted. These fields are those of Ancient History to about 800 A.D., Mediaeval and Modern History of Europe, English History, and American History. But the increasing number of studies included in the work of the high school has rendered it increasingly difficult to find place for all these courses. They are not offered in all schools, and where they are offered, it is not required that students shall proceed through all four in regular succession, as was intended in the four-year plan. Thus schemes have been considered for shortening the work, especially in the History of Europe and England.

To become fully acquainted with this evolution of the high school course in history, every high school teacher of the subject should be provided with the following two small and inexpensive books:

Report of the Committee of Seven on the Teaching of History in Schools, Macmillan, $0.50.

Report of the Committee of Five on the Teaching of History in Schools, Macmillan, $0.25.

Both of these refer to high school work.

But in later years the whole idea of the three or four-year course has become the subject of an active debate, and suggestions for a thorough reconstruction of the work have been proposed. Conspicuous among these is the "Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association." This report, issued in November, 1916, by the United States Bureau of Education as *Bulletin* No. 28, 1916, may be obtained from that Bureau, or from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington.

B. *Current Discussions. The History Teacher's Magazine.*

Only a few schools have made radical experiments in the reconstruction of the course. In most schools the older plan will no doubt be followed for some time to come, while the subject is being thrashed out in the meetings of teachers' associations and of history students.

The ambitious teacher will endeavor to follow this discussion. A means of doing so, no matter how far one may be from the centers of experiment and debate, is afforded by a publication which should be available to every high-school teacher of history.

This is the *History Teacher's Magazine*, published in Philadelphia by the McKinley Publishing Company. Eight numbers are published monthly in the course of each school year. The subscription price is $2.00. A special arrangement is made by the publishers

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by which members of associations of history teachers may receive the magazine for $1.00.

This periodical, which was for some time subsidized by the American Historical Association and is the organ of the New England History Teachers' Association and other such associations, contains articles upon various phases of the teaching of history, written by experts in the several fields. Great emphasis is laid upon methods, type tudies in this or that field of history are given, the reader is directed to the new books as they come out, and finds in the magazine critical estimates of such new books. There are also items of general interest to teachers, such as accounts of the meetings of associations, discussions of the teaching of history, etc. Helpful syllabi are published from time to time, and occasionally illustrations of value for actual use in the class room are given.

C. *Works on Methods of Teaching.*

But besides keeping abreast of the current discussions, every teacher feels the need of a more permanent, systematic body of principles; a book which shall in more continuous and logical manner afford the teacher insight and inspiration. Such a work is Johnson, H., *The Teaching of History*, Macmillan, $1.40.

Among older works may be selected: Bourne, H. E., *The Teaching of History and Civics*, Longmans, $1.62; McMurry, C. A., *Special Method in History*, Macmillan, $0.75.

In addition, a wide study of the different textbooks in any given field, of the suggestions made by the author, and of the reviews of such new books as they appear, will be of great service. As a rule, publishers are glad to send such texts for examination.

2. Equipment for the Use of Students.

A. *Collateral Reading; The School Library.*

The first necessary adjunct to the textbook and recitation is the use of collateral reading. Properly developed, this exercise is of the greatest value. It not only adds to the information contained in the text, but stimulates a comparison of facts and views, breaking down the idea unfortunately too prevalent in the mind of tthe pupil, that his textbook contains all that is meant by "History." The collateral reading gives opportunity for individual work on the part of the pupils, and for the fuller study of topics of great importance.

In order to make clear just what results are expected from the use of collateral reading, the American Historical Association has recently appointed a new committee, with instructions to draw up, after conference with teachers' associations all over the country a definition of the topics specially to be emphasized in connection with collateral reading. For the progress of this discussion, and the reports of this and other committees, teachers will find the best guide in the *History Teacher's Magazine.*

Through misunderstanding or mismanagement, however, the good results are often missed. It should be a fixed principle to be observed in such work, that unless it can be in some way satisfactorily *tested*, it is of little avail. To this end we urge upon the school authorities that they should provide an ample number of duplicate copies of a few well chosen works rather than a larger number of scattered books which only one student can use at a time.

It follows that the practice pursued by some schools of relying on the city library is a delusion, *unless the city library is willing to pur-*

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chase duplicates. The city library is excellent for the teacher, and is invaluable for the pupils, as supplementing the school library, but it *cannot be a substitute for the latter.*

We now submit a list of books for collateral reading in each of the four fields in the course of study in History. We call attention to the fact that for one copy of each of the books in each of these lists the total cost, per list, need not exceed ten or eleven dollars. Schools which offer all four fields of history could provide all four sets for about forty dollars.

In a well managed school library, it should be possible for each copy of a book to serve from six to ten students. A class in history numbering sixty needs from six to ten duplicates. If classes run to this number in all four fields, the cost of the reference library will run from $240.00 to $400.00. (This is making no allowance for reductions in the price of the books.) Few schools, however, will have large classes in all the fields of history, and not all schools will have to provide at once for all four fields. Moreover, it must be remembered that these books will be useful for several years, so that the first cost should be distributed over the period of the life of the books. If a good start is once made, very moderate expenditures each year will add rapidly to the school library, which will come to be a matter of pride to both teachers and students.

An excellent guide to a wide selection of books on history for use in schools, compiled through the cooperation of experts familiar with the needs of schools, is Andrews, Gambrill, and Tall, *A Bibliography of History for Schools,* Longmans, $0.68.

B. *References for Collateral Reading.*

ANCIENT HISTORY.

Myers, J. L., The Dawn of History, Home University Library, Holt, $0.50.

Bury, J. B., History of Greece to the Death of Alexander, Macmillan, $1.90.

Grant, A. J., Greece in the Age of Pericles, Scribners, $1.00.

Mahaffy, Alexander's Empire, Putnams, $1.50.

Gulick, C. B., Life of the Ancient Greeks, Appleton, $1.40.

Whipley, C. H., A Companion to Greek Study, Cambridge University Press.

Abbott, F. F., A Short History of Rome, Scott, Foresman & Co.

Pelham, Outlines of Roman History, Putnams, $1.75.

How and Leigh, History of Rome to the Death of Caesar, Longmans, $2.00.

Schuckburgh, History of Rome to the Battle of Actium, Ferrero and Barbagallo, A Short History of Rome, Putnam, $1.90.

Jones, H. S., Companion to Roman History, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Sandys, J. E., A Companion to Latin Studies, Cambridge University Press.

Fowler, Social Life in the Age of Cicero, Macmillan, $1.50.

Emerton, E., Introduction to the History of the Middle Ages, Ginn, $1.12.

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MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN EUROPE.

Munro, D. C., *History of the Middle Ages*, Appleton, $0.90.

Davis, H. W. C., *Medieval Europe*, Home University Library, Holt, $0.50.

Symonds, J. A., *Short History of the Italian Renaissance*, Holt, $1.75.

Walker, W., *The Reformation*, Scribner, $1.25.

Robinson, J. H., and Beard, C. A., *Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols., Ginn., $3.00.

Fisher, H., *Napoleon*, Home University Library, Holt, $0.50.

Ogg, F. A., *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, Macmillan, $1.50.

Thorndyke, L., The History of Mediaeval Europe.

Hayes, C. J. H., Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Macmillan, 2 vols., $4.25.

Hazen, C. D., Modern European History, Holt, $1.75.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

General histories in one volume. Select one or more.

Gardiner, S. R., *Student's History of England*, Longmans, $3.00.

Green, J. R., *Short History of the English People*, American Book Co., $1.20.

Andrews, C. M., *History of England*, Allyn and Bacon, $1.50.

Cross, A. L., *History of England and Greater Britain*, Macmillan, $2.50.

Government and Constitution.

Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, Longmans, $1.25.

Moran, *The Theory and Practice of the English Government*, Longmans, $1.20.

Economic History.

Cheyney, *Social and Industrial History of England*, Macmillan, $1.40.

AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS.

The "Riverside History of the United States," W. E. Dodd, ed., (Becker, C. L., *Beginnings of the American People;* Johnson, A., *Union and Democracy;* Dodd, W. E., *Expansion and Conflict;* Paxson, F. L., *The New Nation.* Houghton Mifflin Company, $2, each volume. In all, $8.00.

Bassett, J. S., *A Short History of the United States*, Macmillan, $2.50.

Epochs Series (Thwaites, R. G., *The Colonies;* Hart, A. B. *Formation of the Union;* Wilson, W., *Division and Reunion*), Longmans, each volume, $1.25, in all $3.75.

Fish, C. R., *The Development of American Nationality* (begins with the year 1783); American Book Co., $2.25.

Andrews, C. M., *The Colonial Period;* Smith, T. C., *The War Between England and America.*

MacDonald, W., *From Jefferson to Lincoln;* Paxton, F. L., *The Civil War;* Haworth, P. L., Reconstruction and Union; Home University Library, Holt, each $0.50, in all $2.50.

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Beard, C. A., *American Government and Politics*, Macmillan, $2.10.

James and Sanford, *Government in State and Nation*, Scribner, $1.00.

Ashley, R. L., *American Government*, Macmillan, $1.00.

Bogart, J. L., *The Economic History of the United States*, Longmans, $1.75.

Coman, K., *Industrial History of the United States*, Macmillan, $1.50.

Brigham, A. P., *Geographic Influences in American History*, Ginn, $1.25.

Semple, E. C., *American History and Its Geographic Conditions.*

C. *Historical Geography.*

Geography has been well called one of the "eyes" of history. Every textbook emphasizes the importance of the study of geography, but this is not enough. The student must himself understand how maps are made, and how maps can be made to express the relation of geography to history.

1. WALL MAPS.

A part of the permanent equipment of the history class-room should consist of well selected wall maps. Unfortunately much of this type of equipment is expensive. However, a beginning may be made at little expense. From the Public Land Office, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., may be secured for *one dollar*, a Wall Map of the United States and its Possessions. From various publishers, e.g., from the Rand-McNally Company or the A. J. Nystrom Company, both of Chicago, schools may obtain catalogues of maps of all countries which have been constructed specifically with reference to the teaching of history. Schools should provide a wall map for each of the continents illustrating the *physical features*, and another group indicating *modern political boundaries.*

Of particular importance, also, are the *Blackboard* Outline Wall Maps now available. These may be used both by teacher and by pupils to show changes in boundaries, physical features, routes of commerce, political sectionalism, etc.

2. HISTORICAL MAP CHARTS IN SERIES.

More expensive than the single wall map, but economical in that they take the place of many wall maps, are the series of historical map charts for the use of schools and colleges.

3. HISTORICAL ATLASES.

Of varied serviceableness, and, fortunately, of much less expense, is the Historical Atlas. This contains not one, but many maps, and shows changes in historical geography from period to period.

There are excellent atlases for particular countries, such as:

Gardiner, S. R. *Student's Atlas of English History*, Longmans, $1.50.

MacCoun, T., *Historical Geography of the United States*, Silver, Burdett & Co., $0.90.

Dow, E. W., *Historical Atlas* (Europe), Holt, $1.50.

But a single volume covering all four fields of history is, for that reason, the most useful:

Shepherd, W. R., *Historical Atlas*, Holt, $2.50.

This, like the works for collateral reading, must be provided in a sufficient number of duplicate copies.

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4. OUTLINE MAPS FOR PUPILS.

To secure the results at which we are aiming, outline maps, to be filled in by the pupils, are indispensable. There are several series of these, all inexpensive. Samples will be sent on request by the following publishers.

McKinley Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago.

Atkinson, Mentzer & Co., Boston, New York, Chicago, Dallas.

Historical Publishing Co., Topeka, Kansas.

American Book Co., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

It is recommended to schools with limited resources to introduce first Shepherd's *Atlas* and such outline maps, and then, as opportunity permits, the more expensive wall maps.

A word of warning as to the use of map-work is in order. Without care on the part of the teacher such work tends to become mechanical, and pupils, especially those skilled in the use of the pencil, may blindly copy maps without thoroughly studying what they are trying to represent. It is easy for a careful teacher to meet this tendency with the proper corrective tests.

D. *Source Books.*

Next to collateral reading in modern books, the teacher of history should develop work in the sources, or contemporary records. We repeat here the statement made above—that we do not expect high-school students to discover new facts or to engage in research. We use source material, first, that every student may know something of the way in which the materials for history have been preserved. A photograph of the Acropolis or of the Coliseum gives the student something that a written description of these monuments of ancient art cannot give. Similarly a reading of the text of the Declaration of Independence adds a great deal to some modern writer's *summary* of that document. Important laws, letters of great men, diaries, contemporary newspapers,—of all these and many other kinds of materials the source-books give *samples*. Secondly, such selections reflect the spirit or atmosphere of the time which they represent. They show how men differed from one another in the same age or period, and how the men of one age differed in their thought and feelings from the men of another age. A contemporary account of the New England Witchcraft, a contemporary narrative of Western pioneers,—these help to make the past *real* to our students, and that is, surely, one of the chief objects of our teaching. We submit a very limited list of source-books representing a minimum equipment, which, like the works for collateral reading, should be provided in a sufficient number of duplicate copies. A good discussion of the use of such material will be found in the work by Professor A. B. Hart included in our list.

The use of one such book, to be in the hands of each individual student should be required in the high school courses.

Munro, D. C., Source Book of Roman History, Heath.

Davis, W. S., *Readings in Ancient History*, Allyn & Bacon, 2 vols.: 1, Greece and East; 2, Rome and West, each $1.00.

Homer's *Iliad*, trans., Lang Leaf and Myers, Macmillan, $0.80.

The Odyssey, trans., Butcher and Lang, Macmillan, $0.75.

Plutarch's Lives, trans., Clough, Everyman's Library, Dutton, 3 vols., each $0.75.

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Church, E. J., *Trial and Death of Socrates* (from Plato), Macmillan, $1.00.

Robinson, J. H., *Readings in European History*, abridged edition, Ginn, $1.50.

Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, Ginn, $1.60.

Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, Macmillan, $0.80.

MacDonald, W., *Documentary Source Book of American History*, Macmillan, $1.75.

Hart, A. B., *Sourch Book of American History*, Macmillan, $0.60.

E. *The Printed Syllabus or Topical Outline.*

As a means of coordinating and combining the different parts of the work in history, the syllabus or topical outline plays an important part. The outline is not an end in itself, but a tool to help the student follow some order in his work. It is not necessary to be bound slavishly to the outline. Teachers may add here or reconstruct there.

Again, the outline, if prepared by a competent person or committee is of help in indicating the amount of time that should be devoted to the different parts of the subject. Another service rendered by a syllabus is the way in which it may point to the collateral reading or to the elaboration of special topics.

A Syllabus of History for Schools, Heath and Company, $1.30 covers all four fields, and has helpful suggestions for the teacher. For each one of the four fields the topical outline proper may be had separately, in paper covers, for 15 cents.

Botsford, G. W., A Syllabus of Roman History, Macmillan.

Other publishers' topical lists, etc., are noted, as they appear, in the *History Teacher's Magazine;* and, as stated above, many such outlines are contributed to the magazine itself, and constitute one of its most valuable features.

For the fields of ancient history and American history, see also the McKinley Illustrated History Topics, mentioned below under "Publications Combining Several Methods."

F. *Notebooks and Written Work.*

"Writing," according to Lord Bacon, "maketh an exact man." To the oral work, which will always remain the basis of school work in history, should be added the work in the notebook, the written theme, and the written quiz or test. In these effort should be made to train in exactness and in clearness of expression. The notebook, especially, should constitute a real exercise of great value.

It is not expected that high-school students shall be given lecture courses; but surely in the high school the pupil should be taught how to follow attentively the spoken word. New points brought out either by the teacher or by the fellow-student should be preserved in notes. Dictation is not advised, unless in the case of some important phrases or sentences in a law or a speech, where the exact words are to be retained.

In connection with the collateral reading, the student should be taught to summarize or digest intelligently the readings which are assigned, and such exercise should then be made the basis of oral and written tests.

Loose-leaved notebooks should be employed, and the work should be kept from becoming mechanical by constant watchfulness on the part of the teacher.

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G. *Illustrative Materials.*

It is beyond the power of most schools to provide a real historical museum. The teacher is urged, however, to see that the history class room shall suggest to the eye as well as to the ear the meaning of historical materials. In addition to the maps, much can be done in a very inexpensive manner with pictures. Teachers are urged to send for catalogues of the following publishers. Many others might be listed.

The Perry Picture Co., Boston.

Miss M. L. Moses, 19 Putnam Street, West Newton, Mass. (Pictures arranged by a committee of the New England History Teacher's Association.)

A. W. Elson Co., 146 Oliver Street, Boston.

In large schools excellent use may be made of the stereopticon lantern. For historical slides consult the *History Teacher's Magazine*, advertising columns.

PUBLICATIONS COMBINING SEVERAL METHODS.

Several firms offer publications which combine some of the exercise suggested above, for example, maps and notes, or maps and syllabi.

Worthy of especial mention are the *Illustrated History Topics* of the McKinley Publishing Company, Philadelphia. These combine (a) outlines; (b) outline maps; (c) source materials; (d) historical illustrations; (e) references for collateral reading. Thus far provision has been made only for ancient history and American history. Every teacher should examine these History Topics. The publishers will gladly send samples.

THE GREAT WAR.

The course of the Great War of 1914, especially since the entrance of the United States into the conflict, has brought a new problem to the history teacher. Nothing has done more to stimulate interest in history; and to acquaint American boys and girls with the nature and origin of the struggle in which we are now engaged rests as a duty of the deepest seriousness upon those who have in charge the administration of our educational institutions. But how shall this be accomplished?

It will certainly be a mistaken policy to *substitute* organized courses in the seudy of the war for the regular history courses. In the first place the subject is a very complex one, and demands special preparation on the part of the teacher. Secondly, while the activities of warfare on land and sea of necessity have the first place in our attention, we must remember that the war is fought that peace and righteousness may prevail, and we must be looking ahead to the reestablishment of the social order when peace comes. The causes of the war go far back in time; the course of civilization, many phases of which are now obscured for the moment, goes back still farther, and it is as needful as ever to lay a broad historical foundation. In the third place there are as yet few textbooks dealing with the war that are adapted to young readers.

For these reasons it will be well to go slow in making changes in the curriculum. Additional time should be found for special treatment of the war. The news of current events will furnish constantly fresh starting points for the stimulation of historical interest. The

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whole flavor or point of view of the work will be affected by the mighty conflict of nations. But the war will be best taught and studied in its proper relation to the development of history as a whole.

There can be no question, however, that the *teacher* will be called on to prepare himself or herself to meet new demands for leadership in thought. The teacher must be ready to use the war and the problems which it has raised as a means of stimulating interest in history, to give talks upon the war in all its phases, and to answer questions on the part of the students and of the community generally.

These new demands have received the thoughtful consideration of many writers and students, both in the field of history and in many allied subjects. The *History Teacher's Magazine,* to which so many references have already been made, has devoted, during the last year, particular attention to this matter, with most excellent results. Special articles have appeared, and others will be published in the future, directed to just this matter of helping school teachers to interpret the war in the best possible way. Particular mention must be made of *Collected Materials for the Study of the Great War,* compiled by Albert E. McKinley and issued by the publishers of the *History Teacher's Magazine,*—the McKinley Publishing Company of Philadelphia. This includes an elaborate Topical Outline of the War, by Samuel B. Harding; a Syllabus for a Course of Study upon the Preliminaries of the Present Conflict, by H. L. Hoskins; excellent maps for the study of the war with comments, by S. B. Harding and W. E. Linglebach; a Bibliography of Publications in English relating to the World War; and extensive selections from President Wilson's War Addresses, Statutes of the United States relating to the State of War; and Executive Proclamations and Orders. Published at the low cost of 65 cents, this volume would seem to be a nearly indispensable guide to the study and teaching of the war.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

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INDIAN WARS AND WARRIORS OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1730-1807.

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CHAPTER V.—*Continued.*

The assault on Freeland's Station was the last engagement the settlers had with the Chickasaws, though the latter, before they retired, united with a party of Cherokees and did much damage to the stock and plantations on the Cumberland. Our historians say that Colonel Robertson made peace with them in 1782, but I do not find any evidence of such a treaty. Peace was restored by the removal of the original cause of irritation. The Chickasaws, as has been stated, resented the appropriation of their hunting grounds without their consent. Upon the erection of Fort Jefferson they at once put themselves in communication with the British at Pensacola. November 23, 1780, Major General John Campbell, commanding his Majesty's forces in the province of West Florida, appointed James Colbert, leader and conductor of such volunteer inhabitants, and Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and other Indians as should join him, for the purpose of annoying, distressing, attacking, and repelling the King's enemies.[127] Colbert conducted the siege of Fort Jefferson. At the end of five or six days the garrison was reduced to the utmost extremity, when they were fortunately relieved by Colonel Clark;[128] the post, however, which had been inconsiderately established, was evacuated and permanently abandoned June 8, 1781.[129]

About the last of August, 1782, Simon Burney and two Chickasaw warriors, under a flag of truce, delivered to Colonel Logan, of Lincoln County, Kentucky, a talk signed by Poymace Tankaw, Mingo Homaw, Tuskon Patapo, and Piomingo, in which they expressed their desire for peace. They admitted they had done mischief in Kentucky, as well as on the Cumberland, but alleged that the building of Fort Jefferson on their hunting ground, without their consent, made it necessary to take up arms to defend what they deemed their natural right; but that the cause being then in some measure removed, they desired to be again at peace with the American States. On the receipt of this talk, Colonel John Donelson, who had gone to Kentucky after the breaking up of his station on the Cumberland, wrote the Governor of Virginia, urging the ap-

[127]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 391.

[128]Collin's History of Kentucky, p. 40.

[129]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 313.

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pointment of commissioners to negotiate a treaty with them, and suggesting the French Lick, on the Cumberland River, as the place most agreeable to the Chickasaws for a meeting.[130]

Acting upon this information and advice, Governor Harrison appointed Colonels John Donelson, Joseph Martin, and Isaac Shelby commissioners to treat with the Southern Indians. The intermediary between the Governor, the Commissioners, and the Chickasaws was Major John Reid. Major Reid visited the Governor at Richmond; delivered Donelson's commission to him at New London; carried additional instructions to Martin at the Great Island of Holston; called upon Shelby in Kentucky, and arrived at the French Lick on Cumberland, on his way to the Chickasaws, May 2, 1783. Colonel Robertson opposed the assembling of the Chickasaws in the Cumberland settlements, and refused to allow Major Reid to proceed further until he had called a meeting of the Committee.[131] The committee at first agreed with Colonel Robertson, but upon Major Reid's pressing the necessity of the matter, they reached the conclusion set forth in their minutes, as follows:

June 3, 1783. Major John Reid moved the Committee of Cumberland relative to the assembling of the southern tribes of Indians at the French Lick on Cumberland, for holding a treaty with the Commissioners appointed by the State of Virginia; when the Committee, considering how difficult it will be for the handful of people, reduced to poverty and distress by a continued scene of Indian barbarity, to furnish any large body of Indians with provisions; and how prejudicial it may be to our infant settlement, should they not be furnished with provisions, or otherwise dissatisfied with the terms of the treaty; on which consideration the Committee refer it to the unanimous suffrages of the people of this settlement, whether the treaty shall be held here with their consent or no, and that the suffrages of the several stations be delivered to the Clerk of Committee on Thursday evening, the fifth instant. Result:
Freeland's Station, no treaty here, 32.
Heatonburg, no treaty here, 1; treaty here, 54.
Nashborough, no treaty here, 26; treaty here, 30.
No treaty here, 59; treaty here, 84.
The other stations of Gasper Mansker's and Maulding's failing to return their votes.[132]

It being agreed that the treaty should be held at the French Lick on Cumberland, it was arranged that the conferences should take place at the large Sulphur Spring, on the Charlotte Road, where General Robertson afterwards resided. The time named by the Chickasaws was the full moon in October. The Indians arrived on time, and were ten days in advance of

[130]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, pp. 282, 284.
[131]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, pp. 562-4.
[132]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, pp. 131-2.

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Commissioners Donelson and Martin. Shelby did not attend, on account of one of his brothers having recently been killed by the Indians in Kentucky.[133] The treaty was finally concluded November 12, 1783.[134] By the terms of the treaty the Chickasaws ceded a large body of land on the south side of Cumberland River, which they afterwards confirmed at the treaty of Hopewell in 1785.

In addition to the cession of land, which was important, the Cumberland settlers won the warm friendship of the Chickasaws, which was never afterwards interrupted, and which proved of the greatest value to the settlement. No other man ever had their confidence quite so completely as General Robertson. His last public service was in their nation, where he died, September 1, 1814. On the other hand, their leader, Piomingo, also called the Mountain Leader, was well known and universally respected on the Cumberland. John Robinson borrowed his name as a pseudonym, under which he wrote a volume of essays, of considerable merit, contrasting the usages of civilized man with those of the savage, first published in 1810.[135] An unfortunate confusion of the life of Piomingo with that of General William Colbert, by the great Indian biographer, Samuel G. Drake, has almost obliterated his personality from our histories. Drake says, "from the circumstance that the name Piomingo is not signed to any of the treaties after that of Colbert appears, induces the belief that he is the same person, and that, from his attachment to the whites, he took one of their names."[136] He then proceeds to commingle the acts of the two chiefs as though they were one and the same person. It now becomes necessary, therefore, to tell who General Colbert was.

The Colbert family was for many years the most powerful family in the Chickasaw Nation, and, in common with the rest of the tribe, was uniformly friendly to the United States. It was founded by James Colbert, a Scotchman, who married a Chickasaw woman and adopted the Indian life. He was the same who bore the English commission and conducted the siege of Fort Jefferson. Then for some years he conducted extensive

[133]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 533.

[134]Haywood and Ramsey do not undertake to give the date of this treaty. Putnam (History of Middle Tennessee, p. 196) says it was held in the month of June, 1783; but Major Reid, in his report to Governor Harrison, gives the exact date, as stated in the text. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, pp. 562-4.

[135]The Savage. By Piomingo, a Headsman and Warrior of the Muscogulgee Nation. Philadelphia, 1810.

[136]Drake's Indians of North America, 15th Ed., p. 401.

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piratical operations against the Spanish on the Mississippi River, which gave them great annoyance, and caused much uneasiness on the Cumberland. June 3, 1783, the committee of Cumberland resolved to send two men to the Illinois, with letters to be transmitted to the Spanish Governor, denying any connection or sympathy with Colbert's proceedings.[137] Suspicion was especially directed against Colonel John Montgomery, who had seen service in the Illinois, and the Governor of North Carolina issued a proclamation charging him with aiding and abetting Colbert. The county court of Davidson County, at its first session, in 1784, placed Colonel Montgomery under bond to appear at the next term of the court and answer said charges.[138] But before the next term of the court the governor's proclamation had been withdrawn, and the proceedings were dismissed as of course.[139] When Colonel Robertson, having located two negroes, one taken at Mattattock and the other on the Arkansas, offered to assist in their recovery if the owners could be found, Monsieur Cruzat replied that Colbert and his people, scattered in several bands, were carrying on war by robbery and pillage everywhere, and consisted of so large a number of persons that it was impossible to procure the necessary proofs.[140]

This James Colbert had four sons, William, George, Levi, and James. General William Colbert, who succeeded Piomingo as the principal chief of the Nation, distinguished himself as the friend of the United States. He served under General Wayne against the Indians of the Northwest, and in 1794 made war on the Creeks to avenge their depredations in the Cumberland settlements. When the Creek war broke out in 1813, he hastened to join the third regiment of United States infantry for service against the old enemies of the Chickasaws. He served five months in the regular infantry, when he returned to his Nation and raised an independent force, which he led against the hostile Creeks, whom he pursued from Pensacola almost to Apalachicola, killing many, and bringing eighty-five prisoners back to Montgomery. In June, 1816, he headed a Chickasaw delegation to Washington, and in the treaty that followed, he is styled Major General, and is granted an annuity of $100 during life. Later, he supported the emigration principle, and, to give to it the weight of his example, he went him-

[137]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 134.

[138]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, p. 211.

[139]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 318.

[140]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, pp. 75-6.

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self to Arkansas in 1836, with the Ridge party, and died there in November, 1839.[141]

Colonel George Colbert, who was hardly less prominent than his brother William, owned and lived at the celebrated ferry on the Tennessee River which still bears his name. He had two wives, both daughters of the bloody Cherokee chief, Doublehead. He possessed a strong mind and a dictatorial spirit. Levi Colbert, on the contrary, is said to have been mild, amiable, liberal, and generous. He lived on Bear Creek, in Colbert County, Alabama, which was so named to perpetuate the memory of himself and his brother George, and was the principal chief of the Nation at the time of their removal to the west. The youngest of the four brothers was Major James Colbert, at one time interpreter for the nation, who also lived in Alabama, some forty miles south of Levi and George.[142] They were all constant and active friends of the United States.

William Colbert was the friend and follower, as well as the successor, of Piomingo. The following incident will illustrate their relations. In the fall of 1792 Piomingo, with a company of Chickasaws, went to Philadelphia after goods for their tribe, who were to meet him at Mussel Shoals on his return. Being delayed beyond the appointed time, the Chickasaws feared that some accident had happened to him. Their foreboding was strengthened by a report circulated by the Creeks, that the Cherokees had killed him and all his party. This report so exasperated them that William and George Colbert collected a party of Chickasaws on either side of the Tennessee, for the purpose of cutting off six canoes of Cherokees, who were moving down the river, but Levi Colbert and some others prevailed on them to desist until their information could be confirmed. Shortly after these canoes went by another appeared, loaded with corn, and having on board one man, two women, and two children. William Colbert hailed them, and ordered them to come ashore. They disregarded his order and kept on their way, which he construed into a confession of guilt, and gave chase. The canoe paddled to the shore, the man landed and hid himself in the bushes, and the others continued down the river, but were soon overhauled and brought back. William Colbert found the man, tomahawked and scalped him.[143]

Piomingo was the great war chief of the Chickasaws before William Colbert had won his spurs. He proposed peace to Kentucky and Cumberland in 1782; he fought with the Ameri-

[141]Drake's Indians of North America, pp. 401, 689.

[142]Brewer's Alabama, p. 189; Rev. Jacob Young, quoted in McFerrin's History of Methodism in Tennessee, Vol. 2, p. 95.

[143]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 539-540.

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cans under St. Clair; Dragging Canoe spent the last effort of his life vainly trying to induce Piomingo to join the confederacy of southern Indians against the United States, while they were engaged in a momentous struggle with the Indians of the Northwest; when the Spaniards of Louisiana made large offers to the Chickasaws if they would forsake the Americans in 1793, Piomingo treated the offer with contempt. He was a true and good man, had great natural ability, and possessed in a high degree the fundamental elements of statesmanship.[144] He merits a high place among the great chiefs of his Nation, and deserves to be remembered by the Americans for his unfaltering devotion to their cause, after the treaty of French Lick on the Cumberland, November 12, 1783.

[144]John Carr's Narrative, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 198.

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CHAPTER VI.

The Chickamaugas harass Cumberland; surprise the harvesters at Clover Bottom; outlying stations abandoned, and inhabitants concentrated at the Bluff, Freeland's, and Eaton's; large force of Indians invade the settlement; battle of the Bluff. 1780-1781.

During the Chickasaw invasion of the Cumberland extending from the summer of 1780 until the beginning of the year 1781, the Chickamaugas were not idle. The destruction of their towns, and the capture of the British goods stored in them, by Colonels Shelby and Montgomery in 1779, made it impracticable for them to join the British forces in the Northwest, had not the capture of Governor Hamilton already rendered abortive his daring scheme against the western frontiers. These events restricted the operation of the Chickamaugas to the nearby settlements on the Holston and Cumberland. Fortunately for the Cumberland, their first organized movement was against the Holston; had it been against them it would have proven disastrous to their infant settlement. As it was, they were greatly harassed and weakened by a constant and destructive guerrilla warfare. Between thirty and forty of their small company were killed by the Indians—Chickamaugas, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Delawares—during the year 1780. Before the end of the year every outlying station in the district was abandoned, the Bluff, Eaton's, and Freeland's alone holding out.

In the spring John Millikin was killed on Richland Creek, and Joseph Hay in Sulphur Bottom. These were the first men killed on the Cumberland. From that time the settlers were picked off here and there, their horses stolen, and their cattle killed or mutilated, by skulking bands of Indians, who escaped without difficulty through the thick canebrakes and tangled undergrowth that surrounded their small clearings. Larger parties were less difficult to punish. In the summer Colonel Robertson, with a company of nineteen men, pursued a considerable party of Cherokees who had been depredating in the neighborhood of Freeland's Station, and overtook them on Duck River about forty miles south of the Bluff. Robertson's men charged and fired upon the Indians, several of whom were killed or wounded, and the remainder fled, abandoning their stolen property to the whites, who returned in triumph without the loss of a man. This was the first pursuit made by the settlers.

Among the pioneers who settled a plantation and planted a crop in the spring of 1780 was Colonel John Donelson, the

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distinguished commander of the flotilla that had just successfully completed the extraordinary voyage from Fort Patrick Henry to the French Salt Lick. He selected a splendid tract of land on the west bank of Stone's River, not far from the Hermitage. It contained a broad and beautiful river bottom, to which the rich upland gently descended. Both bottom and upland were covered with cane and timber, except a few open spots in the bottom, which were carpeted with a luxuriant growth of white clover. The place has since been known as Clover Bottom, and was once awarded a premium as the best farm in Tennessee. Here Colonel Donelson erected a half-faced camp for his family and servants, known as Stone's River, or Donelson's Station. Having planted his corn in the bottom on the west side of the river, he planted a small patch of cotton on the east side, where the situation and soil seemed better adapted to its growth.

Colonel Donelson knew the Indians had killed a number of settlers lower down the Cumberland; that they had broken up Renfroe's Station; but as they had not yet appeared in his neighborhood he hoped to escape their depredations. Soon after the Renfroe massacre, however, Colonel Henderson's negro, Jim, and a young man who had been left in charge of Henderson's half-faced camp near Clover Bottom, were killed. Being unprepared to defend his position against an attack from the Indians, which now appeared imminent, Donelson abandoned his station and retired with his family to Mansker's Station. His crop, in the meantime, came to maturity without serious injury, either from the floods, the Indians, or the wild beasts.

In November, 1780, he prepared to gather his crop. It was recognized as a dangerous enterprise, on account of the increasing number of Indian depredations committed in the settlement. In addition to his own force, therefore, he engaged a company from the Bluff to assist him, on shares. They were to take their boat at the Bluff and ascend the Cumberland to the mouth of Stone's River, where they would meet the Donelson party, who were to drop down the Cumberland from the mouth of Mansker's Creek. Colonel Donelson's boat was in charge of his son, Captain John Donelson, and contained a horse, intended for use in hauling corn to the boat, and also in towing the boat up the river when loaded. The boat from the Bluff was commanded by Captain Abel Gower, who was a leader in the famous voyage to the Cumberland, and father of the heroic girl, Nancy Gower, who was wounded by the Indians at Lookout Mountain. His crew consisted of seven or eight men, black and white. The two parties, having reached

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Clover Bottom, as agreed, they fastened their boats to the bank near the present turnpike bridge and commenced pulling corn, which they conveyed to the boats in bags and baskets, and also on a one-horse "slide," which was the only carriage then known on the Cumberland.

They were thus engaged for several days, and it was observed that on each night, and especially on the last night, their dogs kept up a furious barking, which suggested Indians to them, but they tried to explain the excitement of the dogs on other grounds, and manifested their anxiety only by hastening the completion of their work. Early on the last morning Captain Donelson pushed his boat across to the east side of the river, and commenced gathering cotton. This, he thought, would cause but a short delay, and he expected the other boat to join in the picking and share the cotton with him also. But when Captain Gower's party had finished their breakfast they launched their boat out into the stream and began its descent. Donelson hailed them from the bank and desired them to come over and help him. Gower replied that it was getting late, and as he wished to reach the Bluff before night they would have to move on. Donelson remonstrated, but determined to finish gathering his cotton before he returned.

While they were yet parleying Captain Gower's boat reached the narrow channel between a small island and the west bank. In the meantime a large party of Chickamaugas had concealed themselves on the west bank opposite this island, and as Captain Gower's boat passed them, they poured a destructive fire down upon him. Four or five of his party were killed at the first fire; the others jumped overboard into the shallow water. A white man and a negro escaped into the woods, and ultimately found their way back to the Bluff. Jack Civil, a free negro, being slightly wounded, surrendered and was carried to the Chickamauga towns, where he was so well satisfied that he remained with them and adopted their life. Among the killed were Captain Abel Gower and his son, Abel Gower, Jr., and James Randolph Robertson, the eldest son of Colonel James Robertson, a youth of much promise. Their boat drifted safely down the river, and was recovered with the dead still on board, and undisturbed except by the hungry dogs that had escaped the Indian fusillade.

Captain Donelson witnessed the attack from the opposite shore, ran down to his boat and secured his rifle, fired across the river at the Indians, then hastened to join his own party. They had fled into the cane when the firing and yelling of the Indians began, and were collected together with some difficulty. It being necessary for the party to separate to pre-

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vent leaving a trail that the Indians might follow, they hastily agreed upon the direction to be taken in order to meet the next day upon the banks of the Cumberland, some miles above the mouth of Stone's River. Robert Cartwright, an elderly gentleman who had come to the Cumberland with Colonel Donelson, was given the horse to ride, without which it would have been difficult for him to make his escape.

At sunset they collected under a large hickory tree that had fallen to the ground, and spent the night concealed in its thick foliage, but were too cold to sleep, as they dared not make a fire. Next morning, after a number of fruitless efforts to construct a raft on which they might cross the river so as to reach Mansker's Station, which was on the north side of the Cumberland, Somerset, Colonel Donelson's body servant, volunteered to swim the river, with the aid of the horse, and ride to the station for assistance. He reached the settlement without accident, and soon returned bringing relief to the distressed harvesters.[145]

This attack by a considerable party of Chickamaugas caused consternation among the settlers. A short time before, Mansker's Station had been alarmed by the depredations of a small band of Creeks. William Neelly, an early hunter and companion of Mansker's, had undertaken the manufacture of salt at Neelly's Lick, and was assisted by several of the stationers from Mansker's. His daughter went with him to care for the domestic affairs of the camp. One day, after a successful hunt, Neelly brought in a deer, and, being tired, laid down to rest. His daughter was busy preparing supper for her father and the men who would be in soon from the Lick. Suddenly she heard the crack of a rifle near the camp, her father raised himself up, groaned and fell back dead. The Indians then seized her and carried her captive to the distant Creek Nation. She remained in captivity several years, but was finally exchanged, and married reputably in Kentucky.

When the men returned from the Lick to the camp and found the father dead and the daughter missing, they fled to Mansker's Station, under cover of the night, and caused great excitement and distress by their sad tidings.[146] It seemed that death was lurking everywhere, and was ready to embrace the

[145]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 624-8; 119-20; Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 128; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 450.

[146]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 117-118.

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whole settlement.[147] Under these circumstances Mansker's, the last of the outlying stations, was abandoned. Colonel Donelson withdrew with his family to Davis' Station, in Kentucky. Colonel Mansker reluctantly moved to one of the stronger central stations, probably Eaton's. After every one else had left the station, David Gowen and Patrick Quigley, two young men who, evidently, thought they could take care of themselves, remained another night. Before morning they were killed in their beds, being shot through the port holes.

Inventories of three representative citizens who were killed in this first year of their occupation of the Cumberland are still preserved, and are curious as showing with what feeble means this little band of adventures conquered the wilderness. James Harrod was a man of wealth, David Gowen was in good circumstances, and Patrick Quigley was sustained only by the bright visions of young manhood. Harrod had, besides his cattle, corn, and money, a set of plow lines, share and clevis, two axes, a mattock, half-inch auger, two fish gigs, two pots, nine plates and a dish, three pounds of iron, two hoes, a hammer, gimlet, pegging awl, pair of horse flumes, three pairs of pot hooks, fifteen spoons, a razor, three forks, two knives, two basins, a pair of wool combs, an old rifle gun, a tomahawk, two testaments, a Bible, bed tick, four blankets, a pepper box, snuff box, pair of scissors, smoothing iron, two bottles, and a jug. Gowen had some cattle, a bell of about 4s value, weeding hoe, buckskin, pair of shoe buckles, handkerchief, and a rifle gun, shot bag and knife. Patrick Quigley's only assets were a rifle gun and coarse linen shirt.[148]

At the beginning of the year 1781, the entire population of the Cumberland district was concentrated in three central stations, not above two miles apart; Eaton's being on the north side of the river, the Bluff and Freeland's on the south. The loss the settlement had suffered by the retirement of the many families to Kentucky and the Illinois, was in a large measure compensated by the concentration of those who remained in these central forts. They were now subjected to their severest trial. The Chickasaw invasion that culminated in the attack

[147]The pioneers became so accustomed with such tragedies that the violent death seemed the natural death. About 1791 a very stout, athletic emigrant went down the river in a keelboat, and after a tedious trip, returned very low with what was called a slow fever, and in a few days after reaching home, died. Dr. Robertson was then a boy of ten or eleven years of age. He had never seen nor heard of a stout, powerful-looking man dying without having received any bodily violence, and a dozen butcheries by the Indians would not have shocked him like the death of this man did. Dr. Felix Robertson, Southern Medical Journal, Vol. 1, pp. 153-4 (May, 1853).

[148]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, pp. 257-261.

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on Freeland's Station, January 11, 1781, was followed some three months later by a much more dangerous invasion by the Chickamaugas. While the pioneers of Holston were fighting the British at King's Mountain, the Chickamauga Indians, instigated and assisted by the British agents among them, had organized a general Cherokee invasion of the Holston settlements. By prompt and energetic action, Colonels Sevier, Campbell, and Martin drove them back, and punished them by the destruction of the Overhill towns, on the Little Tennessee, and also the Valley towns, on the Hiwassee River, where it was supposed most of the Chickamaugas had taken refuge after the destruction of their towns by Colonels Shelby and Montgomery. They seemed to have considered the Chickamauga towns as abandoned or of little consequence, and did not visit them. They completed their work of destruction January 1, 1781. The Overhill and Valley towns sued for peace. Chickamauga, the hotbed of British influence, and the implacable enemy of the Americans, only turned its arms against the weaker settlements on the Cumberland.

The strongest of the three Cumberland stations that still held out was the Bluff, the home of Colonel Robertson. It was erected on the bluff at the foot of the present Church Street, in Nashville, and enclosed a fine spring, whose sparkling waters dashed down the precipice into the river. The fort was a log building two stories high, with port holes and a lookout station. Near this were grouped the cabins of the pioneers, and the whole was enclosed by a palisade. On the west side of the palisade was a large gateway, with a lookout for a sentinel. The rocky land to the south and southwest was thickly covered with cedar, with a dense undergrowth of privet in the southwest; where the soil was deeper, the ancient forest trees were of majestic growth, and the canebrakes in the rich bottoms rose from ten to twenty feet in height.[149]

It was against the Bluff that the Chickamauga campaign of 1781 was directed. Its result would decide the fate of the settlement. The Bluff in their hands, Freeland's and Eaton's could no longer resist their victorious warriors, and the last white man would be swept from the Cumberland. I have no authority for the statement, because we have no record of their movements at this period, but I do not doubt that the Chickamauga braves were commanded by Dragging Canoe, the head chief of their tribe. The campaign was boldly conceived, the battle was brilliantly planned, and the attack was sustained with spirit and courage. Nothing but the good fortune of the whites saved the station from destruction.

[149]Clayton's History of Davidson County, p. 24.

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The invading army set out for the Cumberland with the first advent of spring, and arrived at the Bluff April 1, 1781. That night they disposed their warriors for the morrow's engagement, without the garrison having discovered or suspected the presence of so formidable an enemy. The Bluff had been in a state of semi-siege by guerrillas and spies, since the assault on Freeland's Station. The stationers dared leave the stockade only at the peril of their lives. One day Mrs. Dunham, a refugee from her husband's abandoned station at Belle Meade, sent her little daughter three or four hundred yards from the enclosure for an armful of chips; hearing her cries, the mother ran to her assistance, and was shot down. Before the men from the fort could reach the scene, the Indians had scalped the little girl, and disappeared. Both mother and daughter recovered. About the last of March Colonel Samuel Barton rode down to Wilson's Spring Branch in search of cattle; he was fired upon and wounded in the left wrist. He made his escape, but was unable to take part in the approaching battle. On the very night their army arrived James Menifee, the sentinel, discovered and fired at an Indian prowling about the palisade. Such galling atrocities by an illusive foe irritated the garrison to the verge of madness.

On the morning of April 2, 1781, three warriors approached the stockade at the Bluff, fired and retreated out of range. As they reloaded their guns, they waved defiance to the men in the fort. The garrison gladly accepted their challenge. A party of about twenty men, probably led by Colonel Robertson, mounted their horses, and riding out of the stockade gate, dashed down after the foe, who retreated in a southwestern direction. When they reached Wilson's Spring Branch they encountered a body of Indians who made a stand. The wings of the Indian line, concealed in the bed of the branch and among the thick bushes on its banks, fired upon the horsemen as they dismounted to give battle. Their fire was returned with alacrity, and the battle was on in earnest. As it proceeded the firing and yelling stampeded the horses, which fled up the hill in the direction of the fort.

In the meantime a large detachment of the Indian forces concealed on the hillside to the westward, emerged from their covert and intervened between the sallying party and the fort. Having thus cut off the retreat of its defenders, they expected to assault and enter the defenceless fortress. But at this moment the panic-stricken horses dashed through their lines, and their discipline was not strong enough to resist their inordinate desire for horses. A gap was opened in their ranks as the nearest warriors rushed heedlessly after the flying horses. The confusion and excitement of the chase was

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observed from the fort, when Mrs. Robertson, it is said, observing the fury of the dogs, which had imbibed all the fierce hatred their masters entertained for the Indians, opened the gate and turned the pack loose on the already broken and confused ranks of the enemy. They made straight for the Indians, and attacked them with great ferocity and courage. The fierce onset of the dogs increased the confusion in the order of the enemy, as they were forced to turn in their own defence.

While this tragi-comedy was in progress on the upland, the sortie was being repulsed by overwhelming numbers in the bottom. Already Peter Gill, Alexander Buchanan, George Kennedy, Zachariah White, and James Leiper lay dead on the field, and James Menifee and Joseph Moonshaw were disabled by wounds. Seeing a chance to pass through the breach made by the horses and dogs in the Indian line that intervened between them and the fort, the whites determined to retreat; and taking their wounded with them, started on a run, hotly pursued by the enemy. After they had passed the Indian line and approached the fort, Isaac Lucas was shot and fell with a broken thigh, but his comrades could not step to assist him. He hastily primed his gun which he had charged as he ran, and shot dead the foremost of his pursuers. A daring Indian overtook Edward Swanson within twenty yards of the gate, and struck him on the shoulder, causing him to drop his gun. Swanson turned and seized the gun of his antagonist, but the Indian wrenched it from him, and knocked him to his knees. Before he could pursue his advantage further, the elder John Buchanan reached the fort, and seeing Swanson's danger fired, and killed his antagonist. The Indians, seeing that the whites had reached the stockade, and were maintaining a brisk fire from its gate, halted before they reached Lucas, who had crept within range of their guns. He and Swanson were both brought into the fort. The Indians then withdrew. They reappeared at night, but a single discharge from the old swivel, loaded with broken stone and scraps of iron, and an answering boom from the small piece at Eaton's dispersed them, and they abandoned the conflict; though the garrison, reinforced by a relief party from Eaton's, kept watch until daylight next morning.[150]

The Battle of the Bluff ended the most formidable invasion ever undertaken against the Cumberland. The settlers were so distressed and disheartened from the fall of 1780 to the beginning of the year 1783, that many of them moved away,

[150]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 129-132; Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 131; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 452-454.

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and there was constant talk of a general exodus from the country; and it was largely due to the courage and firmness of Colonel Robertson that the Cumberland was not abandoned. But these troubles gradually disappeared as the events of the years 1782 and 1783 unfolded themselves. In the fall of 1782 General Sevier invaded and destroyed the Chickamauga towns, and Dragging Canoe and his followers abandoned their old settlement on Chickamauga Creek, and moved some forty or fifty miles lower down the Tennessee River, where they built the Five Lower Towns. This migration was sufficient to occupy their immediate attention. In the meantime the preliminary treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Paris, November 30, 1782, and caused the British agents to withdraw their active support from the Indians. Moreover, the acknowledgment of American Independence reestablished confidence in the settlement, and many of the original immigrants returned, while new adventurers daily added to their strength. The settlers were greatly delighted that Florida, the depot from which Great Britain had supplied the munitions of war to their Indian enemies, was transferred to Spain, the ally of France, and therefore, in a sense their ally, whose policy, they hoped, would be friendly to the United States. In October, 1783, the state of Virginia met the Chickasaws and Chickamaugas on the treaty ground at the French Lick on Cumberland. The Creeks did not attend. In addition to the Chickasaw treaty, already referred to, some sort of treaty was concluded with the Chickamaugas,[151] and the settlers on Cumberland felt that for once they were at peace with their Indian neighbors.

[151] Colonel Donelson to Governor Harrison, and Colonels Donelson and Martin to Governor Harrison, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 548.

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CHAPTER VII.

Indian settlement at Coldwater, near Mussel Shoals; French traders incite them to war against Cumberland; tragic death of James Hall at Bledsoe's Lick; Mark Robertson killed near Nashville; Colonel Robertson leads an expedition against Coldwater and destroys the town. 1787.

When Colonel Donelson and his company drifted down the Tennessee River in 1780, they encountered hostile Indians at both ends of the Mussel Shoals, and at the lower end had five of their party wounded. The Indian villages were on the south side of the river, and contained only a few rude huts, inhabited by refractory people who refused to be governed by the laws and customs of their nation.[152] They were first attracted to this locality by the prospect of plundering the hapless emigrant who might be stranded in descending the dangerous rapids of the shoals; and while they constituted a menace to the navigation of the Tennessee River, they were too far removed, and too insignificant in numbers to cause the slightest uneasiness on the Cumberland. For some years the prisoners did not give them a thought; and it was only by accident that they discovered in them a dangerous enemy.

The year 1783 witnessed a rapid growth in the Cumberland settlements, and the following year they were recognized by the state of North Carolina, and erected into the County of Davidson, of which the Bluff, under the name of Nashville, became the capital. At the same time a trade was opened with the Mussel Shoals Indians by a party of French adventurers from the Wabash, and their settlement also began to assume an unwonted importance. They established a new town of considerable consequence, called Coldwater, some miles lower down the river, at the mouth of Coldwater Creek, that takes its rise in the bold stream that gushes from beneath a bluff of limestone, at the present town of Tuscumbia, Alabama. So well did they guard the secret of its existence that Coldwater was not discovered until 1787, though it mustered a force of fifty-four men, made up of thirty-five Cherokees, ten Creeks, and nine Frenchmen.

As long as Monsieur Veiz conducted the trade, the Indians did not molest the Cumberland settlers, but in 1784 or 1785 the business fell into other hands, who encouraged the Indians to make war on the whites, and furnished them with means of doing so. They also supplied goods and ammunition to

[152]Robertson Correspondence, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 1, p. 83.

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the Indians at Chickamauga, and even as high up as Citico.[153] They induced the Creeks to settle at Coldwater, by furnishing them arms and ammunition to make war on the Cumberland.[154] They wrote the Cherokee towns that the English, French, and Spanish had actually joined to make war on America; that the Americans had stopped their trade with Detroit by seizing several of their boats on the Mississippi; and while they would not, in future, be able to furnish them with anything but guns, knives, tomahawks, and ammunition, these they should have in plenty.[155] Thus encouraged the Coldwater Indians became extremely troublesome to the pioneers, not only stealing their horses, but killing their men, women, and children.[156]

Being ignorant of the existence of Coldwater town, Colonel Robertson attributed the sufferings of his people to the depredations of the Chickamaugas, and raised a body of men and marched nearly to their towns, but wishing to avoid open war with them, he contented himself with this demonstration, and returned. He left them, however, an offer of peace, in consequence of which they sent a commission, composed of the Little Owl and some other chiefs, to Nashville, under a flag of truce, to hold a conference with him. In the meantime hostilities continued as before. Several men were killed near Nashville while the conference was in session; one at Colonel Robertson's house, in the presence of the commissioners.[157] Colonel Robertson thought the Chickamaugas were the guilty parties; the Chickamaugas charged the mischief to the Creeks; really it was the work of the Coldwater warriors, as we shall presently see. A number of people were also killed about the same time in Sumner County.

Sumner, the second county established in Middle Tennessee, was erected in 1786. Among its first magistrates was Major William Hall, a man of high character and wide influence, who immigrated to Cumberland in 1785, and settled at Bledsoe's Lick. He was at once accorded a leading part in the affairs of his community. When, therefore, the Chickamauga conference met, Colonel Robertson summoned Major Hall to Nashville to take part in its deliberations.

A few weeks before the conference a party of Indians had stolen some horses from Morgan's Station, and were pursued

[153]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 177.

[154]Martin, Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 342.

[155]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 360.

[156]Robertson's Correspondence, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 1, p. 79.

[157]Robertson's Report, Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 470.

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and overtaken by the whites, who killed one of their number, and recovered all the stolen horses. As the Indians had stolen all of Major Hall's horses, twelve or fifteen in number, the preceding year, it is probable that he took a lively interest in this affair. But however that may be, on the third day of June, 1787, while he was absent attending the conference at Nashville, a party of fifteen Indians formed an ambuscade between his house and that of his neighbor, Gibson, about a quarter of a mile distant. Ten of them hid behind some logs on the roadside, and five in a tree top at the entrance of the pasture, some fifty yards beyond.

While they were thus secreted, Major Hall's two little boys, William and James, went up to the pasture for their horses. They passed the ten Indians unmolested. William was in advance, and as he turned to speak to his brother, he saw the Indians rise up behind them, with guns and tomahawks in their hands, and commence hemming them in. Their situation looked so hopeless to William that he thought only of surrender. But at this moment his brother James, who was in the rear, turned around facing the enemy, when two warriors sank their tomahawks into his brain. Seeing the fate that awaited him should he surrender, William instantly determined to make a race for his life. In dodging the ten Indians who were surrounding him, he ran upon the five who were concealed in the tree top. He passed so close to them that some of them raised their tomahawks to strike him down. Escaping these, he dashed into the canebrake, closely pursued by two of their number.

He was an athletic backwoods boy of thirteen, and being unencumbered, was able to make better time through the dense cane than his pursuers, burdened as they were with their guns and tomahawks. Presently a grape vine caught him under the chin and threw him backwards to the ground; but quickly recovering himself he dashed onward at the limit of his speed. He now approached the point of a ridge near his father's house, where he would have to leave the canebrake. One of his pursuers was encircling the hillside, where the cane was thinnest, making for the same point. Fortunately for the boy a large tree had fallen across the Indian's way, crushing and tangling the cane until it became impenetrable. To this impediment William probably owed his life. Before his pursuers could circle the top of the fallen tree, he was safely in the lead, though they chased him to within a hundred yards of his father's house.

Half a dozen young men, with their sweethearts, had just arrived at Major Hall's when William returned. Being armed, they at once jumped off their horses, and ran with him to the

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scene of the tragedy. They found James' body and brought it to the house; the Indians had scalped him, and fled. Word was immediately carried to Bledsoe's Station, and Major James Lynn, with five men, started in pursuit of the Indians. Instead of following their trail, which might have led him into an ambuscade, Major Lynn took a parallel trace that intersected their path at Goose Creek, at which point he discovered and fired upon the Indians, wounding two of their number, when they beat a precipitate retreat, leaving their knapsacks and tomahawks behind. James Hall's scalp was found tied to a pack, and one of the tomahawks was still red with his blood.[158]

The boy, William Hall, of the foregoing narrative, after many other thrilling adventures, some of which will be mentioned hereafter, became Governor of the State of Tennessee.

While these events were transpiring on the Cumberland, a couple of young Chickasaw warriors were out hunting on the Tennessee. In their peregrinations they unexpectedly came upon the town of Coldwater, where they were received in a friendly manner, and spent the night. While there they learned that the Coldwater Indians, encouraged by the French traders, who supplied them with arms and ammunition, were stealing horses and killing white people on the Cumberland at every opportunity. When they returned to the Chickasaw Bluffs, they informed Piomingo of their discoveries, and that friendly chief immediately despatched them to Colonel Robertson, at Nashville, and advised him to break up the town of Coldwater without delay.[159] Colonel Robertson was particularly incensed at the unfriendly conduct of the French traders, and on June 12, 1787, he and Colonel Bledsoe jointly wrote Governor Caswell, of North Carolina, expressing the wish that they might be removed from the Tennessee, and asking his advice in the matter.[160]

On the next day, the Indians killed Mark Robertson, the younger brother of Colonel Robertson, near the latter's home. This brought on the crisis. Without waiting for Governor Caswell's reply, after taking the advice of the civil and military officers of the county, he determined to pursue the enemy to their own country and destroy their town. For this purpose he raised a force of one hundred and thirty men, under Colonels Robert Hays and James Ford, and assuming the chief command, immediately took the trail of the Indians who had

[158]Narrative of General William Hall, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, pp. 232, 233.

[159]Letter of John Carr, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 198.

[160]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 465.

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killed Mark Robertson. At the same time he sent fifty men, under command of Captain David Hay, around by water to the mouth of Duck River,[161] in order to prevent the French traders, who had instigated the Indian hostilities, from escaping down the river.[162]

As there was no one of the settlers who had ever penetrated through the forest as far south as the Tennessee River, Colonel Robertson employed the two Chickasaw messengers as guides. They followed a circuitous route, by the mouth of Harpeth, up Turnbull Creek to its head, down Lick Creek, and on to Duck River at the Chickasaw trace. From Duck River they ascended Swan Creek to its head, and thence to Blue Water Creek, that empties into the Tennessee River about a mile and a half above the lower end of the Mussel Shoals. Leaving Blue Water Creek to their left, they hurried on until they could hear the roaring of the falls, when they halted and sent forward spies. About midnight the spies returned, reporting that the river was still ten miles away. In the morning the whole force moved forward, and reached the lower end of the shoals at twelve o'clock.

Though they concealed themselves in the woods until night, some Indians discovered and fired upon their back pickets, and alarmed a small Cherokee town across the river, which was immediately evacuated. Scouts were now sent down to the river to reconnoitre. Hid in the cane where they could observe the opposite shore, they saw some Indians cautiously approach the river, stooping and dodging from tree to tree, apparently looking for Colonel Robertson's troops. They then waded out to an island near the south bank, took an old canoe and paddled out to the middle of the stream. Seeing nothing suspicious, they appeared to be reassured, stopped their canoe, and leaping into the river, swam and disported themselves in the water; after which they took their canoe again, and returned as they had come. In the meantime Captain Rains was despatched, with fifteen men, on a well beaten path up the river, with orders to take an Indian alive if possible. About sunset he was recalled by Colonel Robertson, without having discovered any sign of Indian life.

The whole force was now assembled on the river bank, under orders to cross the stream before morning. The scouts who had watched in the cane during the afternoon, now swam the river, and after inspecting the Indian huts, which they found still deserted, they crossed over to the island where the Indians had left their canoe, and unfastening it rowed back to the north bank. Forty men now boarded the canoe and

[161]Robertson's Report, Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 470.
[162]Letter of John Carr, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 198.

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started across, but being old and leaky, it began to sink, and swimmers had to carry it back to the shore. By the use of lin bark they finally rendered her seaworthy, and made the crossing successfully. As soon as the canoe was landed, the remainder of the troops plunged into the river with their horses, and swam over; but the obstacles they had encountered delayed their passage until daylight.

After a short time spent in the Indian huts, they took a plain path leading in a western direction, and following it briskly for eighteen miles reached Coldwater Creek. The town was on the west side of the creek, about three hundred yards from the river. The Indians were expecting the invasion, and after three days counseling had unanimously agreed to fight Colonel Robertson if he crossed the Tennessee, but for some reason their spies failed to discover his approach.[163] Although the path up the west bank of the creek was only wide enough to admit a single horseman, the troops crossed it at a charge. A detachment under Captain Rains had been sent down the east bank of the creek to cut off the enemy's retreat. When the troops appeared on the west bank of the creek, the Indians, taken completely by surprise, made a dash for their boats in the river at the mouth of the creek. To avoid their pursuers on the west, some of the Indians crossed over to the east side of the creek, where they received a deadly fire from Captain Rains' scouts. Many Indians were killed in their boats, and three Frenchmen and a Frenchwoman who gained the boats along with them, and refused to surrender, suffered the same fate. In all about twenty Indians were killed, and several others were wounded. Among the killed were six Creeks, one of them a chief of some consequence.[164] The whites did not lose a man.

Colonel Robertson took the goods of the French traders, consisting of tafia, sugar, coffee, cloths, blankets, handkerchiefs, beads, paints, knives, tomahawks, tobacco, powder, and lead, and such like articles, and had them packed in three or four captured boats, which were put in charge of Jonathan Denton, Benjamin Drake, and John and Moses Eskridge. He then burned the town, and bivouacked on the east side of the creek. Next morning, after burying the white people who had been killed in the action, he gave each of the Chickasaw guides a horse and gun, and as many blankets and clothes as they could carry, and dismissed them, well pleased with their treatment. The prisoners, consisting of six Frenchmen, a child, and an Indian squaw, were put aboard the boats in which the goods were stored. The boats were now directed to proceed

[163]Robertson's Report, Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 470.
[164]McGillivray, Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 246.

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down the river to a suitable crossing place, and there await the troops. The next day the troops found a satisfactory crossing place, afterwards widely known as Colbert's Ferry. With the assistance of the boats, they crossed the river without accident. Here the prisoners, after having their trunks and wearing apparel restored to them, and being furnished with a canoe, and given a portion of the sugar and coffee, were released, and took their departure up the river. The horsemen then moved northward until they reached the Chickasaw Trace, which they followed to Duck River. From that point they returned to Nashville by the same route they had gone out, the expedition having consumed nineteen days.

The boats proceeded down the river, and after a few days met five Frenchmen with two trading boats laden with goods. The French traders, supposing they were meeting their returning countrymen, fired their guns in salutation. Before they could reload the Cumberland boatmen, having their guns charged and ready for action, pulled alongside them and captured boats and crews. After carrying their prisoners up the Cumberland River nearly to Nashville, they gave them their choice, either to continue on to the settlement and stand trial for what they had done, or to go home at once without their goods. They chose the latter, and taking a canoe returned down the river, leaving their boats and cargoes behind. The goods captured in the expedition were brought to Eaton's Station and sold, and the proceeds divided among the troops.

The detachment of fifty men sent around by the river did not fare so well. They proceeded without interruption to the mouth of Duck River, but their movements were observed by the Indians, who arranged a cunningly devised ambuscade, into which they were unfortunately drawn. When they reached the mouth of Duck River, they found a canoe fastened to its bank. Captain Moses Shelby, commanding one of the boats, steered in to the shore to examine the canoe, when a large party of Indians arose from the thicket on the bank, and poured a destructive fire into his boat, killing Josiah Renfroe, and wounding John Topp, Hugh Rogan, Edward Hogan, and five others. This sudden and deadly fusillade threw the crew into confusion, and it was with difficulty they succeeded in pulling out into the Tennessee River before the Indians could reload. After this serious disaster they returned to Nashville, in order that their wounded might receive proper medical and surgical attention.[165]

[165]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 230-235; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 465-473; Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 257-267; Letter of John Carr, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 198-199; Robertson's Correspondence, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 1, pp. 79-80.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Intrigues of the Spanish; their alliance with the Creeks and Chickamaugas; the Creeks open a series of guerrilla campaigns against Cumberland; brilliant defence by spies and scouts; exploits of Captains Shannon, Rains, and Williams; Major Hall's family attacked from ambush; death of Colonel Anthony Bledsoe. 1784-1789.

The firm conviction that began to fasten itself upon the people of Cumberland about the time of the Coldwater expedition, that the Spaniards were responsible for the bitter hostility of the Creeks, needs some explanation. That tribe never owned nor claimed any land on Cumberland; and its people had never invaded their towns nor done them injury, except in purely defensive warfare. This much was admitted by General McGillivray:

> I will not deny that my nation has waged war against your country for several years past, and that we had no motive of revenge for it, nor did it proceed from any sense of injuries sustained from your people; but, being warmly attached to the British, under their influence our operations were directed by them against you, in common with other Americans. After the general peace had taken place you sent us a talk, proposing terms of peace, by Samuel Martin, which I then accepted and advised my people to agree to, and which should have been finally concluded in the ensuing summer and fall. Judging that your people were sincere in their professions, I was much surprised to find that while this affair was pending they attacked the French traders at Mussel Shoals, and killed six of our Nation who were there trafficking for silverware. These men belonged to different towns, and had connections of the first consequence in the Nation. Such an unprovoked outrage raised a most violent clamor, and gave rise to the expedition against Cumberland which soon took place.[166]

This explanation of the great Indian diplomatist contained only a half-truth. The habit of fighting the American pioneers undoubtedly had a great influence. For that reason the people of Cumberland hailed with joy the transfer of Florida from Great Britain to Spain, who had acted with America in the Revolution. Not only the Creeks, but the Cherokees, and Chickasaws, had all, at some time during the war, allied themselves with the British, and made war on the southwestern frontiers. It was hoped that the withdrawal from Florida of the British agents, to whom the Indians had looked for arms, ammunition and supplies, would bring with it a cessation of Indian hostilities. For a time it seemed to have had that tendency, but the development of the Spanish policy finally re-

[166]Alexander McGillivray to Robertson and Bledsoe, April 4, 1788, Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 246-7.

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sulted in such new Indian depredations as made the Spanish more detested on the frontiers than the British had ever been.

Spain feared the spread of American institutions and American ideas, and employed every means within her power to prevent the American pioneer from coming in contact with her new possessions. In the peace negotiations at Paris in 1782, she secured the cooperation of France in an effort to limit the western boundary of the United States to the Alleghany Mountains, and convert the entire western country into an Indian reservation, to be divided into three parts, with that north of the Ohio River under the protection of England; that between the Ohio and Cumberland, including a narrow strip west of the Carolinas and Georgia, under the protection of the United States; and that south of Cumberland under the protection of Spain. By this arrangement a complete barrier would have been interposed between the United States and West Florida. This scheme was defeated only by the firmness of the United States and the compliance of Great Britain.[167]

Having failed to circumscribe the American possessions in the Treaty of Paris, Spain now sought to accomplish her purpose by a series of intrigues, intended, first, to break up our western settlements, and when that failed, to cause them to withdraw from the American Union. The instruments made use of in these intrigues were the southern Indians and the Mississippi River. Though the eighth article of the definitive treaty of Paris expressly declared that the navigation of the Mississippi River, from its source to its mouth, should remain forever open and free to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States, Spain immediately closed it against American commerce. Her purpose was to discourage emigrants from settling on our western waters, by denying the natural and only outlet for their products, and at the same time, by alluring promises, to entice them to settle on the Spanish domain. Finally, she made a determined effort to induce our western settlements to secede from the United States, and form governments of their own under the protection of his Catholic Majesty, still using the free navigation of the Mississippi River as her chief inducement.

In support of these projects, Spain, who had succeeded in monopolizing the trade of the southern Indians, used her influence over them to intimidate, if not to destroy, the Cumberland settlement, to which she asserted some sort of shadowy claim.[168]

[168]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 523.

[167]Garrett and Goodpasture's History of Tennessee, p. 101.

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On the first day of January, 1784, Alexander McGillivray, the most intelligent and influential chief among the Creeks, wrote Arthur O'Neal, the Spanish governor of Pensacola, proposing a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Spaniards. With singular penetration he perceived the Spanish dread of American influence, and played upon this weakness by pointing out to Governor O'Neal that a good many citizens of the United States had abandoned their homes and marched towards the west, in order to unite with a number of disbanded soldiers on the Mississippi River, where they proposed to establish what they called the "Western Independence." If they once formed settlements on the Mississippi it would require much time, trouble and expense to dislodge them. Moreover, the Americans on the south were endeavoring to enlist the feelings of the Indians in their behalf, and if successful, the Indians would themselves become dangerous neighbors to the Spaniards of Mobile and Pensacola. The remedy he suggested for these perils was that his Nation be granted as many commercial advantages and other privileges as could be bestowed upon them.[169]

In pursuance of this suggestion the Spaniards held a congress with the Creeks and Chickamaugas at Pensacola, May 30, 1784. This congress was opened with great pomp and ceremony, by Governor Estevan Miro, Intendant Nevarro, and Governor O'Neal, and rich gifts, medals, and other decorations were showered upon the Indian chiefs. A treaty of alliance and commerce was then signed, and McGillivray was appointed commissary-general, with a monthly salary of not less than fifty dollars.

The same ceremony was gone through with at Mobile on the 22nd of June, when the Spanish officers met the Chickasaws, Alabamas and Choctaws, and the same treaty was signed. We have no further interest in this latter treaty than to note the fact that the Chickasaws, under the leadership of Piomingo, refused to join the Spaniards, and faithfully observed the treaty they had recently made with the Americans at the French Lick on Cumberland.[170]

The treaty of Pensacola, however, vitally affected the people of the Cumberland. It was accepted not only by the Creeks, but by the Chickamaugas, who seem to have been influenced more by the Creeks than by the old towns of their own nation. The treaty, as well as the proceedings attending it, were portentous of danger to the Cumberland settlers.

[169]Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. 3, pp. 157-160.

[170]Bell and Douglass to Robertson, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, pp. 607-608.

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All its stipulations applicable to a state of war, and the provisions for granting the Indians other lands, in case they were dispossessed by the enemies of Spain, looked forward to a contest with some neighboring people.[171] In fact, the governor openly told the Indians, on the treaty ground, that the Spaniards expected in a short time to be at war with the Americans, and that they would call upon them as their allies to assist them.[172]

In December, 1787, the representatives from Davidson and Sumner counties, in a memorial to the General Assembly of North Carolina, openly charged that the Indians were rendered more hostile through the influence of Spain; and from that time it was not doubted that the Spaniards were the authors of the Creek violence against the Cumberland settlements.[173]

After the Coldwater expedition Cumberland enjoyed a short respite from Indian hostilities. The Cherokees, whose Lower towns were not more distant than Coldwater from the Cumberland settlements, and whose Upper towns were separated only by the width of the Little Tennessee River from the advancing frontiers of Franklin, were awed into temporary tranquillity. Moreover, they soon became involved in war with the people of Franklin, which diverted their attention for the time from the people of Cumberland. But the Creeks were too far removed from the settlements to fear an invasion from the whites; and as the complete success of Robertson's bold irruption into the Indian country had piqued their pride, they soon collected a number of small scalping parties and commenced a series of bloody guerrilla campaigns against his country.

In December, 1786, Colonel Robertson, then a member of the North Carolina legislature, procured the passage of an act authorizing the enlistment of a battalion of three hundred men, to be stationed in Davidson County for the protection of its inhabitants, and for cutting a road from the Clinch River to Nashville. This battalion was placed under the command of Major Nathaniel Evans, and reached the Cumberland in successive detachments during the following year. They were divided into small squads and stationed at such points on the frontiers as the emergencies seemed to require, stronger guards being furnished to the more exposed places.

The arrival of Major Evans's battalion enabled Colonel Robertson to employ the local militia as spies and scouts; and

[171]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 221.
[172]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, pp. 602, 607-609.
[173]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 241-243.

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with these he made the most brilliant and effective defense of the settlement that had yet been witnessed on the Cumberland. At that time the cane and weeds grew so luxuriantly in all parts of the country as to afford the Indians perfect cover, under which they might steal upon the field or cabin of the pioneer and take him off with comparative safety; yet no considerable party of Indians could pass through their tangled mazes so lightly that they would not leave a trace which an experienced scout, like Rains, Castleman, or Shannon, could follow without difficulty or doubt. Colonel Robertson ordered his scouts to range the woods in the direction of the Tennessee River, looking for Indian signs, and wherever a scalping party appeared in the settlement to follow them until they were overtaken and dispersed.

The first party discovered was led by a brave and powerful warrior called Big Foot. Captain Shannon, with a small company, at once gave pursuit, and overtook the Indians on the banks of the Tennessee River. Part of the Indians were in camp eating, while Big Foot and the others were some distance away preparing to cross the river. When the scouts discovered the Indians in camp they fired upon them, then charged and engaged them in a hand-to-hand conflict. Big Foot and his companions rushed to the support of their comrades. The struggle was fierce and doubtful. Castleman succeeded in killing his antagonist, but Big Foot, proving more than a match for Luke Anderson, wrenched his gun from his hands, but at that moment a shot from William Pillow's gun laid Big Foot low, and saved Anderson's life. Victory now declared in favor of the whites; Big Foot and five of his warriors having been killed, the others raised the yell and disappeared in the bushes.[174]

In September, 1787, Captains Rains and Shannon were ordered to range the country in the direction of Duck and Elk rivers. Captain Shannon's company, being in advance, passed near a recently abandoned Indian camp without discovering it; but when Captain Rains came up he saw a large number of buzzards flying around, and from his trained habits of observation he surmised that they must have been attracted by some carcass left by an Indian hunting party. He encamped near by and found, as he had suspected, the remains of a deer recently killed. Next morning he struck the Indians' trail, and before night one of the spies discovered and fired upon one of the warriors. The scouts dashed forward at the report of the gun. Rains saw and pursued an Indian who was running up a ridge. When he got in range he ordered him

[174]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 237; Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, pp. 269-270.

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to stop. The Indian turned for an instant, then renewed his flight, when Rains fired, wounding him in the hand. Reuben Parks and Beverly Ridley now joined in the chase. The Indian fired at Ridley, but the ball passed over his head; they then closed in on him, knocked him down, and Ridley finally despatched him with his knife. John Rains, Jr., and Robert Evans outran and captured an Indian boy about nineteen years of age, who was, a year or two later, released and permitted to return to his nation.[175]

Many such scouting companies were sent out from time to time, to range the woods in all directions where Indians were likely to pass, and although they did not always overtake or intercept a scalping party, the Creeks soon became aware that the paths they traveled to Nashville were constantly traversed by armed bodies of brave and experienced Indian fighters, and that their irruptions could be made only at the imminent risk of death or captivity. This feeling greatly reduced both the number and importance of the Indian depredations in Davidson County.

But the Indians could not be wholly repressed. During the years 1787, 1788 and 1789 they killed many settlers in Davidson County, among them a son of Colonel Robertson, and took a number of prisoners to the Creek Nation. In the latter part of June, 1789, they came to Colonel Robertson's Station in the daytime, and attacked him and his hands while working in the field. The laborers retreated, and Colonel Robertson was shot through the foot as he ran towards the station. Captain Sampson Williams was ordered to raise a company and pursue the enemy. He assembled his men at Colonel Robertson's and, getting on the track of the party, followed them to Duck River Ridge, when he found they were outtraveling him. He now dismounted twenty men and, putting himself at their head, made forced marches, following the Indians' trail. Among these twenty men was Andrew Jackson, afterwards President of the United States, who, about twenty-four years later, in a single campaign, settled all scores, new and old with the Creek Nation.

About night the party came in view of the Indian camp, which was situated on the opposite side of Duck River. Making a detour of a mile and a half up the river, they crossed it in the night, and marched cautiously back, down the south side; but finding the cane so dense they could not discern the Indian camp, they lay on their arms all night. In the morning, after advancing fifty yards, Captain Williams discovered the enemy about one hundred yards in front of him. He im-

[175]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 240; Narrative of John Rains, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 265-266.

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mediately ordered a charge and, firing at a distance of sixty yards, killed one and wounded five or six. The others escaped across the river, carrying their wounded with them, but leaving sixteen guns, nineteen shot pouches, and all their baggage, which fell into the hands of Captain Williams. The Indians did not fire a shot.[176]

The new County of Sumner, being less populous and more exposed than Davidson, suffered greater loss from the excursions of the Creeks. Among the first victims was Major William Hall, the tragic death of whose son, James, has already been mentioned. After the Coldwater expedition, Major Hall and his neighbors, Gibson and Harrison, took counsel whether they should venture to spend the summer on their farms or remove their families to Bledsoe's Station for protection. As a result they agreed to remain, and hired two young men to guard their premises and give them timely warning of the approach of the enemy. For two months all was quiet; but on the 2nd day of August, 1787, the spies came in and notified Major Hall that a party of at least thirty Indians was in the neighborhood, and advised him to pack up and move to the station at once.

The morning had not far advanced when they started with the first load. The vehicle used, still the only kind known on the Cumberland, was a sled, drawn by two horses, and in charge of William Hall, Jr., who had so marvelously escaped from the Indians two months before. A sister, going forward to arrange the things as they were delivered, accompanied the sled, on horseback, and the caravan was guarded by an elder brother, Richard, and a young man named Hickerson. At Defeated Creek, about half a mile from the house. William's horses suddenly became frightened, he thought, from scenting Indians. But Richard insisted on going forward, which they did, making four trips during the day. The last load, with which they took the remaining members of the family, white and black, got on the road late in the afternoon. William was still driving, with his little brother, John, behind him on one of the horses, and his little sister, Prudence, in the sled. Mrs. Hall, mounted on a fiery steed, kept close to her little ones. Richard Hall and Hickerson went in advance, and Major Hall, his son-in-law, Charles Morgan, Hugh Rogan, and two other men brought up the rear.

Presently, as the little cavalcade moved forward, Richard's dog became violently alarmed on approaching the top of a large ash tree that had fallen in the road. They halted for a moment, and Richard stepped toward the tree top, when a volley was fired at him from among the leaves. He wheeled

[176]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 256-7.

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and, running back into the woods, fell dead. The Indians, finding themselves discovered, now rose and, yelling like demons, charged upon the party. Hickerson, with more courage than discretion, took his stand in the open road, and his gun missing fire, he attempted to use William Hall's gun, but before he could discharge it he received six or seven Indian bullets and, staggering back a short distance, expired.

In the meantime William jumped off his horse and, taking John and Prudence, carried them back to the rear of the men, who were advancing on the Indians. Mrs. Hall's large and spirited horse became quite ungovernable and, dashing through the entire line of Indians, while she held on by the mane, carried her in safety to the fort, about a mile distant. Major Hall and Morgan undertook to hold the Indians in check until the other members of the party could scatter through the woods. Morgan was shot through the body, but succeeded in making his escape. Major Hall, still holding his ground, fired his heavy rifle, after which he turned and ran about fifty yards, when he fell, pierced with thirteen balls. The Indians scalped him and fled, not stopping to take anything but his gun and shot pouch, though the sled had been dashed against a tree and overturned at the first alarm, and its contents were scattered on the ground.

William had directed his little brother and sister to run back to the house, while he, secreting himself behind a tree on the hillside, waited the result of the fight. When he heard the discharge of his father's heavy rifle, followed by the savage yells of the Indians, he knew all was lost, and started for the fort. When John and Prudence reached the house the barking of the excited dogs caused them to turn and run back to the scene of the battle. Here John found Rogan's hat, which he picked up and, coming to the overturned sled, Prudence took up a small pail of butter, and the two walked heedlessly on the road towards the fort, and were soon met by the men sent out to Major Hall's relief.[177]

The commanding officers of Davidson and Sumner counties at this time were Colonel James Robertson and Anthony Bledsoe. These two distinguished pioneers were made the especial objects of Creek vengeance. They were both attacked almost simultaneously at their widely-separated homes. I have already mentioned the wounding of Colonel Robertson. Colonel Bledsoe had settled Greenfield Station, but the danger from Indians became so great that he moved to the stronger fort at Bledsoe's Station, which was the home of his brother, Colonel Isaac Bledsoe.

[177]Narrative of General William Hall, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, pp. 333-4.

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Bledsoe's Station was rectangular in form, enclosing a number of cabins, which were connected by strong palisades, the cabins themselves forming part of the enclosure. On its front line there was a double log cabin, with a hall between, a type quite common in pioneer days. The only opening to the station was through this hallway. The rooms on one side of the hall were occupied by Colonel Isaac Bledsoe, and those on the opposite side constituted the temporary residence of Colonel Anthony Bledsoe. The Indians had attacked this station in 1788, and wounded George Hamilton, the schoolmaster, but the courage of Hugh Rogan, who fired an old musket among them through the breach they had made in the window, and the quick wit of Donahoe, in another part of the stockade, who extinguished his fire with a bucket of water, after the Indians had fired in amongst his children as they lay upon the floor, caused them to abandon the attack, deeming the place too strong to be taken by assault.

A little more than a year later, on the 20th of July, 1789, they again visited Bledsoe's Station. The Nashville road ran along the front of the double log cabin in which the two Bledsoes lived, and a lane came down at right angles to it, the mouth of the lane being about thirty yards from the house. In the corners of the fence at the mouth of the lane a party of Indians concealed themselves and watched, in the bright moonlight, the entrance to the fort. About midnight a party of their confederates mounted their horses and galloped down the Nashville road passing the fort, without opening their mouths or checking their speed. Hearing the startling clatter of their horses' feet, Colonel Anthony Bledsoe and Campbell, his servant, jumped out of bed and stepped into the passage to see what was the matter, when the Indians concealed in the fence corners shot them both down. Colonel Bledsoe died the next morning and Campbell the day following.[178]

In September, 1789, President Washington appointed a commission to treat with the Creek Nation and, upon the failure of their mission, he sent a secret emissary in the person of Colonel Marinus Willett to the Creeks for the purpose of inducing McGillivray to bring a delegation of chiefs to New York to treat with the President. In this he was successful, and in August, 1790, the President concluded a treaty of peace with McGillivray, which, while it was intended primarily for the benefit of the Georgians, for a time restored a measure of peace to the settlers on the Cumberland.[179]

[178]Narrative of General William Hall, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, p. 335.

[179]Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. 2, pp. 97-111.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Dumplin Settlement; the Tassel's efforts to preserve peace; encroachment on the Cherokee hunting ground; Major Hubbert's vendetta against the Indians; slaughter of the Kirk family; murder of the Tassel. 1781-1788.

Let us return now to the Holston.

After the treaty of 1777, the Overhill Cherokees preserved the peace, under great difficulties, for three years. It was in the midst of the Revolutionary War, and the British emissaries were constantly exerting themselves to foment trouble. Cameron refused to furnish the Indians with goods as long as they were at peace with the Americans. The towns appointed a committee of their old chiefs to ask aid from the governor of North Carolina. James Robertson, the agent among them, was of opinion that if the state would supply them with goods nothing but peace would ensue.[180] The governor, however, did nothing; and in the meantime the Chickamaugas went to the support of the British, and in 1780 induced the Overhill towns to join them in a second invasion of the settlements, while the frontier militia were away fighting the British at King's Mountain. As we have seen, by the opportune return of Colonel Sevier, and the prompt action of the border authorities, the settlements were saved, the Indian forces were defeated, and their towns destroyed. They again sued for peace, which was concluded at a treaty held at Long Island in the summer of 1781. This treaty was never broken by open war, though there were repeated murders and depredations committed on both sides.

The tract of country adjoining the Overhill towns on the north, and extending back from the Little Tennessee to the French Broad River, is known in our public records as the territory south-of-the-French-Broad-and-Holston-rivers-and-west-of-the-Big-Pigeon-River. Its history would have made a shorter name famous. Had it been called Dumplin, after the creek on which the treaty was held which gave its inhabitants the first color of title to the lands on which they lived, it would have gone down in song and story along with Watauga and Cumberland, the other two original independent governments in Tennessee. It was settled under the most extraordinary circumstances, in defiance of the rights of the Indians, whose hunting ground it was, and in violation of the treaties both of the state of North Carolina and the United States.

[180] State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 11, p. 654.

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Its settlers had the sympathy and support of the state of Franklin, but when that government fell, and all support was withdrawn from them, they boldly erected for themselves an independent government in the midst of the Cherokee reservation. The history of American colonization does not exhibit a more daring, determined, heroic, and, alas! lawless struggle for the possession of a country than that waged by the pioneers of Dumplin.

Could a diagram be drawn, accurately designating every spot signalized by an Indian massacre, surprise or depredation, or courageous attack, defense, pursuit, or victory by the whites, or station, or fort, or battlefield, or personal encounter, the whole of that section of country would be studded over by delineations of such incidents. Every spring, every ford, every path, every farm, every trail, every house, nearly, in its first settlement, was once the scene of danger, exposure, attack, exploit, achievement, death.[181]

On the other hand, the Indians who opposed these aggressive, masterful backwoodsmen appeal not less strongly to our sympathy. Their Overhill towns on the south bank of the Little Tennessee River served as a kind of breakwater to retard the restless tide of immigration pouring into their hunting grounds. Not only their physical distress, which was certainly not more tolerable than the sufferings of the settlers, but their feeling of utter helplessness in the presence of great wrongs; the impotent chafing of their proud spirits as they saw their hunting grounds diminish, and the wild game grow scarcer, rendered their position pathetic in the extreme.

On account of his advanced age Oconostota made the Old Tassel (Koatohee) and the Old Raven (Savanukeh) speakers for him in the treaty of Long Island in 1777. From that time they were looked upon as the leading men of their Nation. Governor Caswell wrote to the Raven as the "head man of the Cherokee Nation" in 1778. But after the war of 1780 he went over to the British party and undertook to supplant the old chief who had put him forward in the councils of his Nation. He went to Georgia in 1781, and the British agent nominated him as principal chief in place of Oconostota, and gave him a medal as the symbol of his authority. He returned, declaring that he was done with the Big Knife, and would listen only to his father over the great waters.[182] But the peace party was now all powerful in the Overhill towns, and the defection of the Raven only strengthened the position of the Tassel, who was their real leader. The following year, 1782, Oconos-

[181]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 370.

[182]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 446-7.

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tota resigned his nominal leadership in favor of his son, Tuckasee,[183] and when the governor of Virginia sent the Tassel a medal, with the consent of the nation, he gave it to Tuckasee at Hightower.[184] Still the Tassel was recognized by the whites and by his own people as the head of the Cherokee Nation.[185]

Of the Tassel's antecedents and personality nothing is known; but his speeches and letters show him to have been a man of more than ordinary intelligence. His family was one of the most powerful in the Nation. Among his nephews, John Watts and Tallotiskee became famous, and Unacata was not unknown, while his great-nephews, the Bench and the Tail, made themselves felt and feared on all the border from southwest Virginia to the Cumberland and Kentucky.

The wars of 1776 and 1780 convinced the Tassel of his inability to maintain his position by force of arms, and he determined for the future to hold fast to the peace talks, and rely upon the white men's sense of justice to maintain his treaty boundaries and remove the trespassers from his hunting grounds. In 1782 he sent talks to the governors of Virginia and North Carolina, begging them to have pity on his poor, distressed people, and do them justice. "Your people from Nollichucky," he says, "are daily pushing us out of our land. We have no place to hunt on. Your people have built houses within one day's walk of our towns."[186]

In 1783 the state of North Carolina undertook by legislative enactment to open for settlement all the Cherokee hunting grounds lying north and west of the French Broad and Tennessee rivers. Notwithstanding the opening of this immense territory, the frontiersmen continued to push their settlements south of the French Broad, into the small district I have denominated Dumplin, which was still reserved to the Indians. The Tassel complains that his young men are afraid to go out hunting on account of the white men ranging the woods and marking trees.[187] Colonel Martin, writing in 1784, says they have actually settled, or at least built houses within two miles of the beloved town of Chota.[188]

In the meantime the daring young state of Franklin arose and, being wholly in sympathy with the frontiersmen, there was no longer any restraint put upon their aggressions. One

[183]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 234.

[184]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 176.

[185]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 341.

[186]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 276.

[187]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 304.

[188]Weeks' General Joseph Martin and the War of the Revolution in the West, p. 444.

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of its first legislative acts provided for the holding of a treaty with the Cherokees at Dumplin Creek. The treaty was held May 31, 1785, though the Tassel and other principal chiefs of the Nation refused to attend.[189] Under this treaty the Indian line was moved far down towards their towns, and located on the ridge dividing the waters of Little River from those of the Little Tennessee.[190]

Following this treaty the Tassel wrote the governor of North Carolina that the white people had built houses in sight of his towns. A little later in the same year he told the United States commissioners, at the treaty of Hopewell: "If Congress had not interposed I and my people must have moved. They have even marked the land on the bank of the river near the town where I live."[191]

In less than a year the frontiers had passed the line established by the treaty of Dumplin, and the Franklin authorities then determined to have all the Indian lands lying north of the Little Tennessee River. This purpose they announced to the chiefs of the Overhill towns in what is called the treaty of Coyatee. It seems that two young men had been murdered on the 20th day of July by two or three young fellows who had been hired by an old warrior from Chickamauga to take satisfaction for his two sons who had been killed by the white people in the spring.[192] Thereupon Colonels Alexander Outlaw and William Cocke, at the head of two hundred and fifty militiamen, marched to Chota Ford, and sent for the head men of the towns.[193] When the Tassel and Scollacutta appeared they charged them with breaking through all their talks and murdering the young men. The Tassel denied that it was his people who had spilt the blood and spoilt the talk. He said the men who did the murder were bad men and no warriors, who lived in Coyatee, at the mouth of Holston, about twenty miles below Chota.

Upon this disclosure, Colonels Outlaw and Cocke marched their forces to Coyatee, killed two of the "very Indians that did the murder," destroyed the town house, burned the bad men's homes, and destroyed their proportionate part of the village corn. They then renewed their conference with the Tassel and Scollacutta, begun at Chota Ford. After the general charge of breaking all the good talks in "Kentucky, Cum-

[189]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 319; Weeks' Joseph Martin, p. 444.

[190]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 299.

[191]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 41.

[192]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 164.

[193]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 343.

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berland, and here at home," they charged them specifically, and very unjustly, with the murder of Colonels Donelson[194] and Christian.[195] "My brother, William Christian," the Tassel replied, "took care of everybody, and was a good man; he is dead and gone. It was not me nor my people that killed him. They told lies on me. He was killed going the other way, over the river."

Colonels Outlaw and Cocke then delivered the following ultimatum to the Indians: "We now tell you plainly that our great counsellors have sold us the land on the north side of the Tennessee (Little Tennessee) to the Cumberland Mountain, and we intend to settle and live on it, and if you kill any of our people for settling there, we shall destroy the town that does the mischief." There was no foundation in fact for the claim that they had bought the land; the Tassel told them he had never heard of it, though he had talked with the great men from Congress last fall at the treaty of Hopewell. But as he was powerless to prevent their taking possession of it, he hoped they should live friends together on it, and keep their young men at peace.[196] Such was the treaty of Coyatee!

By the following spring a land office had been opened for all the land north of the Little Tennessee, and the frontiersmen were actually settling on the banks of that stream.[197] Thus we find the pioneer settlers and the Overhill Cherokees lined up, face to face, with nothing but the thread of the Little Tennessee River as a barrier between them.

While the Tassel was engaged in these peaceable negotiations, the remoter towns of the Cherokees committed frequent acts of hostility against the frontiers, for which they were punished by the settlers. In 1782 Colonel Sevier marched against the Lower towns and destroyed everything from Bull town, on Chickamauga Creek, to Estanaula, on the Coosa River. In 1783 Major Fine destroyed Cowee, on the headwaters of the Little Tennessee. In 1786 Governor Sevier, of Franklin, crossed the Unaka Mountain and destroyed the Valley towns, on the Hiwassee River. None of these campaigns, it will be observed, were directed against the Overhill towns, nor were any of the Indian depredations approved by the Tassel; on the contrary, he tried to dissuade the Chickamaugas from such acts until he found it was of no use, when he ad-

[194]Colonel John Donelson was killed on Barren River, in Kentucky, in 1785, but it is not known who killed him.

[195]Colonel William Christian was killed while pursuing a party of Indians on the north side of the Ohio River, in April, 1786.

[196]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 344-346.

[197]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 359-360.

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vised Agent Martin of the condition of affairs, and turned the matter over to him.

In the meantime, after a restless, active and stormy career of four years, the state of Franklin collapsed, an order was out for the arrest of Governor Sevier, and he was a fugitive on the frontiers, no longer pretending to any office, civil or military. He had with him Major James Hubbert, late an officer in the Franklin militia, and a small body of mounted riflemen. From Houston's Station he despatched the following circular letter to the border settlers:

Major Houston's Station, 8th of July, 1788.

To the inhabitants in general: Yesterday we crossed the Tennessee with a small party of men, and destroyed a town called Toquo. On our return we discovered large trails of Indians making their way towards this place. We are of the opinion their numbers could not be less than five hundred. We beg leave to recommend that every station will be on their guard; that also, every good man that can be spared will voluntarily turn out and repair to this place, with the utmost expedition, in order to tarry a few days in the neighborhood and repel the enemy, if possible. We intend waiting at this place some days with the few men now with us, as we cannot reconcile it to our own feelings, to leave a people who appear to be in such great distress.

John Sevier.
James Hubbert.

N. B. It will be necessary for those who will be so grateful as to come to the assistance of this place, to furnish themselves with a few days' provisions, as the inhabitants of this fort are greatly distressed with Indian.

J. S.
J. H.[198]

Now, Major Hubbert was the most inveterate enemy of the Indians to be found on all the border. His parents and all their family are said to have been killed by the Shawnees in Virginia, and he had sworn vengeance against the whole Indian race. He killed more Cherokees than any other man in the back country, seeking every opportunity to slay them, as well in times of peace as in times of war.[199]

On one occasion he came near involving the settlement in a fresh Indian war. He and a companion were shooting at a mark with two Indians. During the shooting one of the Indians were killed; the other fled to the Nation. It was believed that Hubbert had killed the Indian designedly, and that his people would take satisfaction for his death. The settlers, therefore, assembled near the mouth of Dumplin Creek and, through a half-breed, sought a friendly conference with the

[198]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 419.
[199]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 301.

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Indians. In response to the invitation six or eight warriors came in. Hubbert and a band of associates waylaid them on the other side of the river but, having missed them, followed on to Gist's, where the conference was being held. Fearing more trouble from Hubbert, the settlers kept the Indians in their center. Presently Hubbert, desiring to stampede them, found an opportunity to whisper to one of them to run, that the white men intended to kill them. His ruse was detected and defeated by Captain James White, who told them to remain and he would protect them. Thus reassured, they remained and the difficulty was satisfactorily adjusted.[200]

Later, in 1784, he killed a noted half-breed Indian warrior named Butler, in a private encounter, of which we have only his own account. Ramsey[201] says the Indian killed was the chief Untoola, or Gun Rod, of Citico; but it could not have been Untoola, as he was still alive in 1785, and signed the treaty of Hopewell. However, the affair created great excitement on the border. The Indians believed Hubbert had murdered Butler, and complained to the governor of North Carolina, who ordered his arrest and trial. But the governor of Franklin openly justified his conduct,[202] and the people of his county expressed their confidence in him by electing him to represent them in the Franklin legislature.[203] So the matter passed off without a legal investigation.

In time of war he hunted the Indians down like a very sleuth. One instance is related where, smelling a trail, he took a scouting party of ten men with him and, following a small path, surprised a party of seven or eight Indians in a house. He killed five of them, took one little fellow prisoner, and rejoined his command.[204]

Such was the character of the implacable Indian fighter, who, attaching himself to the waning fortunes of his old commander, Governor Sevier, now appeared with him on the border, and joined him in warning the frontiers of an impending Indian invasion.

Alarmed by the warning of Sevier and Hubbert, many families in the more exposed districts removed for safety to the neighboring forts. But the frontiersmen were so inured to the perils and dangers of border life that they had almost lost the sense of fear. Moreover, being such close neighbors to the

[200]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 274.
[201]Annals of Tennessee, p. 301.
[202]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 315.
[203]Weeks' Joseph Martin, p. 445.
[204]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 199.

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Indians, they had grown familiar with them and knew many of them by name, such, for instance, as Slim Tom, or Chilhowee, who was known as far north as the settlement around Knoxville. From these friendly Indians they apprehended little danger, though they had, in a measure, been put upon their guard as to Slim Tom. The preceding spring a party of Indians had attacked the house of Joseph Hinds, killed and scalped his son, and carried off a number of horses. They were pursued and, being surprised in their camp, fled into the canebrake, leaving most of their property behind. One of the guns captured was identified by James Robertson, whose watchful eye nothing seems to have escaped, as the property of Slim Tom's son, which he had seen the fall before in Chilhowee.[205]

So it happened that some of the families were slow in availing themselves of the protection of the forts. One of these was the family of a man named Kirk, who lived on Little River. His household numbered thirteen when all were present. One day, in the absence of the father and his son, John, Slim Tom came to the house and asked for something to eat. The family knew him, allowed him to come in, and fed him. Having taken advantage of their hospitality to discover who were present, and their means of defense, he finished his meal and withdrew. Soon afterwards he returned from the woods with a party of Indians, fell upon the defenseless family, massacred the whole of them, and left their dead bodies in the yard.[206]

Following this massacre the wildest excitement swept the settlements. The Tassel remained closely at his home, while Abraham, of Chilhowee, declared publicly that if his people went to war he would remain at his own house and never quit it. Sevier and Hubbert assembled several hundred militiamen at Hunter's Station, on Nine Mile Creek, and dashed off to Hiwassee River, where they killed many warriors, took some prisoners, burned their towns, and returned to Hunter's. The next day they swept up the Little Tennessee, burned Tallassee and some other towns, killed many Indians, and returned.

On their return from Tallassee the troops marched down the south bank of the Little Tennessee River. When they had gotten opposite Chilhowee, on the north of the river, they halted. Governor Sevier was absent, and Major Hubbert was left in command. He sent for Abraham and his son to come over the river to him, at the same time raising a flag of truce, that they might be assured of their safety. They came without hesitation. He then directed them to bring the Tassel and

[205]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, pp. 428-9.

[206]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 194.

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his son,[207] that he might hold a talk with them. When they came he put them all in a house and surrounded it with his men. He then put a tomahawk in the hand of John Kirk, the son of him whose family had been massacred, and led him into the house. There, under a flag of truce, between four walls, while the soldiers on guard watched the carnage, his commanding officer standing by his side, the boy buried his tomahawk in the head of the nearest Indian, who fell dead at his feet. The others, recognizing the fate intended for them, with the stoic courage that enables the Indian warrior to face even a harsher death without quailing, inclined their heads forward, cast their eyes upon the ground, and one after another received the fatal blow.[208]

Three years later, in 1791, Hubbert led a party of sixteen men, who conducted Zachariah Cox down the Tennessee River for the purpose of taking possession of the land granted to the Tennessee Company at Mussel Shoals. They built a blockhouse and stockade on an island at the Shoals, but the Glass came down from Running Water with sixty warriors and ordered them off. They were therefore forced to abandon their works, which were at once reduced to ashes. The chief, Richard Justice, says Hubbert and his party were then completely in the power of the Glass, who might have killed them, but instead of doing so, he lifted them up, as it were, and told them to depart in peace.[209]

ALBERT V. GOODPASTURE.

(To be continued.)

[207]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 56.

[208]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 194-5.

[209]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 263-4; Ramsey, pp. 550, 551.

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DOCUMENTS

REVIEW OF S. G. HEISKELL'S BOOK.

"Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History" is the latest contribution to the historical literature of this State. The book, which has just appeared, is the work of S. G. Heiskell, of Knoxville, a well-known representative of a family prominent for generations in Tennessee. It is lately from the press of the Ambrose Printing Company, of Nashville, and contains nearly seven hundred pages, with many illustrations of an appropriate character. The book is issued in a limited edition, and the price is $3.00, or $3.10 by mail.

"This book," says Mr. Heiskell in his preface, "had its origin in the belief that only a one-sided view of the life and character of Andrew Jackson has been given generally by those who have written about him, and that injustice has been done to Sam Houston and John Sevier, in that neither of them has been accorded as high a place in history as their achievements merit. All three were closely connected with the early history of Tennessee, and Jackson and Sevier passed their lives in the State. Houston lived for years in the State, became District Attorney General, member of Congress and governor, and went to Texas, became its liberator and died there. They were all great men, with great qualities and accomplished great achievements.

"The writers on Jackson always portray the bold, aggressive side of the man, his iron will, his fearlessness of danger, his nerves that were never shaken no matter what the circumstances. . . . But there was another side that we rarely read about. Jackson was one of the tenderest and most affectionate men that ever lived, and with a strong, romantic strain in his make-up that made him a high-bred, knightly gentleman always in his contact with women and children, and persons in poverty and distress."

Mr. Heiskell's book, as might be expected from this outline of the preface, is highly eulogistic of Tennessee's heroic figures. Scarcely less could be expected from the pen of a Tennessean, for the early history of Tennessee is an epic of fortitude and courage unsurpassed in the annals of this continent. Of the lives of these heroic pioneers, Mr. Heiskell has written with a vigorous and keenly sympathetic pen. Throughout the book he demonstrates that he has been a close and intelligent student of the events of other days, but has been as well a painstaking follower of incidents transpiring in more recent times

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in the commonwealth. This latter labor has enabled him to bring down the story of the notables of whom he writes to the present time. For example, one of the most interesting chapters in the section devoted to John Sevier has to do with the removal of the remains of Tennessee's foremost Indian fighter and first governor from an Alabama cotton field, where they had reposed for three-quarters of a century, and their reinterment in the soil which he had helped to win from the wilderness. In the case of Jackson, the record is brought down to that famous visit of Roosevelt to the Hermitage in 1907, the most notable public event that has transpired at the famous mansion since the body of the greatest of Tennesseans was laid at rest in the garden.

In the preservation of these latter-day incidents connected with his heroes, Mr. Heiskell has rendered a very distinct service to the cause of Tennessee history, but this is only one of many points on which the work merits abundant praise, for viewed from the standpoint of the possible usefulness to the general reader, a more worth-while book with this State as the subject has not appeared in years. The book might have been more aptly named; "Andrew Jackson and Other Tennessee Heroes." This would possibly give a better description of the contents, for besides Jackson there are in it accounts, more or less full, of General James White, the founder of Knoxville; William Blount, the territorial governor; the Donelsons, the Seviers, the Shelbys, Sam Houston, President and Mrs. Polk, the Winchesters, Judge John Overton, General John Coffee, Major William B. Lewis, of Fairfield, and various others. In the case of several of these something of the family history of the individual is given, and sometimes the connection is traced through succeeding generations. This is notably true as regards John Sevier's family. It is safe to say that nowhere else is there to be found so complete a chronicle of that family. The Blount, White, Shelby, and Donelson families are treated in much the same way, though less extendedly. In this connection Nashville people will be especially interested to find a chapter in the Jackson data devoted to Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, the "Little Rachel" of the General's declining years. It is in General Jackson's devotion to his adopted son and the latter's wife, and to their children that the author presents the tenderer side of "Old Hickory," there being embodied in the book numerous letters showing the sentiments entertained by the latter for the members of his household.

The book contains among other things interesting accounts of the founding of Knoxville, Memphis and Nashville, that bearing on Knoxville, the author's home, as might be expected,

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being of unusual interest. The preservation of the Hermitage, of whose board of trustees Mr. Heiskell is president, has a place in the volume, as has a lengthy account of the Jackson papers, from which the General hoped to have an adequate biography written.

Mr. Heiskell is one of the most active members of the bar in his section of the State; he was recently mayor of Knoxville, and has been for years a prominent figure in the politics of Tennessee, all of which signifies a busy life. That he should have taken time to execute so laborious a task as writing a volume of history is a matter of more than passing notice. It should mean the dawning of a new era in Tennessee history—the awakening of a constructive interest in the story of the State and those who made it great that will find expression in the careful preservation of every detail of the records of the one and the proper commemoration of the deeds of the other.

W. E. Beard.

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HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

On June 26, 1918, near Campbell's Station, Knox County, there was dedicated the monument erected by the State of Tennessee to its second governor, Archibald Roane. The following account of the ceremonies is copied from the Knoxville *Journal and Tribune:*

"Three thousand people, representing practically every county in East Tennessee, attended the unveiling of the recently erected monument to Archibald Roane, second governor of Tennessee, at Pleasant Forest Cemetery, near Campbell's, Wednesday. The occasion was featured by impressive patriotic ceremonies and the firing of a governor's salute of seventeen guns, for which purpose a three and one-half-inch cannon had been secured from the Tennessee Military Institute at Sweetwater.

"After lying for ninety-nine years in an unmarked grave, the pioneer soldier, statesman and jurist was honored as few Tennesseans have been honored.

"Among the distinguished guests were Judge Archibald T. Roane, of Grenada, Miss., and Judge William A. Roane, of Houston, Miss., grandsons of the late chief executive of Tennessee, both of whom delivered touching addresses, thanking the people of Tennessee for the splendid tribute paid their ancestor.

"Erection of the monument was made possible by an appropriation of $500 by the last General Assembly, the measure being sponsored by Senator John C. Houk, of Knox County, and members of the local delegation in the lower house.

"Speakers on the program included Gov. Tom C. Rye, Judge Edward T. Sanford, of the United States District Court; Gen. W. T. Kennerly, United States District Attorney; Senator J. Parks Worley, of Bluff City; James F. Littleton, attorney, of Kingston, and former Mayor S. G. Heiskell, of Knoxville, the latter presenting a painting of Governor Roane by Lloyd Branson and one of the old Roane home by James W. Wallace to the Campbell's community, in trust for Farragut high school.

"Senator Houk was permanent chairman of the assembly, while Senator Thomas F. Ingram, of Kingston, was chairman during the Roane County proceedings, and Professor Adams Phillips, principal of Farragut high school, directed the unveiling proper. Nathan D. White, of *The Journal and Tribune* staff, and Curtis G. Gentry, of the *Sentinel* staff, were permanent secretaries.

SMITH OPENS MEETING.

"The weather was ideal Wednesday, but as a number of the speakers on the program were late in reaching the cemetery, the proceedings were not opened until 11 o'clock, one hour later than scheduled. G. M. Smith, chairman of the Campbell's committee, which has been in charge of arrangements, called the assembly to order and after a brief talk introduced Mayor John E. McMillan, of Knoxville. Mayor McMillan reviewed the efforts of Senator Houk to secure an appropriation for the Roane monument, referring also to the unsuccessful efforts of Frank L. West and John A. Duncan, as members of one general assembly, to obtain the appropriation.

"Senator Houk was then presented as permanent chairman for the occasion. He spoke only a few words, saying that he once heard

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the late Thomas B. Reed. speaker of the national House of Representatives, declare that a speaker was not made to speak but to preside.

"'A chairman is not made to talk but to preside,' said Senator Houk. He then called on Rev. S. G. Wells, who offered an invocation.

"Governor Rye was the first speaker, reading an address on the inspiration of the occasion.

"The governor declared that he felt honored in being asked to speak on such an occasion.

GOVERNOR ROANE'S CAREER.

"That part of the address referring directly to Governor Roane is as follows:

"'He drew sustenance from the period of Benjamin Franklin, whose scientific and philosophical writings were awakening the world, and I have no doubt inspired his Irish heart. Being an educated man he was at one time a teacher and had for a pupil no less a personage than Hugh Lawson White, a United States senator from this state and later a candidate for President of the United States. Being a godly man, he was at one time a ruling elder of the Presbyterian church standing just over the way, and methinks the drippings from this sanctuary are sweeter and the incense arising from that holy place today is sweeter and holier by reason of the ministrations of his spirit while in the flesh. Let us think so and, while we do not know, let us imagine his redeemed spirit gazing from the battlements of heaven approvingly at these efforts, which are not so much to honor him as to do credit to ourselves by writing upon his monument which we erect today an epitaph of truth, speaking of personal and civic virtues that will be an inspiration to the passing generations.'

"Crouch's military band rendered a number of patriotic airs during the ceremonies, while patriotic songs were sung by Robert DeArmond and Mrs. Bertha Walburn.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

"Judge Sanford delivered an address, giving a historical sketch of the life and public service of Governor Roane. He told of the pioneer statesman's career as a soldier, jurist and governor, and of his casting the deciding vote that made Andrew Jackson major general of militia.

"This action of Governor Roane gave the nation General Jackson, the soldier and later President, Judge Sanford declared, although it resulted in the subsequent defeat of Governor Roane for a second term by John Sevier, who had lost the major-generalship to Jackson.

"Judge Sanford spoke of the political contest between Roane and Sevier, in which the popularity of the latter overcame the then governor. However, after General Jackson had won honor and distinction as a soldier, the people of Tennessee realized the service rendered the State and nation by Roane in casting the deciding vote for the hero of New Orleans and would have again elected him governor had he desired it, said Judge Sanford.

"The speaker also referred to Roane's service in the Constitutional convention of 1796, when he seconded a motion to insert a section forbidding any man who denied the existence of a Supreme Being or a state of future reward and punishment holding civil office in Tennessee.

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"'Archibald Roane was a scholar, soldier, statesman and judge,' declared Judge Sanford, 'and he died as he had lived—at peace with his fellowmen and with God.'

ROANE COUNTY PROCEEDINGS.

"In opening the Roane County proceedings, Senator Ingram called on W. E. McElwee, of Rockwood, a member of the Roane County Court, who read a historical sketch of the county which bears the name of the State's second governor.

"Attorney James F. Littleton delivered a stirring patriotic address on 'Our Duty Over Here and Over There.'

"At no time during the day was the applause more enthusiastic than during the brief address of Mr. Littleton, and the crowd repeatedly cheered the speakers throughout the proceedings.

"At the conclusion of Mr. Littleton's address, Senator Houk read a telegram from Gen. Harvey Hannah, of the State Railroad Commission, in which he expressed regret that he could not be present and fill the place assigned to him on the program because of the death of a relative. Senator Houk then introduced Miss Mary B. Temple, of the Bonny Kate Chapter, D. A. R., who spoke of the work of her organization in erecting monuments and otherwise honoring soldiers of the Revolution.

"Following the address of Miss Temple, the crowd assembled at the grave of Governor Roane, where the unveiling proceedings were in charge of Prof. Adams Phillips, of Farragut high school.

UNVEILING PROCEEDINGS.

"Master William Roane, great-great-grandson and youngest known descendant of Governor Roane, pulled the unveiling cord and a cheer broke from the assembled crowd as the covering fell away and the huge granite marker became visible.

"The inscription on the monument is as follows:

"ARCHIBALD ROANE, 1759-1819.

"Revolutionary Soldier at Surrender of Cornwallis—Member of Tennessee Constitutional Convention, 1796—Superior Judge. 1796—Supreme Judge, 1819—Governor, 1801-1803.
Erected by State of Tennessee, 1918.

"Photographs were made of the descendants of Governor Roane at the grave, both before and after the unveiling proceedings.

BASKET DINNER SERVED.

"Following the unveiling and the firing of the governor's salute of seventeen guns, which was directed by Col. D. C. Chapman, commanding the Fifth Tennessee Regiment, and Major E. S. Benton, commandant at the University of Tennessee, the thousands present assembled around the baskets and enjoyed an excellent dinner.

"During the last fifteen minutes of the dinner hour Esquire Frank Murphy and other oldtime fiddlers entertained the crowd.

"Immediately after dinner the crowd reassembled in the grove at the rear of the church, where a large stand had been erected for the speakers and seats placed for the people.

"District Attorney W. T. Kennerly, representing the Tennessee Society, Sons of the Revolution, delivered the first address of the

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afternoon program. Mr. Kennerly spoke of the history of the Roane family and declared members of that family had become leaders in all states where they have settled. He also referred to the work of the Sons of the Revolution.

HUGH M. TATE SPEAKS.

"Senator Houk announced that Mayor Jesse M. Littleton, of Chattanooga, who had been on the program to introduce the descendants of Governor Roane, could not be present and that Hugh M. Tate, of Knoxville, would take Mr. Littleton's place.

"Mr. Tate delivered a brief but beautiful address, in which he praised the late Governor Roane and his accomplishments and discussed the great war raging in Europe.

"After he had concluded, Mr. Tate presented Judge Archibald T. Roane, who spoke briefly but with great feeling. He said that the great tribute to his grandfather, Governor Roane, had filled his heart with such emotion as he had never known before, and that his gratitude could never be expressed in words.

"Judge William A. Roane was also presented and spoke briefly. He said that he had never attended an event that touched him as the unveiling had. Judge Roane illustrated his remarks with a few jokes, keeping the crowd laughing almost constantly.

"He called attention to the fact that seven descendants of Governor Roane were in the military service of the nation and predicted that the American soldiers would soon come marching home victorious, having made the world safe for democracy.

WORLEY AND HEISKELL TALK.

"Announcing that Senator Albert E. Hill, of Nashville, who, with Senator J. Parks Worley, aided materially in securing the appropriation for the monument in the last senate, was unable to be present, Senator Houk introduced Senator Worley.

"Senator Worley spoke briefly, declaring that it had been a pleasure to work with Senator Houk in the past General Assembly and to vote with him for the Roane monument appropriation.

"Former Mayor S. G. Heiskell was the last speaker, presenting the paintings by Lloyd Branson and James W. Wallace. He first referred to the picture of the Roane home as painted by Mr. Wallace, who drew from his childhood memories of the old place. Mr. Heiskell paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Wallace's ability with the brush, despite the fact that he is afflicted.

"Regarding the painting of Governor Roane by Mr. Branson, Mr. Heiskell declared that Mr. Branson's work had attracted attention in the large art centers of the country and that he was an artist of national reputation.

"Benediction by Rev. J. Y. Bowman closed the exercises.

COMMEND SPIRIT OF OCCASION.

"During the exercises messages from former President Roosevelt, Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, and other national figures, in which they commended the spirit of the occasion and expressed regret that they could not be present, had been read by Senator Houk.

"Conservative estimates placed the crowd at 3,000 people, while many of those present declared that 3,500 would be nearer correct. Seven hundred and three automobiles were parked in the field opposite the cemetery during the day, and it is estimated that more than 1,000 cars were on the grounds at one time or another during the progress of the ceremonies."

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JUDGE FRIEND.

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TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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PORTRAIT OF JUDGE FRIEND.

In the March number of THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, at pages 33 and 34, I gave a short sketch of the Cherokee chief, Judge Friend. Since then I have been able to secure a portrait of him. He is remarkable as being the only Cherokee chief of his age of whom an authentic likeness exists. In offering this portrait for reproduction in THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I desire to tell how it came to be taken and preserved.

Judge Friend is known by three or four names. Ostenaco, or Austenaco, was the name his parents gave him. He acquired the name of Judd's Friend, corrupted into Judge Friend, from his humanity in saving a man of that name from the fury of his countrymen. On the other hand, he received his name of Outacite, meaning "man-killer," from his martial exploits.

He was ambitious for distinction and power, and Henry Timberlake, who accompanied him to England, and whose coveted commission as lieutenant depended largely upon the impression he should make, was interested in magnifying his greatness and importance. Timberlake says he was the rival of the celebrated chief, Attakullakulla, between whom the Overhill towns were divided into two factions; and declares he was superior in influence to the warlike Oconostota. Attakullakulla, he says, had done little in war to commend him, but had often distinguished himself by his policy and negotiations at home, which, he considered, the greatest steps to power. Oconostota, though surnamed the "Great Warrior" was not his equal. Judge Friend reached his great power by uniting in his character both war and policy.

But there was one point on which Judge Friend felt himself inferior to Attakullakulla and Oconostota—they had both been to England and met the great Father face to face. Timberlake does not point this out, but a writer in the Royal Magazine, July, 1762, does. He says:

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"Outacite (Judge Friend), who is now in England, is not the King of the Cherokees, but only one of their principal warriors. . . There is at this time no King of the Cherokees; and for sometime their affairs have been principally under the direction of Attakullakulla, commonly called the Little Carpenter, who was over here in 1730, and has been ever since treated with particular respect by the court, and considered as the principal and most sagacious person of the Cherokees. A jealousy of this particular honor paid to Attakullakulla has prompted Outacite to come to England, imagining that the Little Carpenter owes all his power and influence to his having visited King George. Outacite, in order to conceal his project of coming to England from the Little Carpenter, did not come through Carolina, which was his nearest way, but traveled through Virginia, and there embarked."

The presence of Judge Friend and his two warriors in London produced the greatest excitement. Thousands of people thronged to see them; and the impecunious Timberlake could hardly resist the temptation to exhibit them for profit. Their visit was recorded in grave histories; Goldsmith utilized it in his Animated Nature; and an unknown artist drew him from life for the Royal Magazine, in which it appeared, with "Some account of the Indians now in England," July, 1762.

Judge Friend and his companions are described as:

"Men of a middling stature, seem to have no hair on their heads, and wear a kind of skullcap adorned with feathers; their faces and necks are besmeared with a coarse sort of paint, of a brick-dust color, which renders it impossible to know their complexion, they have a loose mantle of scarlet cloth thrown over their bodies, and wear a kind of loose coat. Their necks are streaked with blue paint, something resembling veins in a fine skin. There seems to be a mixture of majesty and moroseness in their countenances. . . .

The chief, whose portrait we have given, is called Outacite, or man-killer; and notwithstanding the ignorance in which he and the rest of that and other Indian nations are involved, shows a sense of ture honor, and great generosity of mind."

They were introduced to his Majesty and ordered to be provided for at his expense. Afterwards they were conducted to the most eminent places in and about the city. They visited the court, Tower, St. Paul, the Mansion House, the Temple, Vauxhall Gardens, and other places of entertainment, the dock at Deptford, the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, and the dock and magazine at Woolwich. They were carried to Woolwich in the Admiralty barge, and the only expression of astonishment drawn from them was at the number of ships and vessels which they saw on their passage down the river.

They reached London June 18, and departed on their return voyage August 9, 1762. A. V. GOODPASTURE.

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GEORGE WILSON.

Who was George Wilson? Almost any one can tell you about George Wilson. But the various accounts will not agree. There are and have been George Wilsons of so many kinds, and living at so many different places, that it is well in the beginning to establish the identity of the subject of this sketch. This is the George Wilson that gave the name to George Wilson's Spring and George Wilson's Spring Branch,[1] of Nashville, Tennessee.

In the early days of Nashville the small village on the bluff was bounded on the north and west by the Sulphur Spring Branch, and on the south by George Wilson's Spring Branch. The latter now enters the Cumberland River through a large sewer near the Tennessee Central Station. Its source is a large spring now concealed under a house at the northeast corner of Seventh Avenue and Peabody streets, on the fifth block south of Broadway.

George Wilson's place contained about five acres, bounded on the west by Spruce Street (now Eighth Avenue), on the south by South Union (now Lea Avenue), on the east by High Street (now Sixth Avenue), and on the north by the Academy line. His residence was probably on Spruce Street where the African S. S. Union building now stands.

Originally, the valley of George Wilson's Spring Branch was heavily wooded and thick with cane. From the Battle of the Bluff the Indians fled through this valley, chased from the front by the pioneers and their dogs.

In George Wilson's time the large spring supplied water for Wilson's tannery, the tannery of Peter Bass lower down on the Branch, and other factories. Then, and for many years afterwards, it furnished cool, wholesome drinking water for the residents of that vicinity.

At the present time even the course of the Branch is concealed beneath the streets, the buildings, and the accumulated rubbish of Black Bottom; and the George Wilson place and adjoining grounds are coursed by streets and alleys lined with numerous houses and densely populated. But the ever flowing waters of George Wilson's Spring are quaffed by a greater

[1] This branch up to about 1830 was universally designated "Tan-Yard Branch," receiving its name from the fact that a number of tan-yards were located on it. At a very early date Willie Barrow had a tan-yard very near the spring. He became involved in debt, mortgaged the spring property to James Condon, who transferred same to George Wilson, and after Barrow's death his widow made fee simple title to Wilson, viz: Jan. 23, 1826. (Davidson County Deed Book, "R," p. 99.)

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community, for a brewing company has purchased the spring, blasted out the rock for a new outlet near the old, and pumps the water to a large factory for the manufacture of carbonated waters and other refreshing drinks.

But the tanning of leather was not George Wilson's vocation. It simply served to utilize in an industrial way his surplus capital and surplus spring water and, at the same time, to give him something to do during his declining years after he had retired from the active duties of his life work. His life work was that of an editor and publisher.

On the death of George Roustone, the pioneer printer of the State, in 1804, George Wilson succeeded him as the editor and publisher of the *Knoxville Gazette,*[2] said to have been the first newspaper published west of the Allegheny Mountains. He enlarged the paper from three to five columns and changed the name to *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette.* He moved his office to Nashville in 1818[3] and established *The Nashville Gazette,* the first issue of which was published May 26, 1819. In June, 1827, Allen A. Hall and John Fitzgerald purchased the property and changed the name of the paper to *The Republican and State Gazette.*[4]

A contemporary speaking of Wilson's work as an editor says: "In politics he was a Democrat of the Jeffersonian School and maintained his position with much ability; and, if he did not stand among the first political writers, he expressed himself with much fluency, often with energy, and his language was remarkably free from that low abuse of his political opponent to which so many of his contemporaries were addicted."

George Wilson was an ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson and enjoyed his friendship, too. One of his descendants has preserved an original note from General Jackson, which reads as follows: "Gen'l. Jackson's compliments to Col. George Wilson, and requests the pleasure of his company to dinner on Monday the 13 inst. A Jackson, Hermitage, 10th of May, 1832."

I do not know why he was called "Colonel."

When Lyman C. Draper was collecting material for his book, "King's Mountain and Its Heroes," he came to Nash-

[2]Goodspeed's History of Tennessee, p. 630.

[3]Possibly went from Knoxville to St. Louis. A Davidson County land record is as follows: "Sept. 3rd, 1811, George Wilson of St. Louis, Louisiana Territory, gives power of attorney to Peter Bass to sell 5,000 acres of land in Western District, Tenn." (Deed Book "I," p. 217.)

[4]Crew's History of Nashville, p. 343.

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ville, in 1844, and visited George Wilson. In this book he quotes, in a number of places, from "Manuscript Notes made from conversation with Colonel George Wilson of Nashville, who derived his information chiefly from his father-in-law (Brother-in-law), Alexander Greer, who was one of Sevier's men at the Battle of King's Mountain and took part in the expeditions to Brown's Creek and Musgrove's Mill.[5]

George Wilson was a Mason. He was one of the committee that, in 1813, framed the original constitution of the Grand Lodge of the State, and he was the first Deputy Grand Master under the Grand Mastership of Thomas Claiborne, the first Grand Master. He served as Deputy Grand Master in 1813, 1814, and again in 1822 and 1823. He was Senior Warden in 1819, 1820, and 1821. His appointment as Deputy Grand Master in 1822 was by Andrew Jackson, who was Grand Master that year. In 1840 he was elected Grand Master. His portrait as M. W. Grand Master in the State Grand Lodge building, Nashville, Tennessee. It shows a fine, handsome face, with regular features, of a man apparently about forty years of age. He was, however, sixty-two years of age in 1840. I do not know who was the painter of the portrait. But it is an interesting incident in this connection that in 1827[6] George Wilson conveyed by deed one hundred acres of land in Davidson County, reserving the timber to John W. Jarvis, of ——— county, Virginia, in consideration of one portrait picture, valued at $———, etc., delivered by said Jarvis.[7] Whose portrait was this?

George Wilson was born in the District of Columbia, on the Virginia side of the Potomac. While yet a young man he removed to Knoxville, Tennessee. He married December 31, 1799, Margery Johnson Greer, of Watauga. She died in 1812. One of the children of this marriage, George Alexander Wilson, became "a distinguished officer in the Florida War and afterwards was a Whig member of the Legislature." He married his second wife, Matilda George Greer, December 6, 1813. She was a niece of his first wife, and daughter of Andrew Greer, Jr., of Wilson County, Tennessee. She died in Nashville August 31, 1822. One of the daughters, Matilda George, married John King Edmundson. She died in Nash-

[5]Draper's "King's Mountain," p. 230.

[6]Davidson County, Deed Book, "R," p. 585.

[7]John Wesley Jarvis was born in England in 1780; came to Philadelphia, Pa., in 1785. His portraits were executed chiefly in New York and Southern cities. They include Com. Isaac Hull, Com. Thomas McDonough, Gov. DeWitt Clinton, John Randolph, Bishop Benjamin Moore and Fitz-Greene Halleck. (Appleton's Cyc. Biog.)

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ville in 1837. Another daughter, Sarah Greer, married John Williamson Butler. She died in Pittsburgh in 1896. These two daughters erected a monument to their father in the Old Nashville Cemetery, on which is the inscription "To the memory of Colonel George Wilson. Born September 28, 1778. Died November 8, 1848." J. T. McGILL.

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INDIAN WARS AND WARRIORS OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1730-1807.

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CHAPTER X.

TRAGEDY OF THE BROWN FAMILY.

The capture of James Brown's boat at Nickajack; the massacre of the men on board; and the captivity of his wife and little children. 1788-1789.

After the Chickamaugas removed to their new towns, they continued to menace the frontiers, particularly those of the Cumberland and Kentucky; they captured boats going down the Tennessee River; they even terrorized the settlements east of the Cumberland Mountains; in fact, most of the Indian depredations committed were laid at the door of the Chickamaugas. Their treacherous seizure of James Brown's boat, May 9, 1788, the barberous massacre of the eight men on board, the separation of his wife and her five little children, and their long captivity among the Chickamaugas and Creeks, will be the subject of this chapter.

James Brown, of Guilford County, North Carolina, was somewhat past the meridian of life at the beginning of the year 1788. His wife, Jane Gillespie, had bourne him sixteen children, nine of whom were still living. He was in moderate circumstances, and had held honorable offices in his county. Having been a revolutionary soldier in the continental line of North Carolina, he received for his services a certificate, payable in the western lands of that state. When the land office was opened at Hillsboro, in 1783, he resolved to make adequate provision for his numerous children, by locating his military warrant in the rich settlement on the Cumberland River, about which glowing accounts had come back to the east. Taking with him two of his older sons, William and Daniel G., he explored the Cumberland valley, and entered a large body of land beyond the settlements, on Duck River, near the present town of Columbia. He secured a tract at the mouth of White's Creek, on the Cumberland River, a few miles below Nashville, for his present settlement, and leaving William and Daniel to build a cabin and open a small field for cultivation, he returned to North Carolina for his family.

Choosing the river as the least dangerous and most agreeable route, especially for the women and children, in the winter of 1787, he built a boat, near the Long Island of Holston, from which point Colonel Donelson had launched his famous flotilla; and to make it secure against any possible attack from the

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Indians, he protected it with an armor of oak plank, two inches thick, perforated at suitable intervals with port holes, and mounted a small cannon upon its stern. About the first of May, 1788, having taken on board a quantity of goods such as would be useful in his new home on the Cumberland, and also some suitable for traffic among the Indians, he loosed his boat from its mooring and launched it on its long and dangerous voyage. His party consisted of himself, his wife, his sons, James and John, who were grown; Joseph, a lad of fifteen, and George, who was only nine; his three daughters, Jane, aged ten; Elizabeth, seven, and Polly, four. Besides these members of his immediate family, there were also five young men, J. Bays, John Flood, John Gentry, William Gentry and John Griffin, and a negro woman.

They passed Chickamauga Creek about daybreak on Friday, May 9, 1788, and reached Tuskegee, a small town on the north bank of the river, just below Chattanooga, a little after sunrise. Here Coteatoy, a chief of Tuskegee, and three other warriors, came abroad. They were treated kindly and appeared entirely friendly, but as soon as they left the boat, they started runners to Running Water and Nickajack, for the purpose of intercepting it before it passed those towns.

John Vann, a half-breed who spoke English, with four canoes, carrying about forty warriors, paddled out midstream and met Brown's boat just above the town of Nickajack. They were apparently unarmed, and were flying a white flag, but in reality they had their guns and tomahawks covered with blankets in the bottoms of their canoes. When they approached, Brown said too many were coming at one time, wheeled his boat to bring his cannon into action, and had a match ready to touch it off. Vann pleaded for friendship in the name of the late treaty of Hopewell, alleging that he only wanted to find out where they were going, and to trade with them if they had anything to trade, and Brown, who was loath to precipitate open hostilities, which would endanger the little colony to which he was bound, listened to his friendly talk and suffered his canoes to approach.

By this strategem Vann succeeded in getting his party aboard Brown's boat. Immediately seven or eight other canoes, hitherto concealed among the rank cane in the submerged bottoms of the swollen river, bore down upon him. Vann's party appeared friendly until the other canoes came up, when they began taking goods from the boat and transferring them to their canoes. Brown asked Vann for protection, but was told that he must await the return of the Breath, the head man of Nickajack, who was from home, but would return that night,

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and would make the marauders give up everything. Moreover, he promised to furnish him a guide on the morrow, to pilot his boat over the dangerous rapids of the Mussel Shoals. In the meantime the boat was completely gutted, and headed for the mouth of Nickajack Creek.

While the boat was being scuttled, a brutal Indian seized Joseph Brown by the arm and pulled him violently to one side. His father, observing the movement, caught hold of the Indian and forbade him to touch his little boy. Thé Indian released Joseph and directed his treacherous eyes to his father. As soon as Brown had turned his back upon him, the Indian drew an old sword he had in some way possessed himself of, and struck him on the neck, nearly severing his head from his body. He immediately fell, or was thrown, overboard, and Joseph, who had not seen the fatal blow, ran forward to the bow of the boat and told his brothers their father had been drowned. Having seized the goods in the boat, the Indians now began to appropriate the prisoners.

A party of Creeks, who chanced to be in Nickajack at the time, took Mrs. Brown, her youngest son, George, and her three little girls, into their canoes, and while the Chickamaugas were deliberating on the fate of the men, hurriedly departed for their distant towns on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. Next morning, however, the Chickamaugas, feeling that the Creeks had taken more than their just share of the spoils, pursued and forced them to deliver up Jane and Polly, whom they brought back to Nickajack.

Before Brown's boat was landed, Kiachatalee, of Nickajack, asked Joseph Brown to get into his canoe and go with him, but the boy, not dreaming that he was a prisoner, refused to do so. But after they had come ashore, Kiachatalee took his stepfather, Tom Tunbridge, to Joseph. Tunbridge, who could speak English, asked the lad to spend the night at his house, about a mile east of town on the Running Water road, and after obtaining the permission of his older brothers, he consented to do so.

Coteatoy, of Tuskegee, the author of the mischief, arrived on the scene in time to take the negro woman as his part of the booty, and putting her on board a canoe, sent her up the river to his town.

The captives being all carried away, the seven young men only were left in the village. At first they were told of a certain house up town in which they could spend the night. Afterwards they were directed to a better one in the lower end of the town, and a young Indian was sent to pilot them to it. About two o'clock in the afternoon they took a boat and were drop-

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ping down the creek to the house assigned them, when a party of Indians, who had concealed themselves among the cane and stumps that still covered the banks of the creek, picked three of them off with their rifles. The others then abandoned the boat, but the Indians, armed with knives, tomahawks and guns, pursued and killed them all, one after another.

To return to the prisoners. Kiachatalee, the captor of Joseph Brown, was the son of a Cherokee warrior and Polly Mallett, a French woman who had been reared among the Indians. When he was six years old, she married Tom Tunbridge, an Irish deserter from the British army, who had taken up his residence among the Cherokees before the Revolution, and had now lived with her for sixteen years. He was an athletic young fellow of twenty-two, about six feet high, of bold and chivalrous bearing and of reckless courage. He was overseer of his town, leader in the ball play and dances, had already killed six white men, and was fast rising in importance among his people.

As Tom Tunbridge hurried Joseph Brown away from the town, they could hear the firing of guns on the banks of Nickajack Creek. A few minutes after they had reached home, Coteatoy's mother, a big, fat, old squaw, came rushing up to the house, the sweat pouring from her face, and upbraided Tunbridge in an angry manner for not killing his prisoner. She said all the rest had been killed; that he was large enough to see everything, would soon be a man, and would then pilot an army there and cut them all off. She added, that Coteatoy would be on in a few minutes, and she knew he would kill him. Tunbridge arose, and in an uneasy manner stood in the door, looking down the road leading to Nickajack. Suddenly Coteatoy, who came through the canebrake, and not by the road, appeared at the corner of the cabin, and asked him if there was not a white man in the house. When answered that there was a "bit" of a white boy there, he said he knew how big he was, and that he must be killed. Tunbridge protested that it was not right to kill women and children. Coteatoy persisting, Tunbridge told him the boy was Kiachatalee's prisoner, and must not be killed. At this Coteatoy became furious, and Tunbridge, finding further resistance both useless and dangerous, stepped back out of the door and said, "Take him along."

Coteatoy entered the cabin, his knife in one hand, and his tomahawk in the other. Mrs. Tunbridge begged him not to kill the boy in her house. Yielding to her supplication, he took hold of the boy and jerked him out of the house. There young Brown discovered eight or ten of Coteatoy's followers, armed with guns, knives and tomahawks, and carrying sticks from which were suspended two scalps, one of which he recognized

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as that of one of his brothers. His heart now failed him, and he besought Tunbridge to beg half an hour of life for him, that he might try to pray, but the old man told him it was not worth while. As they were stripping his clothes from him, in order that they might not get bloody, Mrs. Tunbridge again pleaded with them not to kill him there, nor on the road to her spring. They finally agreed to take him to Running Water, about four miles off, and there have a frolic knocking him over.

After they had started to Running Water, it occurred to Coteatoy that he might be doing a bad business, as he had himself taken a valuable negro woman, whose life might thereby be endangered. At this thought he halted his men and told them it would not do to kill the boy, because if they did, Kiachatalee was a warrior, and all the Indians in the nation could not keep him from putting his negro woman to death. When this halt was made the unhappy prisoner, who could not understand a word the Indians said, fell on his knees to pray, thinking they had stopped to kill him; but after he had been in the attitude of prayer five or ten minutes, he looked up, and behold! their grim faces were wreathed in smiles. He arose and his heart leaped with joy as he realized the new turn of affairs. Then Coteatoy's vindictive old mother said she would have a lock of his hair, anyhow; and after she had sawed it off with her dull knife, she gave him a vicious kick in the side, which amused the party very much. Coteatoy then called Tunbridge to him, and told him to take Brown back to the cabin; that he loved him, but would not make friends with him then, but would be back in three moons, and if he lived until that time, he would then make friends with him.

Many years afterwards, when Joseph Brown was a colonel under General Jackson in the Creek War of 1813-14, he learned from some of the Cherokees, who were then our allies, that Coteatoy was still alive, residing in one of the numerous islands in the Tennessee River, and had in his possession the descendants of the negro woman he had taken from the Browns. Armed with an order from General Jackson to have the slaves valued, he took a guard and, proceeding to the island, demanded that Coteatoy's negroes should be sent over to Fort Hampton in pursuance of General Jackson's order. Next morning he gathered up the negroes, and, accompanied by Coteatoy, his wife, and some of his friends, started for the fort. When they reached the river, Colonel Brown and his men took the negroes and Coteatoy's wife behind them on their horses, and carried them across, but Coteatoy and his friends walked some distance up the river to cross on a raft. On reaching the fort, he directed his men to carry the negroes on to Ditto's Landing, while he

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stopped with Coteatoy's wife to await the arrival of the Indians. In the meantime he gave Colonel Williams a history of the case, and asked what course he should pursue, now that he had the negroes in his possession. "Take them home with you," said the colonel, "and if you have not men enough, I will give you more."

When Coteatoy and his followers arrived, Colonel Brown told him he had sent the negroes off, but was willing that the commissioners should proceed to value them. At this, Coteatoy became enraged, but after Colonel Brown had repeated his story in the presence of the garrison, as well as the Indians, and concluded it with the declaration that for his crime he ought to die, Coteatoy hung his head and answered, "It is true; do with me as you please." But when he found that it was not Colonel Brown's purpose to kill him, he assumed a bolder front, and threatened to sue him in the Federal court. It was finally agreed, however, that Coteatoy should be allowed to keep a certain young negro fellow, and Colonel Brown carried the others home with him to Tennessee.

Vann's statement that the Breath was absent from Nickajack on the day of the massacre, was true; he had gone to a little town about fifteen miles distant. On his return, he expressed his displeasure at the conduct of his people. He was a man of good sense, and a kindly disposition, and claimed that he had never stained his knife in the blood of a white man. Some years later he gave strong proof of his friendship for the United States by escorting the boats carrying goods for the Chickasaw and Choctaw treaty at Nashville in 1792, from Tuskegee to Nickajack, declaring that if they should be attacked at Running Water by the Shawnees Warrior and his party, as there was great reason to expect, he would assist in their defence.[210] And afterwards, when Watts invaded Cumberland, he withdrew from his town on account of his opposition to the war.[211]

On Saturday, May 10, Kiachatalee and his mother went in to see Breath about their prisoner, and were directed to bring the boy to see him the next day. On Sunday, Mrs. Tunbridge took him to the Breath, who shook hands with him, and then explained to him that, according to their customs, no one was bound to protect an alien; but that a family would avenge the death of an adopted son as sacredly as if he had been born to them. He therefore advised that he make an Indian of himself, agreed to take him into his own family, which was one of the strongest in the nation, and told Joseph to call him

[210] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 291.
[211] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 278.

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uncle and Kiachatalee brother. Accordingly, he had his long hair shaved off, except a scalp lock, exchanged his pantoloons for a breach clout and leggins, and assumed his position as a member of Tom Tunbridges' family.

Brown lived in the Tunbridge family for nearly a year, engaged in the ordinary domestic employments of the Indians, such as carrying water and wood, hoeing corn, and looking after the horses. He was kindly treated by his captors, and was allowed the priceless privilege of occasionally seeing his little sisters, Jane and Polly, of whose treatment he had little reason to complain. They were finally exchanged, April 25, 1789, under the following circumstances: After Watts had taken Gillespie's Station, in satisfaction for the death of his uncle, the Tassel, General Sevier followed him to the banks of the Coosa River, taking twenty-nine women and children prisoners, among them a daughter of the Little Turkey, principal chief of the Lower towns. The Indians then proposed an exchange of prisoners, and General Sevier demanded, not only the prisoners taken at Gillespie's, but all the white prisoners in their towns, especially naming those taken in Brown's boat. The Little Turkey, being unable to move him from his position, agreed to his terms, in order to recover possession of his own daughter.

Accordingly, Joseph and little Polly were brought into Nickajack. The squaw who had Polly seemed to think as much of her as if she had been her own child, and the little tot fully reciprocated her affection. When Joseph told her he was going to take her to her own mother, she ran to her Indian mother and clasped her arms around her neck, and her brother had to take her away by force when he started to Running Water. Jane, who was held in another town about thirty miles away, had not been brought in, and when they were about to leave Running Water, Joseph refused to go without the presence of both his sisters. A young warrior was immediately started for Jane, but returned two days later with the statement that her owner would not let her go without pay. The Bench happened to be sitting by, his sword hanging on the wall and his horse hitched to a tree in the yard. He arose, took his sword and horse, and said, "I will bring her, or his head." The next morning he brought her in, and the party left for Coosawatee, where the prisoners were exchanged, and returned to the residence of their uncle, Joseph Brown, in Pendleton County, South Carolina.

We have already seen that Mrs. Brown and four of her children were hurried off by their Creek captors, as soon as the boat was landed, and that Jane and Polly were retaken by

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the Chickamaugas, and returned to Nickajack. George and Elizabeth continued on with their mother. Foot-sore, weary and almost heartbroken, she was carried to a Creek town on the Coosa River, while her little children were torn from her arms and taken off to other towns. Near the town in which Mrs. Brown was confined lived Benjamin Durant and his beautiful, dark-eyed wife, Sophia, sister of General Alexander McGillivray. She was as energetic and commanding as her distinguished brother, and shared with him the most humane sentiments.[212] Having her attention drawn to Mrs. Brown, she interested herself in her behalf, and not only advised her to fly to her brother for protection, but furnished her the means of reaching his house at Little Tallase. Accepting her generous offer, Mrs. Brown, with some difficulty, made her way to the home of General McGillivray, who gave her a cordial and kindly welcome; and, later, ransomed her from her captor, and kept her at his house, as a member of his family, for more than a year.

By her industry, intelligence and dignity, Mrs. Brown won the confidence and respect of her Indian friends, and the active interest of General McGillivray. On his first opportunity he ransomed little Elizabeth from her captor and restored her to her mother. At the same time he brought her intelligence of her son George, whom he would also have ransomed, but his master was not willing to part with him on any terms. In November, 1789, General McGillivray went to Rock Landing, Georgia, on public business. He carried Mrs. Brown and her daughter with him, and delivered them to her son, William, who had gone there seeking information of her. Liberated after a captivity of eighteen months, she spent a short time with relatives in South Carolina, after which she returned to her old friends at Guilford Court House, North Carolina.

At Guilford Court House an affecting scene occurred. General McGillivray was on his way to New York, where he was to hold a treaty with President Washington, and reached that place in June, 1790. When Mrs. Brown heard of his arrival, she rushed through the large assembly at the courthouse, and with a flood of tears, almost overpowered him with expressions of admiration for his character and gratitude for his generous conduct to herself and children.[213] Her brother, Colonel Gillespie, offered to pay him any sum he might think proper to name, as a ransom for Mrs. Brown and her daughter, but the noble chief, who was always generous to the distressed, whom he fed, sheltered and protected for humanity's sake, refused any com-

[212]Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. 2, pp. 126-7.
[213]Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. 2, p. 107.

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pensation whatever, declaring that to receive pay would deprive him of both the honor and pleasure such manifestations of affection afforded him. At the same time he assured Mrs. Brown that he would not fail to use his best efforts for the liberation of her son.

It was more than eight years before George Brown was restored to his people. General Pickens received him from Superintendent Seagrove, and delivered him to his uncle, Joseph Brown, of Pendleton County, South Carolina, in September, 1796.[214] He was then a fine boy, had learned to read, and was beginning to write, thanks to the care and thoughtfulness of Mr. Seagrove, who had kept him in school while he was under his charge.[215]

[214]Pickens to Robertson, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, p. 336.

[215]The facts narrated in this chapter are taken, mainly, from three separate accounts, all on the authority of Colonel Joseph Brown. 1—A narrative by Colonel Joseph Brown, furnished by General Zollicoffer to the historian, Ramsey, and published in his History of Tennessee, pp. 509-515; 2—Colonel Brown's narrative, dictated to William Wales, and published in the Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, pp. 11-16, and 72-78; 3—A very excellent sketch of Jane Brown, written by Milton A. Haynes, principally from notes and memoranda furnished by Colonel Brown, and published in Mrs. Elizabeth F. Ellet's Pioneer Women of the West, pp. 79-106. (Reprint.)

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CHAPTER XI.

THE RISE OF JOHN WATTS.

General Martin invades the Chickamauga towns; last days of Dragging Canoe; John Watts takes satisfaction for the death of his uncle, the Tassel; William Blount appointed Governor of the Southwestern Territory; treaties of Holston and Philadelphia. 1788-1792.

After the capture of Brown's boat, the massacre of its men and the captivity of its women and children, by the Chickamaugas, the Tassel, head chief of the nation, admitted his inability to restrain them, and advised General Martin, the Cherokee agent, to go against their country and burn their towns, so they would have to return to the nation and submit to control.[216] With the consent of the Governor of North Carolina, he determined to make the campaign. He raised a force of about five hundred men, in the four counties of North Carolina, and rendezvoused at White's Fort, in the summer of 1788. Thence they made a rapid march to the neighborhood of Lookout Mountain, which they reached late one afternoon, and camped on the site of an old Indian settlement. General Martin sent forward a detachment of fifty men under Colonel Doherty, to take charge of the pass between the mountain and the river, and hold it until morning; but the Indians, who were on the "Lookout," discovered his movements, fired upon his party, and drove them back. Early the next morning his spies were fired upon and one of them wounded. The whole force then moved to the foot of the mountain, tied their horses, and prepared for a general attack. From the nature of the ground they could not march in regular order, but had to zigzag, mostly single file, among the obstructing stones. The Indians were concealed behind rocks and trees, and when they came in range, poured down on them a sudden and destructive fire. Many were killed, including Captains Hardin, Fuller and Gibson. Great confusion ensued; the men fled to the foot of the mountain, and some of them even ran off to the encampment. General Martin was unable to rally his men, who declared it would be another Blue Lick affair if they went beyond the pass. After burying their dead in an old Indian council house, they burned it over them to conceal their graves, and marched back to the settlements.[217]

This was the last expedition undertaken against the Chicka-

[216] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 48.

[217] Ramsey, p. 517; Weeks' Joseph Martin, pp. 463-4; William Martin, Proceedings of the Southern History Association, Vol. 4, pp. 464-5.

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maugas during the life of Dragging Canoe. He lived nearly four years longer, but little is known of his personal movements during that time. He has left no talks, for he had no intercourse with the Americans, and we get only glimpses of him, now and then, as he is incidentally mentioned in our public records. He continued his friendly relations with the English, and was well known at Detroit. His brother, the White Owl's Son, boasted of the valuable presents he had received from the British at Detroit, in the winter of 1791-2, for himself and the Dragging Canoe, namely: a pair of small and a pair of large arm bands for each; three gorgets for his brother and four for himself; a pair of scarlet boots and flaps, bound with ribbon, for each; four match coats, a blanket, and two shirts, for each; and powder and lead as much as he wanted, for himself and the three Cherokees who were with him. He had considerable intercourse with the Shawnees, and sympathized with them in their struggle against the United States. His brother and some of his warriors fought with them at the bloody battle known as St. Clair's defeat. On the other hand, Piomingo, or the Mountain Leader, the famous Chickasaw chief, was the friend and ally of the United States, though he did not reach General St. Clair in time to participate in that fatal engagement.

After St. Clair's defeat the Shawnees sent an urgent invitation to the Southern Indians to join them in their war against the United States. General McGillivray, the great Creek chief, favored such a confederacy, and for the purpose of bringing the Mountain Leader and his party into the measure, he caused the Dragging Canoe to be despatched to the Chickasaw nation.[218] Immediately after his return from this mission, about the 1st of March, 1792, he departed this life, in his town of Running Water.[219]

At the great Cherokee council, held at their beloved town of Estanaula, June 26-30, 1792, the Black Fox pronounced the following eulogium on Dragging Canoe: "The Dragging Canoe has left the world. He was a man of consequence in his country. He was a friend both to his own and the white people. But his brother is still in place, and I mention now in public, that I intend presenting him with his deceased brother's medal; for he promises fair to possess sentiments similar to those of his brother, both with regard to the red and white. It is mentioned here publicly, that both whites and reds may know it, and pay attention to him."[220]

[218]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 264.
[219]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 265.
[220]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 271.

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John Watts (Kunoskeskie) was the son of a white man of the same name, who resided among the Cherokees, and sometimes acted as interpreter for the nation; notably at the treaty of Lochaber in 1770, in consequence of which the settlement of Tennessee was begun. His mother was a sister of the Tassel, who was the head of the nation at the time of his assassination. He was himself sometimes called Corn Tassel;[221] and it was he who, with Dragging Canoe and Judge Friend, refused to take part in the treaty of Long Island in 1777, and abandoned the Overhill towns rather than submit to the Americans. He did not, however, join himself to the implacable Chickamaugas; and was not for some years distinguished as a warrior.

The first glimpse we have of him is in the capacity of a diplomat. When Campbell and Sevier invaded the Indian country in 1780, Watts, and a chief called Noonday, afterwards killed by rangers near Craig's Station,[222] met them at Tellico and proposed terms of peace. Ramsey says it was granted to Tellico and the adjacent villages,[223] but Campbell, in his official report, expressly states that Tellico was burned.[224] Campbell probably refers to Watts, however, when he speaks of a chief of Coyatee who seemed to him to be the only man of honor among the chiefs, and in whose favor he would willingly have discriminated had it been in his power. Two years later, when Sevier marched against the Chickamaugas, he held a conference with the friendly chiefs, at Citico, and engaged Watts to accompany the expedition for the purpose of effecting, by friendly negotiations, an arrangement for peace with the whole nation.[225]

In July, 1788, as we have seen, the Tassel was treacherously murdered under a flag of truce. The whole nation was shocked and maddened by that horrible crime. Their young warriors once more dug up the hatchet. Watts had a double incentive for putting himself at their head. In the first place he was deeply affected by his uncle's death; so much so, that when he spoke of it three years afterwards, at the treaty of Holston, he was so overcome that he could not proceed, and had to request the Bloody Fellow to finish the business.[226] Moreover, the law of his nation imposed upon every member of a family the duty of taking satisfaction for an injury inflicted upon another mem-

[221]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 48.
[222]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 450.
[223]Annals of Tennessee, p. 265.
[224]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 436.
[225]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 272.
[226]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 204.

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ber of it.[227] But he was never content to put himself at the head of a small predatory band, like his nephew, the Bench. He had the capacity to lead large bodies of men, and in his wars we always find him at the head of a formidable army. At this crisis he invaded the border at the head of some two or three hundred warriors.

In the meantime General Martin was making earnest efforts to pacify the Indians. He followed Scollacutta (Hanging Maw), who had succeeded the Tassel as head of the nation, to Seneca. Scollacutta, a friend of peace, as the Tassel had been, agreed to put a stop to the war, and for that purpose sent runners to Watts.[228] Before they reached him, however, namely, a little after sunrise on the 15th of October, 1788, he appeared before Gillespie's Station, on Little River, and demanded its surrender. There were only a few men in the fort, but they refused to surrender, and made a gallant defense until the Indians stormed the fort, rushing over the roofs of the cabins which formed part of the enclosure, when they were compelled to yield. It is not known how many were killed in the action, but there were twenty-eight prisoners taken; none of the prisoners were killed or mistreated, but all were soon afterwards exchanged for Indian prisoners taken by General Sevier.[229]

When Scollacutta's runners reached Watts, he consented to withdraw, considering that he had already sufficiently avenged the death of his uncle.[230] Before retiring, however, Watts, the Bloody Fellow, Categiskey and the Glass had left a talk at Gillespie's, dated October 15, 1788, and addressed to Sevier and Martin, in which they apologized for having killed women and children in the battle; charged the whites with beginning the war by beguiling their head man (the Tassel), who was the friend of the white man, and wanted to keep peace; declared they were on their own land, and when the whites moved off they would make peace; and gave them thirty days to march off.[231]

On the 24th of November, the head men and warriors of the Cherokee nation held a council at Estanaula, which was now their beloved town, and declared for peace.[232] The main induce-

[227]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 325.

[228]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 46-47.

[229]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 518; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 47; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 202.

[230]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 291.

[231]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 517.

[232]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 45-6.

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ment for this resolution was a proclamation of Congress, dated September 1, 1788, forbidding intrusions on the Cherokee hunting ground, and ordering all those who had settled there—estimated at several thousand—to depart without loss of time.[233] While this proclamation served to quiet the Indians, it failed to remove the trespassers from their lands; and finally, the Indians were prevailed upon to make an additional cession, at the treaty of Holston.

The western counties of North Carolina had now become the Southwest Territory, with William Blount as its governor. Blount was of an old English family, being descended from the Le Blounts who came over to England with William the Conqueror. His father, Jacob Blount, of Blount Hall, Pitt County, North Carolina, owned a considerable estate, and took an active and somewhat prominent part in public affairs. William, the eldest of his thirteen children, was born in Bertie County, North Carolina, March 26, 1749, and was educated in a manner commensurate with the ample estate and high position of his family.

At an early age he began to take an interest in public matters, and at once allied himself with the Western people. As a member of the North Carolina House of Commons in 1783, he won the warm friendship of James Robertson, the founder and representative of the new settlements on the Cumberland, by his lively interest in their welfare, and the valuable assistance his talents and experience in parliamentary bodies enabled him to render these representatives. The same session of the legislature opened the Indian lands to appropriation and settlement by right of conquest, but their action was ignored by the United States two years later in the treaty of Hopewell. At this time Blount first became officially connected with Indian affairs; he appeared at the treaty of Hopewell as the agent of North Carolina, and entered a formal protest against it, on the ground that it violated the rights of his state, inasmuch as it assigned to the Indians territory which had already been appropriated by the legislature of North Carolina to the discharge of the bounty land claims of the officers and soldiers who had served in the Continental line during the Revolution. He was a member of the Continental Congress when this treaty came up for consideration, and stoutly resisted its ratification. His championship of the frontiersmen made him many friends in the western district of North Carolina.

He was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of the United States, over which George Washington presided; and was a member of the convention of North Caro-

[233] Royce's Cherokee Nation of Indians, p. 160.

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lina that ratified that instrument. At the same time he continued to cultivate his western friends. In 1787 he assisted James Robertson and David Hays, representatives from Davidson County, in framing a memorial to the General Assembly, looking to the free navigation of the Mississippi River, and the cession of North Carolina's western lands to the United States. As a member of the State Senate he advocated and the Legislature passed the second act of cession in December, 1789, and the deed of cession was accepted by the United States, April 2, 1790.

The Southwest Territory was erected May 26, 1790, with the same privileges, benefits and advantages enjoyed by the people of the Northwest Territory, and with a similar government. There were a number of applicants for the position of Governor of the new Territory. The propriety of appointing a citizen of the State which had made the cession was obvious; and Blount's influence in causing the cession to be made, his popularity with the people of the Territory, and President Washington's personal knowledge of his patriotism, integrity and ability, were sufficient to turn the scales in his favor. He was appointed Governor of the Southwest Territory, June 8, 1790. In addition to his appointment as Governor, he was also made Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District.

This latter office was both delicate and difficult, requiring much alertness, tact and diplomacy, qualities for which Blount was distinguished, as well as for his fine address, courtly manners and commanding presence. To his voluminous correspondence and able state papers we are indebted for most of our knowledge of Cherokee affairs during this period, and also for many keen observations on their character and customs, as well as some strong historical presentations of their relations with the whites.

After organizing the Territorial government in the various counties and districts, Governor Blount turned his attention to Indian affairs. The boundary line prescribed in the treaty of Hopewell had never given satisfaction either to the Indians or the whites. Its violation by the latter called forth the vigorous proclamation of Congress in 1788, already mentioned. When the United States took jurisdiction of the country, President Washington declared it his purpose to carry into faithful execution the treaty of Hopewell, "unless it should be thought proper to attempt to arrange a new boundary with the Cherokees, embracing the settlements ,and compensating the Cherokees for the cession they should make."[234] The senate authorized

[234]Royce's Cherokee Nation of Indians, p. 161.

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the new treaty, and instructions were issued to Governor Blount, August 11, 1790, for that purpose.

In pursuance of his instructions, Governor Blount convened the Indians at White's Fort, where Knoxville was afterwards laid out. The treaty was held at the mouth of the creek that flows at the foot of Main and Cumberland Streets, and empties into the river at the end of Crozier (now Central) Street, and was concluded July 2, 1791. So successful was Governor Blount in his negotiations, that his treaty was not only ratified by the Senate, but the Secretary of War, advising him of that fact, tendered him the thanks of the President of the United States for the able manner in which he had conducted the treaty, and for the zeal he had uniformly evinced to promote the interest of the United States, in endeavoring to fix peace on the basis of justice and humanity.[235]

The treaty of Holston does not, however, appear to have been quite as satisfactory to the Indians as it was to the government. Watts and the Bloody Fellow had been appointed by their nation to be their principal speakers at the treaty, though, as has been mentioned, the death of his uncle still bore oppressively upon Watts. The only thing immediately connected with the negotiations to which it is necessary to draw attention, is the fact that the Chickamaugas, whom Watts was soon afterwards called upon to lead, being still hostile to the United States, were not represented in it, and did not participate in the distribution of goods which the government presented to the Indians in liberal quantities at its conclusion. The annuity provided in this treaty, which was the first annuity ever granted to the Cherokees, was one thousand dollars.

After discussing the matter among themselves the Indians became dissatisfied with the amount of the annuity, and on the 28th of December, 1791, the government at Philadelphia was surprised by the visit of a delegation of Cherokee chiefs headed by the Bloody Fellow, who demanded additional compensation for the land they had ceded by the treaty of Holston; and in the negotiations that followed, the annuity was increased from one thousand dollars to fifteen hundred dollars. In addition, the name of the Bloody Fellow was changed from "Nonetooyah, or Bloody Fellow," to "Eskaqua, or Clear Sky," and he was given the title of General;[236] the first, and perhaps the only member of his tribe who bore so exalted a military title prior to the civil war.

[235]William Blount and the Old Southwest Territory, by A. V. Goodpasture, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 8, pp. 1-7.

[236]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 268.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE SHAWNEES WARRIOR.

Shawnees Warrior and his party join the Creeks in their war on Cumberland; captivity of Alice Thompson, and Mrs. Caffrey and her son, by the Creeks; Shawnees Warrior takes Zeigler's Station, and carries its women and children into captivity; battle between Ensign Snoddy and Shawnees Warrior. 1791-1792.

It has been noted that the Chickamaugas did not join the Creeks in their incursions of 1787-1789; the reason is apparent from what has already been related. Their attention at that time was wholly absorbed in another direction. Early in the summer of 1788, General Joseph Martin had marched a formidable party from Holston against the Chickamauga towns; primarily, to punish them for the murder of the Brown family, as their rich laden boat passed the town of Nickajack, on its way down the Tennessee to Cumberland; and though he was disasterously defeated, his army was not destroyed. While the Chickamaugas were still uncertain what his next move might be, the Old Tassel, head chief of the nation, was treacherously murdered, and a cry of vengeance arose from every wigwam from the Tennessee to the Coosa. Many of their young warriors rushed to the relief of their spirit-broken brothers of the Upper towns. This was no time, therefore, to court an invasion from the daring men of Cumberland, who had once already crsosed the Big River and destroyed a hostile town.

Soon, however, the Cherokee council at Estanaula declared for peace, and the treaty of Holston was concluded. The Chickamaugas did not subscribe to the treaty of Holston, but from other considerations refrained from making war on the Cumberland until the summer of 1792. Dragging Canoe as we have seen, had his eyes turned to the northwest, where Little Turtle was engaged in a momentous struggle with General St. Clair. His brother was with the Indians when they destroyed the American army, November 4, 1791. St. Clair's defeat enthused the hostile Chickamaugas and inspired them with ambitious hopes. Dragging Canoe promoted with all his energy the formation of a confederacy of Southern Indians to co-operate with the Indians of the northwest in driving back the entire western frontiers of the United States. He went to the Chickasaw Bluffs on a fruitless effort to engage Piomingo in the enterprise. But Dragging Canoe died, and John Watts, a friendly chief, was chosen to succeed him, and he induced his people, to take the United States by the hand in peace and friendship. But there were still a few bad young

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men, as the old chiefs called them, who rejected every overture of peace; notable among these was the Shawnees Warrior, chief of a band of about thirty Shawnees who had settled at Running Water. In the summer of 1792, the Shawnees Warrior, the Little Owl, and such restless young warriors as they had gathered around them, turned their arms against the settlers on the Cumberland.

In the meantime, McGillivray's treaty with President Washington in 1790, proved immensely unpopular with the Creek nation. The ambitious adventurer, William Augustus Bowles, denounced McGillivray as a traitor for selling the hunting ground of his people, and for a time, drove him into retirement. He declared that neither the Americans nor the Spaniards had any right to control the Indians, and held out the hope that, through the English, their lands might be restored to the original boundaries described in the proclamation of King George in 1763. Under his influence they repudiated the treaty of 1790, and the first days of 1791 saw Creek scalping parties again on the path to Cumberland.

The Bloody Fellow being once asked whether he was present on a certain occasion, dipped his finger in the stream by which he stood, and withdrawing it, asked what tale the water told. The impression had disappeared, and no ripple remained to mark the place of the disturbance. So it was with the scalping parties who skulked through Mero District, as the Cumberland settlements were then called, during the years 1791 and 1792. They fell upon their victims suddenly, dispatched them hastily, and made off precipitately; if pursued they generally dispersed, so their trail could not be followed, their identity was lost, and their crimes were charged generally to the Indians. Such tragedies, while they were impending over the settlements, were appalling, and when they occurred were terrible, but they were marked with too much similarity of detail to make their repetition desirable. Sometimes, however after killing the defenders of the family, they carried the surviving women and children into captivity; and in such instances we may follow the invaders to their towns, and get a glimpse of the disposition and conduct of the captors, as well as the suffering and distress of the captives. Such a case was that of Miss Alice Thompson, and Mrs. Caffrey and her son:

James Thompson, an old man of ample means and good repute, with his wife and two charming daughters just blooming into womanhood, lived in a chinked and daubed log cabin, about four miles south of Nashville. There also lived with him, perhaps for protection against the Indians, Peter Caff-

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rey, with his wife and only child, a little boy about two years of age. It was the 25th of February, 1792, the weather was cold and the ground was covered with snow. As evening approached Caffrey sallied forth to feed and care for the stock; and Thompson went to the woodpile to chop and bring in firewood for the night. A bright, glowing wood fire was the one luxury every pioneer could afford, and they indulged it without stint. So Thompson chopped his firewood, and carried it by great armfulls and threw it over the yard fence near the door.

While he was thus engaged a party of Creek Indians, who were awaiting this opportunity, fired upon him from ambush. Though severely wounded, he succeeded in getting into the house and barring the door. The Indians then pulled out the chinking and shot between the logs at the defenseless family. Poor Caffrey was powerless to relieve them. After they had killed Thompson and his wife, and wounded his younger daughter, they broke down the door and took the two Misses Thompson, Mrs. Caffrey and her little boy, captive. The younger Miss Thompson was so badly hurt that she could not keep up with the party, and after they had gone some distance, they scalped her and left her on the wayside. Though she lay all night in the snow, she was still alive when the neighbors found her next morning, and survived, though unconscious, until carried to a house, when the poor girl expired.[237]

The Indians made straight for the Creek nation with Miss Alice Thompson, Mrs. Caffrey and her little boy. A few days later some gentlemen met with them on the path that leads from the Cherokees to the Creeks. They dared not ask the women their names, nor offer them a horse to relieve their fatigue, which they would gladly have done, lest they should offend their captors and render their unhappy condition still more precarious. One of the women complained that she was tired of walking, to which her captor replied that he would get briars and scratch her thighs, and that would make her walk fast.[238]

The captives were carried to Kialigee, a Creek town on the Talapoosa River. Here John Riley, a good natured Irish trader, offered to ransom them at the price of a negro each, but the Indians indignantly refused, saying they did not bring them there to let them go back to the Virginians; that they

[237]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 343; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 263; Narrative of John Carr, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, p. 212.

[238]Blount to McGillivray, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 269-270.

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brought them to punish by making them work. They put the two women in the field; but Miss Alice Thompson cried, and even the obdurate heart of a savage was not proof against the tears of handsome young woman, so they put her back in the house again to pound meal. The little boy was taken from his mother and carried to another town, where he was committed to the care of Mrs. Williams, who had for some years been a prisoner with the Creeks.[239]

Miss Thompson's tears seem also to have touched the heart of the generous Riley, for she did not remain long at Kialigee before he struck a separate bargain for her freedom, paying a ransom of eight hundred weight of dressed deer skins, valued at two hundred and sixty-six dollars. From that time she was shown every consideration, and made as comfortable as circumstances would permit. Mrs. Caffrey, on the contrary, remained a slave to her captors, hoeing corn and pounding meal for them; and was frequently punished by having her back and limbs scratched with gar teeth, the marks of which she still bore when delivered up.[240]

Mrs. Caffrey and Miss Thompson were brought in to the American agency at Rock Landing early in May, 1794, after a captivity of more than two years, but did not reach the seat of government at Knoxville until about the first of the following October. Even then they were under the painful necessity of leaving Mrs. Caffrey's little boy still in the hands of the Creeks.[241] In the meantime the little fellow became quite an Indian in his feelings, and, after he had been in the nation five years, it was with difficulty that old Abram Mordecai could separate him from his Indian playmates, to carry him to Superintendent Seagrove. That gentleman sent him to Governor Blount, and he finally reached his mother's arms.[242]

After their return from captivity, Miss Alice Thompson married Edward Collinsworth, and became the mother of an influential family. Her oldest son, James Collinsworth, was distinguished at the bar of Tennessee and also Texas, in which latter state he died.[243]

[239]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 274.

[240]This probably was not intended as punishment. Colonel Joseph Brown, who was for nearly a year a prisoner among the Chickamaugas, says they performed this operation twice a year, both on themselves and on their prisoners. They called it "scratching to keep them healthy." Colonel Brown's Narrative, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, p. 72.

[241]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 634.

[242]Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. 2, p. 134.

[243]Abram Mason, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, p. 90.

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The Creeks had been harrowing the Cumberland settlements since the beginning of 1791. In the summer of 1792, they were joined by a small band of Chickamaugas, from the Running Water town, led by the Shawnees Warrior, an implacable young Shawnee chief, who, with about thirty followers from his own tribe, had some years before taken his residence at Running Water; and by the Cherokee chief Little Owl, possibly the same called the White Owl's Son; if so, he was a brother of Dragging Canoe. This party was known to be hostile to the Americans. After the conference at Coyatee, they mobbed and injured Captain Charley, one of their chiefs, on account of his friendship to the United States; and because of their hostility Governor Blount found it necessary to have a guard of friendly Indians to escort, through Running Water, the boats conveying goods for the Chickasaw and Choctaw conference at Nashville.[244]

June 26, 1792, the Shawnees Warrior and the Little Owl, with their followers, including a small party of Creeks, appeared in the neighborhood of Zeigler's Station, about two miles from Bledsoe's Lick, in Sumner County. Zeigler's Station had been settled in 1790 or 1791 by Jacob Zeigler, and was at this time occupied by his own family, and also by the family of Joseph Wilson, a brother-in-law of Colonel James White, the founder of Knoxville. On the morning of this fatal day, Michael Shaver, while working in the field near the station, was fired upon and killed by the Indians. The alarm was given, and the neighbors formed a party to recover the body and bring it into the fort. The Indians, lying patiently in ambush, surprised the rescuing party with a volley that wounded Gabriel Black, Thomas Keefe, and Joel Eccles, and drove them back to the protection of the palisades. After firing a few shots at the fort the Indians retired, and towards night the garrison went out and brought in Shaver's body, without molestation. Fancying that the enemy had now abandoned the contest, and that the fort was free from further assault, the neighbors, except young Archie Wilson, who volunteered to spend the night at the station, returned to their homes.

About bedtime the Indians returned and made a furious assault, which the feeble garrison successfully resisted, until the enemy succeeded in setting fire to the fort. Then all knew that the end had come. Mrs. Wilson begged her husband to take their son, a boy of twelve, and run the gauntlet for their lives; she hoped herself and daughters might be

[244]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p.291.

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spared. He did so, and although wounded, succeeded in gaining the dark woods, under whose cover he made his escape. Archie Wilson, forced from the burning building, faced the enemy in the open, and fought with desperate courage until a stroke from the breech of an Indian gun brought him to the earth. Mrs. Zeigler, with her baby in her arms, fled out into the darkness of the night, stifling the cries of her child by thrusting her handkerchief into its mouth; and so saved herself and child from the perils of captivity. The Indians now entered the fort and pillaged it of everything they could carry away. Jacob Zeigler was killed in his house, and his body was consumed by the flames that enveloped it. Two negroes were also killed.

Mrs. Wilson and six children, the three daughters of Jacob Zeigler, Mollie Jones, and a negro, were taken prisoners. The three Zeigler girls fell into the hands of the Shawnees Warrior, Zacheus Wilson was taken by the Little Owl, and the other prisoners, except Sarah Wilson, were all carried to Running Water, but their particular captors have not been identified. Through the influence of Colonel White, the prisoners at Running Water, were soon afterwards ransomed by their parents and friends for the sum of fifty-eights dollars each. Sarah Wilson was captured by the Creeks, and carried to their nation, where she remained so many years that she had almost forgotten the habits of civilized society when she was finally liberated.[245]

After burning and sacking Zeigler's Station, the Indians crossed the Cumberland River, passed up Barton's Creek, and established a depot two or three miles below the present town of Lebanon. Here they left twenty-one bundles of plunder, carefully packed and hung in the branches of the trees, and covered with bark to protect them from the weather. They were short of horses, and established this depot until a party could return to the settlement and take a sufficient number to transport their booty. In the meantime, however, it was retaken by the whites, and when the recruiting party returned empty handed to their comrades, who were awaiting them on Duck River, their loss was made the occasion of a fierce quarrel, in which knives and tomahawks were flourished.

The scarcity of horses also made it necessary for the prisoners to follow their captors on foot; and incidentally revealed a touching act of kindness on the part of the Indians. Until they passed the vicinity of Lebanon, the whites could see the tracks of eight little barefoot children at every muddy

[245]Narrative of John Carr, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 76; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 276, 330.

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place in their path. Then they found numerous scraps of dressed deer skin, scattered around the ashes of a deserted camp fire. The grim warriors had kindled a fire to light their pipes, and under the soothing spell of the circling smoke, had busied themselves in making eights pairs of little moccasins. At the next muddy place the whites were rejoiced to find the prints of the little moccasins that protected the feet of the captive children.[246]

Though the United States was nominally at peace both with the Creeks and Cherokees, these freebooting parties had grown to such formidable proportions as to endanger every exposed settlement in the district. The people were thoroughly aroused to their danger. Those who could, moved to the stations for protection. No man went into his field, without another, his trusty rifle at port, standing sentinel while he worked; and if he went to the spring for water, another guarded him while he drank.

Governor Blount arrived in Nashville about the middle of July, to attend the Chickasaw conference, and immediately called out a force of three hundred militiamen, under the command of Major Anthony Sharp, of Sumner County, for the protection of the frontiers. They were divided into squads, and stationed in forts and blockhouses, from which they ranged the woods as occasion required.

Some months after the fall of Zeigler's Station, Ensign William Snoddy, the commander of one of these posts, was ordered to range up Caney Fork River, where, it was understood, Shawnees Warrior and his party had again made their appearance. Snoddy's force consisted of thirty-four mounted men, among whom was James Gwin, General Jackson's chief chaplain at New Orleans, and father of United States Senator, William M. Gwin, of California. Near the Horseshoe Bend of Caney Fork they discovered and took possession of a large Indian encampment. From the plunder, ammunition, implements of war, and other evidences furnished by the camp, Ensign Snoddy estimated the Indian party to consist of fifty or sixty warriors.

Having discovered an armed Indian warrior sauntering near the camp, who made off into the canebrake on their approach, Ensign Snoddy foresaw that there would be fighting before he left the neighborhood. It being then near sunset, he determined to go into camp for the night, and crossing the river, selected a high bluff, among the ruins of an ancient stone wall. The encampment was arranged in the form of a semi-circle, the points resting against the bluff, and enclosed

[246]Narrative of John Carr, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 77.

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the baggage and horses of the company. The night proved to be dark and rainy. Sentinels were posted, and the men lay down on their arms, but they were not permitted to sleep. It was not long before the Indians could be heard collecting their forces. The howl of the wolf on the bluff was answered back from the canebrake by the scream of the panther; and the barking of the fox on the river bank called forth the hooting of the owl from the black forest. Such weird and ominous signals, as the Indians collected their warriors in the darkness, and reconnoitered the position of the whites, continued throughout the night.

A little before day a terrific yell, supposed to have been uttered by the Shawnees Warrior, was the final signal of the enemy. This was followed by a dismal silence, even more frightful than the uncanny howling of the angry savages. The men had their nerves wrought to the highest pitch; three or four of them bolted. The Indians now crept up to within forty steps of the line, and were first discovered by the snapping of their guns and the yell of the war whoop that encircled the camp. The priming of their guns had become damp, and little damage resulted. The whites, on the contrary, had carefully protected their priming, and now yelling in their turn, discharged a shower of rifle balls among the Indians. Daylight now appeared, and the Indians, advancing to within twenty-five steps of the line, concentrated their attack upon the center, where a desperate contest ensued.

Latimer and Scoby, two fine fellows, were killed on the field, and William Reid and Andrew Steele fell dangerously wounded. James Madell, a cool and skillful marksman, protected by a tree behind which he had taken cover, still held his post. Presently he discovered a chief lying on the ground loading his gun; he rammed two balls in his own gun, and reserved his fire until the chief should rise. When the chief raised his head above the grass, he received two balls from Madell's rifle, and dropped dead upon his arms. The war-whoop then ceased, and the Indians undertaking to remove their dead from the field, a fierce struggle raged over the body of the fallen chief. It was ended by H. Shodder, a Dutchman, armed with a large British rifle, which he charged with seven rifle balls and fired in the midst of the enemy, who abandoned the body of their chief and fled, carrying off their other dead. They lost thirteen dead or mortally wounded, while the loss of the whites was two dead and three wounded.[247]

[247]James Gwin, McFerrin's History of Methodism in Tennessee, Vol. 1, pp. 430-436; Narrative of John Carr, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 78.

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CHAPTER XIII.

COLONEL JOHN WATTS.

John Watts elected principal chief of the Chickamaugas; the conference at Coyatee; the Cherokee ball play; Spanish intrigues; the council at Willstown; declaration of war; Colonel Watts invades Cumberland; assault on Buchanan's Station. 1792.

The Dragging Canoe died in the midst of his effort to induce the Southern tribes to unite with the Shawnees in a general war upon the American frontiers. Immediately after his death the Chickamaugas despatched runners to Chota, for the purpose of inducing John Watts, then reckoned a reliable friend of the United States, to come to Running Water and take Dragging Canoe's place as their principal chief. After some hesitation on account of their hostility to the United States, he accepted the invitation, and set out for the Chickamauga towns on the 13th of March, 1792;[248] a circumstance which gave great satisfaction to Governor Blount, as Watts had recently spent several days with him at Knoxville, had been the recipient of several valuable presents, and expressed the strongest friendship for the Unitd States, as well as great personal attachment for the Governor.[249] He believed, therefore, that Watts' influence would soften, if not altogether change the conduct of the Chickamauga towns.[250] Nor was he mistaken in this opinion. Before two moons had passed the Chickamaugas, for the first time in their history, agreed to take the United States by the hand, and promised to meet Governor Blount at Coyatee on the 21st of May, when the first annual distribution of goods was to be made under the treaty of Holston.

Watts determined to make the Coyatee conference a memorable event in the Cherokee annals. He prepared a house for the reception of Governor Blount, and high above it hoisted the flag of the United States. The Breath, of Nickajack, Richard Justice, of Lookout Mountain, Charley, of Running Water, and the other chiefs and warriors of the Chickamauga towns reached Coyatee on Saturday, the 19th; they marched in, painted black and sprinkled over with flour, to denote that they had been at war, but were now for peace.[251] They were conducted to the standard of the United States by General

[248]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 265.

[249]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 291.

[250]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 290.

[251]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, pp. 61-2; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 269.

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Eskaqua, who had just lately returned from Philadelphia and whom I shall hereafter call by his old name of Bloody Fellow, John Watts, Kittageska, and other chiefs; Captain John Chisholm and Leonard Shaw walked side by side with Bloody Fellow and Watts, to the great delight of all. Volleys were fired by the Chickamaugas in honor of the flag, and were returned by the warriors of the Upper towns.[252]

Governor Blount was to arrive on Sunday. At the request of the Indians he notified them of his approach, and when he had come within half a mile of the grounds, he was met by a well dressed young warrior on horseback, who requested him to halt until he should be notified of their readiness to receive him. In a short time he was invited to proceed. The Indians, some two thousand in number, were arranged in two lines, about three hundred yards in length. When the Governor entered between the lines, they commenced firing a salute in the manner of a *feu de joie*, and kept it up until he was received by Watts, the Bloody Fellow, and other chiefs, under the national flag, amid shouts of gladness from the whole assemblage.[253]

Monday should have been devoted to business, but on that day there was a great ball play, which was the national sport of the Cherokees. The game is played with a small ball of dressed deerskin, stuffed with punk, hair, moss, or soft dry roots, and two rackets, similar to those used in tennis. Two goals are set up at a distance of several hundred yards from each other, and the object of the players is to drive the ball through the goal of their opponents by means of the rackets, without touching it with the hand.[254]

Each team consists of twelve players, and an equal number of substitutes, and has twelve referees, six at each goal. One of the most daring and expert of the players—some athletic young fellow like Kiachatalee—is made captain of each team. The ball is placed in the center of the field, and the players, except the captains, take their places about twenty yards out in their opponent's ground. The two captains stop with the ball at the center of the field.

One of the captains now lifts the ball with his racket, and tosses it up thirty or forty feet. When it descend each captain leaps high in the air, and their rackets strike furiously together, as each tries to reach the ball and throw it in the direction of his opponent's goal. If they are evenly matched

[252]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, p. 62.
[253]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 267-8.
[254]Hand Book of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 127.

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they may contend until they are exhausted before they are able to move the ball; but sometimes one catches it in its descent, and hurls it with great velocity in the direction of the goal. It is rare, however, that one of his opponents in the field does not catch it with his racket and send it as far back towards the opposite goal. In this way it may be sent back and forth many times; or, if the interference is good, it may fly off at right angles to the goal line. Occasionally all the players will contend *en masse* for the ball, while the bewildered spectator wonders where it is.

There is no time for breathing from the time the ball is pitched off until it is pushed through one of the goals, unless a recess is called by the referees, when the players who have not been doubled up, are fatigued to the point of exhaustion. While no player is allowed to strike, scatch, or bruise his opponent, he may double him up, which is done by lifting him by the feet and pressing his head and shoulders against the ground until he is so disabled in the back that he has to be carried off the field. The players enter the game dressed in a belt and flap, but they generally emerge from it with only the belt.[255]

The betting on this occasion ran high, even chiefs staking the clothes they wore, down to their flaps. The Bloody Fellow's side lost. In the evening he made the leading players of the opposition drunk, and while he, personally, shared their condition, he managed to keep his best players sober. As a result of this diplomacy, on Tuesday he recovered all his losses, and was ready to enter upon the public business Wednesday.[256]

The distribution of goods was made by the Indians themselves. The Chickamaugas received the greater part, on the ground that they had not shared in those distributed at the treaty of Holston, which they did not attend. Hanging Maw gave notice that the national council would meet at Estanaula on June 23rd, to hear the report of Bloody Fellow, and would then give an answer to Governor Blount's talk.

When Governor Blount was about to leave Coyatee for his home, Watts assured him he would be with him in ten nights, in Knoxville, where he would spend several days, and would then arrange to meet him and accompany him through the wilderness to Nashville, where the governor had invited him to be present at a conference he was to hold with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, on August 7, 1792. But Governor Blount

[255]Sketch of Charlotte Robertson, Ellet's Pioneer Women of the West, pp. 69-71.

[256]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 267.

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was only a few hours out of Coyatee when Watts received a runner from William Panton, of Pensacola, inviting him to a conference at that place.[257]

William Panton was a Scotchman who emigrated to Charleston before the Revolution, and became a wealthy merchant, acquiring large estates in South Carolina and Georgia, which were confiscated at an early period of the war. He then established himself upon the St. Mary's, and owned an extensive trading house in Pensacola when the Spanish took it in 1781. He soon formed a commercial treaty with Spain, which, while it enriched him, greatly strengthened the Florida government with the Indian tribes. It was he who introduced Alexander McGillivray to the Spanish authorities; and he continued the friend, confidant, and to some extent, the commercial partner of that great chief until the latter's death, February 17, 1793.[258]

Panton wrote Watts from the house of John McDonald, who, as deputy under the British Superintendent, Colonel Brown, the successor of Stuart, had formerly resided with the Cherokees at Chickamauga, and the letter was forwarded to him by an Indian runner. He invited Watts and Bloody Fellow, in the name of Don Arthur Oneal, commandant of Pensacola (Governor Oneal, he was called), to come down to Pensacola with ten pack horses; that he would give them all the arms and ammunition they wanted; and that Panton himself would supply them with goods.

Upon receipt of this letter Watts went to McDonald's house, and received from McDonald a letter highly commending him and his cousin, Talotiskee, to Governor Oneal. It was known to McDonald, and to Panton, that Watts and Talotiskee were nephews of the Old Tassel, and it was for that reason, probably, they were approached by the Spaniards. Armed with McDonald's letter, Watts, Talotiskee, and Young Dragging Canoe,[259] son of the most inveterate enemy the United States ever had among the Cherokees, with their ten pack horses, set out for Pensacola. The honors and presents the government had showered upon Bloody Fellow were too great, and too recent, to allow him to take the Spanish by the hand; but he accompanied Watts and his friends as far as the Coosa

[257]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 291.

[258]Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. 2, pp. 61-2.

[259]He is doubtless the same who served under General Jackson in the Creek War, and subsequently visited Washington with a delegation of his countrymen, under his Indian name of Kunnessee. Niles' Weekly Register, Vol. 11, p. 16.

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River, and cast a longing eye in the direction of Pensacola.[260]

The great council met at Estanaula June 23rd-30th, but neither the Bloody Fellow nor Watts attended; the former claimed the sickness of some distant relative as an excuse, while the latter pleaded mercantile business in Pensacola.[261]

At Pensacola, Governor Oneal treated Watts with the greatest consideration; he loaded him with presents, and conferred on him the title of Colonel;[262] in fact, he won him completely over to the Spanish interest. As for Talotiskee, he had not left the town before he had painted himself black, raised the war-whoop, and declared himself for war against the United States. On his return, the latter part of August, Watts despatched the White Owl's Son, a brother of Dragging Canoe, to summon the chiefs to a council at Willstown, where he proposed to explain what had occurred at Pensacola.

Willstown is about thirty miles from Running Water, lately the residence of Dragging Canoe. When Watts succeeded him as head of the Chickamaugas, he fixed his residence at Willstown, where the Bloody Fellow also lived. From that time Governor Blount numbered it among the Chickamauga towns.[263]

At the day appointed the Cherokees assembled from all parts of the nation to hear Watts' report, and to attend the green corn dance, which took place at the same time. In the council Watts delivered an elaborate address: Governor Oneal, he said, had received him with open arms; assured him the Spaniards never wanted a back country; wherever they landed they sat down; the Americans first take your land, and then treat with you, giving you little or nothing for it; the king, his master, had sent powder, lead, and arms, in plenty for the four southern nations; that this was the time for them to join quickly in war against the United States, while they were engaged in war with the northern tribes; if they did not, as soon as the United States conquered the northern tribes, they would be upon them and cut them off.[264] The young fellows, Watts continued, were always wanting war; the time had come when they could try themselves. There are enough of them; but if there were not they have friends enough among the Creeks and Choctaws, and their old brothers, the Spaniards, to back them.

[260]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 288-9.
[261]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 270.
[262]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 331.
[263]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 278.
[264]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 328.

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The Bloody Fellow made a manly and courageous effort to prevent a declaration of war. Do not go to war, he said; it is a bad step you are taking. Look at that flag; do you see the stars on it? They are not towns, they are nations. There are thirteen of them. They are people who are very strong, and are the same as one man. Talotiskee, whom the council at Estanaula had made a chief in the place of his uncle, the Tassel, declared that he too had been to Pensacola, and would hold fast to the talk of Governor Oneal.

The Bloody Fellow, holding his silver medal in his hand, and drawing attention to his coat with silver epaulets, and his scarlet match coat, with broad silver lace, asked, "When was the day that you went to your old brother (Stuart) and brought back the like of this?" Thereupon Watts took his medal off and threw it on the ground.

While the Bloody Fellow was still on the floor, the White Owl's Son, who had also been made a chief, in the place of his brother, the Dragging Canoe, arose and said: "My father was a man, and I am as good a man as he was. To war I will go, and spill blood in spite of what you say." Whereupon Watts took him by the hand, saying: "You are a man. I like your talk. To war we will go together." The Bloody Fellow still standing, the Shawnees Warrior said: "With these hands I have taken the lives of three hundred men, and now the time has come when I shall take the lives of three hundred more; then I will be satisfied and sit down in peace. I will now drink my fill of blood." Bloody Fellow: "If you will go to war you must go; I will not."

So they decided on war, and stripping to their flaps, they painted themselves black, and danced the war dance around the United States flag. They kept up the dance all night; but when they commenced to fire on the flag Bloody Fellow stopped them, threatening to kill some of them if they did not desist.

On the third day the whole party repaired to Lookout Mountain town, intending to set out next morning for Cumberland. Here they received information that the White-Man Killer was at the mouth of Lookout Creek, some fifteen miles distant, where he had just arrived from Knoxville with a quantity of whiskey. The whiskey was sent for, the whole party got drunk, and their departure was delayed several days. Then they were delayed ten days longer by a ruse of a half-breed named Findleston, and a Frenchman named Deratte, who pretended that they had been ordered to the Cumberland by the Spanish authorities to find out how the settlement could be most successfully invaded. It was well up in September, therefore, be-

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fore the Indians, consisting of a large number of Cherokees and Creeks, and the few Shawnees who lived at Running Water, of which one company was mounted, got started on their campaign.[265]

Governor Blount, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the South, had his agents in the Cherokee nation, and received prompt information of these hostile demonstrations. By September 12th he knew that the Chickamauga towns had declared war against the United States, and were about to march against the frontiers; he thereupon ordered General Robertson, the ranking officer on the Cumberland, to put his brigade in condition to repel the invasion, should it be intended against the district of Mero.[266] Moreover, he despatched Captain Samuel Handly, of Blount County, a brave and experienced officer, with forty-two men of his company, across the mountain into Mero District, for the defence of the frontiers of Cumberland.

Watts anticipated these measures on the part of Governor Blount, and, notwithstanding the wild and chaotic character of the Indian council, opposed them with a well-matured plan of campaign, as successful as it was cunning. He induced the Bloody Fellow and the Glass, chiefs who opposed the war, to write Governor Blount such letters as were calculated to throw him off his guard. They alleged that General Robertson had said to Coteatoy, during the conference with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, at Nashville, that the first blood that should be spilt in his settlement, he would come and sweep it clean with their blood. This, they said, had caused their young warriors to assemble together, and resolve to meet him, or go to the settlement and do mischief, but that, with the aid of Watts and some other head men, they had sent them to their different homes to mind their hunting.[267]

Having forwarded these letters, which they hoped would prevent Governor Blount from sending any troops to the relief of the Cumberland, the Indians hastened to take possession of the main roads leading to Mero District, for the purpose of intercepting any force that might, nevertheless, be ordered across the mountain. Watts' cousin, Talotiskee, was despatched with a considerable party, to waylay the Kentucky and Cumberland Roads, and the Middle Striker, of Willstown, with fifty-six warriors, was sent to watch the Walton Road. Talotiskee's party accomplished nothing of impor-

[265]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 289-290.
[266]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, pp. 71-2.
[267]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, pp. 69-71, 78.

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tance. After having intercepted a party of travelers on the Kentucky Road and killing one of their number, he crossed over to the Cumberland Road, where he learned, with bitter tears of disappointment and rage, the result of Watts' assault on Buchanan's Station.[268]

The expedition under Middle Striker, on the other hand, achieved a most important victory. He marched rapidly northward along the Cumberland Mountains until he reached the Walton Road, in the neighborhood of Crab Orchard, where he concealed his party in a favorable position to command the road. In the meantime Captain Handly and his troop had entered the Wilderness at Southwest Point, and following the Walton Road west, reached Crab Orchard November 23, 1792, seven days before the assault on Buchanan's Station. As they marched carelessly along the ivy bordered way near the foot of Spencer's Hill, they were startled by an unexpected volley from Middle Striker's warriors, who were concealed in the bushes by the roadside. A panic seized them, and they fled without striking a blow. Colonel Joseph Brown excuses them on the ground that it had been raining, and their guns would not fire. Not one of them reached Mero District. Three were left dead on the field, and the remainder, except their captain, found their way back to Southwest Point. Captain Handly made a heroic but futile effort to rally his men. In the confusion Leiper was unhorsed a short distance from the enemy. Captain Handly, seeing his perilous situation attempted to rescue him. In doing so, his own horse was shot from under him, and being quickly surrounded by a crowd of warriors, he fought them hand to hand with his sword. Finally, he jumped behind a tree, and there encountered Archer Coody, a half-breed who had acted as interpreter and could speak English, to whom he surrendered. Coody protected him with the greatest difficulty; he received numerous strokes from the side of the tomahawk, escaped a dangerous thrust from his own sword in the hands of an enemy, and was barely saved from the shot of an Indian gun, before he could be brought to the presence of Middle Striker. He afterwards gave Coody credit for having saved his life.[269]

Captain Handly was carried in rigid captivity to Willstown, where he was made to run the gauntlet, and was otherwise roughly treated until the sixth day of December. In the meantime a council was assembled to determine his fate, which hung in the balance for three days, but on the third day of

[268]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 329.
[269]Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, p. 76.

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its sitting the council determined that his life should be spared, after which he ceased to be treated as a prisoner, and received the consideration of a brother. This happy conclusion was probably the result of Colonel Watts' desire for peace, as he at once employed Captain Handly to write for him a peace talk to Governor Blount. On the twenty-fourth of January, he was escorted back to Knoxville with great ceremony by Middle Striker, Coody, and ten other wariors, and delivered up without price.[270]

Governor Blount received the letters of Bloody Fellow and the Glass on September 13th. He was completely deceived, and on the 14th again wrote General Robertson, declaring he had suffered dreadful apprehension for him; congratulating him on the happy change of affairs; and ordering him to discharge his brigade.[271]

But the crafty talks of the Bloody Fellow and the Glass did not deceive General Robertson; the pretended spies, Findleston and Deratte, had already informed him that such letters were to be written, for the double purpose of enabling Watts to surprise the Cumberland settlements, and at the same time insure the tranquility of his country during his absence. He advised Governor Blount of the information he had received, and decided to keep his troops in service, ready to march at a moment's warning, until the second of October.[272] He sent out spies to range the head waters of Stone's and Harpeth Rivers, and concentrated his troops within the settlements. On the 25th his spies returned without having made any important discoveries. Then other spies were despatched; Clayton and Gee being ordered to reconnoitre the country in the neighborhood of the present town of Murfreesboro.

Watts also sent out his spies. In this service he employed John Walker and George Fields, two young half-breeds who had been reared among the white people, and spoke the English language. They had been present at the treaty of Holston; everybody knew them and had the utmost confidence in them. Walker was quite a stripling, and apparently the most

[270]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 434; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 571-3. There is a romantic account of Captain Handly in the Tennessee Historical Society, said to have been written by General Rodgers, and published in the American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, pp. 86-90, but it is too inaccurate to be of much historical value.

[271]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, pp. 76-7.

[272]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, pp. 77-8.

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innocent and good natured fellow in the world.[273] Fields afterwards served with Jackson in the Creek War, and was desperately wounded at the battle of Talladega.[374] The spies of the two belligerents met in some fallen timber at Taylor's Trace, on the ridge between Duck River and Mill Creek, when the Indians decoyed Clayton and Gee into a trap, killed and scalped them.

A little after dark on the evening of September 30th, the Indian army approached Buchanan's Station. It now consisted of two hundred and eighty warriors—one hundred and ninety-seven Cherokees and eighty-three Creeks.[275] The Shawnees, who lived at Running Water, were numbered with the Cherokees. The whole was under the command of Colonel John Watts; the Creek division was commanded by Talotiskee, of the Broken Arrow, the great friend of Bowles.[276] He is not to be confounded with Talotiskee, the cousin of Watts, who was not with the invading army. The Shawnees contingent was led by the Shawnees Warrior; and the cavalry was in charge of John Taylor.

When the Indians had reached a point from which they could hear the lowing of the cows at Buchanan's Station, they halted for consultation. A warm altercation followed, between Colonel Watts and the Creek chief, Talotiskee, as to the point of attack. Watts desired to fall at once upon Nashville, the most important point in the settlement; but Talotiskee insisted on destroying Buchanan's Station, four miles south of Nashville, on their way. They lost much time in this controversy. Such division of counsel is a rock on which large parties of Indians have generally split, especially when consisting of more than one nation.[277] Still I cannot help believing that, while Watts had the address to raise an army, he lacked the force of character necessary to command obedience at the crucial moment. He showed the same weakness in his campaign against Knoxville, in 1793. Finally, near midnight, Colonel Watts consented to make the attack on Buchanan's Station.

This fort contained sundry families who had gone there for protection, and was defended by fifteen gun-men. The approach of the Indians was disclosed by the running of the cattle, and they were discovered and fired upon by John McRory,

[273]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 331.
[274]Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 141.
[275]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, p. 80.
[276]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 329.
[277]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 294.

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when within ten yards of the gate. They returned the fire, and kept up a constant and heavy discharge for an hour. Thirty balls passed through a single porthole of the "overjutting," and lodged in the roof, within the circumference of a hat. The women in the fort, under the leadership of Mrs. Sally Buchanan, rendered valuable aid to its defenders; they moulded bullets, distributed ammunition, loaded guns, and, on pressing occasions, fired them upon the enemy.

The Indians were never more than ten yards from the blockhouse and large numbers gathered around the lower walls in an attempt to fire it. Finally, Kiachatalee, of Nickajack, a daring young chief whose talents and courage were much admired by Colonel Joseph Brown, who was once a captive in his town, ascended the roof with a torch, but was shot down; falling to the ground he attempted to fire the bottom logs, literally blowing the flames with his last breath.[278] The Creek chief, Talotiskee, of the Broken Arrow, and the redoubtable Shawnees Warrior, of Running Water, were also killed; Colonel Watts fell, pierced through both thighs with a rifle ball, and was carried off on a horse-stretcher. Unacata, or the White-Man Killer, was dangerously, and Dragging Canoe's brother, called the White Owl's Son, mortally wounded. Besides these, four other warriors were wounded, two or three of whom afterwards died.[279] Towards morning the report of the swivel at Nashville, signaled that General Robertson was starting for the relief of the distressed garrison, and the Indians withdrew. There were no casualties on the side of the besieged.

[278]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 294.
[279]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 331.

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CHAPTER XIV.

CREEK CONTINUE THE WAR.

Creek invasion of Cumberland; death of Colonel Isaac Bledsoe; attack on Greenfield Station; Jacob and Joseph Castleman ambushed and killed; Abraham Castleman takes revenge; captivity of Elizabeth Baker. 1793.

After Watts' disastrous defeat at Buchanan's Station, there was a temporary lull in hostilities on the Cumberland. The chief restraining influence on the Indians was the fear that General Sevier would sweep down through their country and destroy their towns and property. But peace negotiations with the Cherokees having been opened, and making satisfactory progress, Governor Blount dismissed the whole of General Sevier's brigade, except a company of infantry and a small troop of cavalry, which were stationed at Southwest Point. The effect of this order was immediately felt upon the Cumberland. From the middle of January till the first of April there was hardly a week passed that was not signalized by the murder of some one of its inhabitants.

March 28, 1793, Governor Blount, having received information that the Upper Creeks and Chickamaugas would invade Mero District on the full moon, which would be about the 25th of April, authorized General Robertson to order into service for thirty days a full company of eighty mounted infantry, to explore the woods within the limits of fifty miles from the settlements; and, if the continuance of danger made their further service necessary, to retain them not exceeding two months, with authority to pursue the enemy as far as the Tennessee River.[280] At the same time he promised to order out a company from Hamilton District, that should pass Southwest Point on April 18th, and scour the country from the headwaters of Caney Fork to Nashville. This latter company, consisting of one hundred and twenty-five, officers and men, was accordingly embodied and put under the command of Major Hugh Beard, of Knox County, but did not march from Southwest Point until April 29th. They were instructed to consider all Indians found on the waters of Cumberland River as Creeks and enemies, and to treat them as such, unless the contrary appeared.[281]

These defensive measures, while indispensable to the settlements, were not sufficient to prevent the large numbers of

[280] American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, pp. 355-7.

[281] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 456.

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Creeks who were daily taking the war path to the Cumberland, from the perpetration of much mischief upon its inhabitants. Two of these war parties, one numbering about thirty and the other about forty-five warriors,[282] made the Bledsoe settlement in Sumner County, a section that had already suffered much at the hands of the Creeks, the especial object of their attack. On the 9th of April, 1793, the smaller party killed and scalped Colonel Isaac Bledsoe, one of the earliest explorers and settlers upon the Cumberland, in a field near his own station, where his brother, Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, had been killed some five years previously. An imposing granite monument now marks the spot where these brave pioneers sleep, side by side, near the ruins of the old fort where they fell.[283]

The larger of the two war parties mentioned (possibly both of them combined) made an attack on Greenfield Station, April 28, 1793. Greenfield was about two and a half miles north of Bledsoe's Station, and was settled by Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, but at this time was in the possession of Nathaniel Parker, who had married his widow. The engagement has been graphically described by Governor William Hall. He had been acting as a spy, but his term of service having expired, he went over to strengthen the garrison at Greenfield Station, which was not well manned. In the afternoon of the 27th he walked out to the field where Abraham, Prince, and another negro were plowing corn, under the protection of a sentry named John Jarvis. On one side of the field was a dark canebrake, whose green cane reached a height of fifteen feet; and not far off, on the side of a wheat field, was a nursery of young fruit trees, close set and in full leaf, making a dense thicket. He found Jarvis, surrounded by a pack of dogs, leaning against the fence next the canebrake. As he followed the plows across the field, talking with Abraham, a brave, active, and intelligent mulatto, he observed the dogs leap the fence in great excitement, and soon afterwards return, their hair erect, barking and growling in the most angry manner. He at once stopped the plows, and telling Jarvis that Indians were lurking near, ordered the men to the fort.

The night passed off without further disturbance. Next morning a herd of half wild cattle came charging up to the fort, nearly running over the women who were milking. Mrs. Clendening, a daughter of Colonel Bledsoe, called Jarvis back,

[282]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 454.

[283]This monument was erected by the descendants of the two Colonels Bledsoe, through the patriotic endeavor of Major J. G. Cisco, in whose excellent book, entitled "Historic Sumner County, Tennessee," may be found a full account of the Bledsoes.

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and told him the cattle were alarmed by Indians. But Jarvis, a brave and impulsive Irishman, laughed at her fears, complained of having been stopped from work the evening before, and declared he was going on, come what might. Mrs. Clendening then ran into the house and told her mother, Mrs. Parker, of the danger the men were in, and the two women aroused the men in the fort.

In the meantime, Jarvis and the negroes had reached the field, but before they had harnessed their horses to the plows Abraham discovered that the fence by the canebrake was lined with Indians just in the act of rising. Giving the alarm, they all sprang to their horses, and dashed across the field towards the lane leading to the fort. The Indians fired a tremendous volley at them as they retreated, and followed in hot pursuit.

The little garrison heard the firing before they could get out of the fort. William Hall and William Wilson were the first on the scene. They were at once attacked by a second party of Indians who were trying to cut Jarvis off from the fort, and determined to drive them back. While they made the fence between them and the Indians, the latter reached another fence about eighty yards distant, across a small meadow. As Hall and Wilson took cover in the corners of the primitive worm fence, a volley from the Indian rifles whistled past their heads, scattering splinters in all directions. Reserving their fire, they jumped over the fence and charged upon the enemy, whose guns were now empty, and the latter retreated up the hill towards the nursery. Turning the corner of the wheat field in which the Indians were, they followed on, the fence still between them, until they reached the nursery. At this point a third party of Indians lay in ambush. When they rose up Hall and Wilson instantly determined that the only chance for their lives lay in a bold charge, and as they made it the Indian bullets rattled around them in great numbers, but as they still reserved their fire, the Indians fled as the others had done.

William Neely, who, like Hall, had lost a father and brother by the Indians, and James Hays, now left the fort and ran down to the assistance of Hall and Wilson. Three Indians, detached from the other parties, undertook to cut them off, and having their whole attention absorbed in that direction, did not see Hall and Wilson until they had almost reached the fence by which they stood, when they dropped to the ground in the wheat, which was then about knee high, Hall brought his riflle to bear on one of them, who, seeing his danger, sprang to his feet and ran. At about ten steps

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Hall fired and the Indian fell. Wilson shot another, and the third escaped.

All this time the first party of Indians were pursuing Jarvis and the negroes, who, having reached the mouth of the lane, abandoned their horses and stopped to exchange shots with the enemy. Jarvis fell at the first fire, but Abraham, more fortunate, killed his man and ran for the stockade. A big Indian chased him almost to the fort, when he fired at him, then stopped and deliberately reloaded his gun. The rescuing party had now returned to the lane, and Neely snapped his gun two or three times at the big Indian, but the flint being turned it did not fire. The second party of Indians now returned, and the big Indian joining them, recklessly mounted the fence to take a survey of the field. Neely again drew a bead on him, and this time shot him through the arm pits, and he fell dead from the fence.

While a large number of Indians were gathered around the body of Jarvis, scalping and hacking it, Hall proposed to his friends that they fire a platoon into the crowd. Before they could place their guns in position a party of Indians fired upon them from the rear. This was followed by a second volley, which took a lock of hair from Hall's head. The whites then dashed past this party, who were trying to get between them and the fort, and as they ran down the lane they found the body of Prince, who had been killed while trying to reach the station. Hall stopped and turned him over to see who it was, and, renewing his flight, all reached the fort in safety, amid a shower of shot. They had killed four Indians, and had lost Jarvis and Prince; and all the horses had fallen into the hands of the Indians.[284]

The firing was heard for miles around, and during the day a number of parties came to the relief of the fort. A few of them, Joseph Desha, afterwards Governor of Kentucky, and William Hall, being among the number, insisted on giving immediate pursuit, but they were wisely overruled by Major George Winchester; for it was afterwards discovered that the Indians lay in ambush all day in order to surprise their pursuers. Having failed in this stratagem, the Indians abandoned the settlement. Major Beard's company, on their way to Cumberland, encountered them as they were returning from their expedition, and killed one of their warriors and wounded another.[285]

[284]Narrative of General William Hall, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 11-14.

[285]Daniel Smith, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, p. 92.

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While Major Beard was marching through the Cumberland, and until the local horse had been discharged from the service, about the middle of June, the settlers enjoyed a measure of peace; but after the latter date depredations from small bands of Creeks became distressingly frequent.[286]

Captain Hays, and, afterwards, young McEwen, having been killed at Hays' Station, on Stone's River, Ensign John Davis and a squad of men were sent out to protect the fort. On the last day of June, 1793, Ensign Davis and four of his men went down to the lick to gather strawberries. While so engaged two of the men heard some one whistle. The ensign suggested that it might have been a bird, but they affirmed that it was a human whistle. More from prudence than alarm they mounted their horses and, with trailed arms, rode back to the fort, meeting no interruption on the way.

That night, as the men were grazing their horses near the fort, the dogs gave an alarm, and they hastily returned to the stockade. Just before day next morning the cattle in the yard outside the palisades stampeded and ran off into the forest. When it became light enough to see the guard went out and found fresh signs where the Indians had crossed the spring branch close to the fort.

It had been the habit of Ensign Davis to furnish a guard for the stationers while in the field cutting oats for their horses; but on this morning, in view of the unusual hazard, he refused their application, and urged them not to go out. But notwithstanding his advice, and the many evidences of danger which he pointed out, four or five of the Castlemans, over whom he had no control, persisted in going. Near the corner of the oat patch, about two hundred yards from the fort, they were fired upon by a party of about a dozen Indians, judging from the reports of their guns. Jacob was killed, Joseph was mortally wounded, while a bullet in the breast brought their father, Hans, to the earth. Joseph, pale and bleeding, made his way back to the fort, and the others defended the old man from the Indians until the guard from the fort came to his rescue. Joseph Castleman died about sunset the same day, and the two brothers were buried outside the fort, alongside the still fresh graves of Hays and McEwen.[287]

[286]James Robertson, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 465.

[287]Narrative of John Davis, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, pp. 213-214. It is uncertain which, and how many, of the Castlemans were present. Mr. Davis, speaking many years afterwards, mentions John, Sr., Joseph, and David. General Robertson, in reporting the

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Abraham Castleman, a kinsman of the unfortunate family just mentioned, was a soldier, but of that turbulent, insubordinate class often found on the frontiers. The Indians called him "The Fool Warrior," and General Robertson described him as a "disorderly person." About the last day of August, 1793, Abraham Castleman raised a party of fourteen volunteers to take satisfaction for the death of his kinsmen. They took the Indian path leading to the Tennessee River, and followed it to the Creek Crossing Place, a little below Nickajack, but found no Indians on the north side of the river. Scouting parties being strictly forbidden by the government to pursue the enemy across the Tennessee River, all of his followers turned back at the Creek Crossing Place except Zachariah Maclin, John Camp, Eli Hammond, Ezekiel Caruthers, and Frederick Stull. Castleman and his five companions now dressed and painted themselves in the Indian fashion, crossed the river, and took the path leading to Willstown. The road was plain, and numerous trees along it were marked with the figures of scalps and such warlike signs. On the 15th of August, 1793, after they had traveled about ten miles, they discovered a party of forty or more Creek warriors, evidently on their way to Cumberland. They wore their war paint, and were without squaws or horses. They were sitting at breakfast when the whites appeared, and, mistaking them for friends, displayed no alarm at their approach. They continued eating until the whites, advancing to within about thirty yards of them, suddenly raised their guns and fired. Six Indians, including a son and three other kinsmen of the White Lieutenant, one of the first chiefs of the Creek Nation, fell dead upon the spot.[288] As soon as they had discharged their pieces the whites fled, separating into two parties. The shock was sudden and unexpected, and produced the greatest excitement and confusion among the Indians, which enabled the whites to make their escape, though one of them was slightly wounded, and another had four bullet holes through his shirt. They all returned safely to Nashville, August 21, 1793.[289]

affair, says Jacob, William, and Joseph were killed, and Hans wounded. (American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 466.) David Wilson, in a contemporary letter, says Jacob was killed and Joseph wounded. (American Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, p. 94.) Mrs. Sallie Smith, in a letter to her husband, General Daniel Smith, says two of the young Castlemans were killed and old Honnis wounded. (American Historical Magazine, Vol. 5, p. 293.)

[288]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 472; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 387.

[289]James Robertson, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 467; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 384.

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While Castleman was turning back the Creek party, headed by the White Lieutenant's son, Captain Isaacs, chief of the Coosawdas, with a small party, was distressing the country below Clarksville, in Tennessee County. On the day of Castleman's return he killed the widow Baker and most of her numerous family. Two of her children are said to have escaped.[290] One, Miss Elizabeth Baker, was taken prisoner and carried into captivity. As soon as she arrived at Coosawda, Captain Isaacs and his party hung the scalps of her dear ones on the council house, and danced the scalp dance around them with shouts of exultation and delight. But she did not long have to witness such scenes of humiliation and sorrow; she found a friend in Charles Weatherford, who lived across the river. He ransomed her, and placed her in charge of his wife, Sehoy, the half sister of General McGillivray, and the mother of the celebrated William Weatherford, the leader of the Indians in the Creek War of 1813-14. Here she was well treated, and finally reached her friends in the settlement.[291]

[290]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 468.
[291]Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. 2, pp. 134-5.

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CHAPTER XV.

COLONEL WATT'S LAST CAMPAIGN.

The Cherokee chiefs invited to visit the President; they assemble at Hanging Maw's; Captain John Beard assaults his town; Colonel Watts marches against Knoxville, and takes Cavett's Station; massacre of its inhabitants; General Sevier pursues the Indians; battle of Etowah. 1793.

Governor Blount wrote General Robertson, October 17, 1792, "Buchanan's Station has made a glorious beginning to the war"; but as the event proved it had put a sudden end to the open and avowed war. There were some fiery spirits among the Chickamaugas as well as the Creeks, who, burning for revenge, still haunted the Cumberland, but their principal chiefs disavowed their acts, and expressed their unwillingness to renew the struggle. As for Watts, the bland and playful view he took of the matter was absolutely childlike. He was calm and good-natured as usual; talked jocularly of his campaign, and his wound; told how the people of Nickajack had sent a runner to him, to know whether his wound did not still hurt him; and when answered in the negative, replied tauntingly that they did not expect it would be well so soon.[292]

When Governor Blount's dispatches reached Philadelphia the Federal government at once took steps to restore peace. On February 8, 1793, the Secretary of War wrote him that the President was highly desirous that John Watts, the Little Turkey, and as many other of the real chiefs of the Cherokees as he might deem proper to form a true representation of the tribe, should visit Philadelphia, promising them abundant supplies of such articles as they might require, both for themselves and for their nation.[293]

On the same day this order was issued, but, of course, before its receipt, Governor Blount despatched John McKee, a particular friend of Watts, to the Chickamauga towns, in order that he might be with Watts, and exert his influence in the interest of peace.[294] When he arrived at Chattooga, about twenty miles from Willstown, he halted, under the advice of friends, and sent for Watts. Watts met him with manifestations of the warmest friendship, inquired about the welfare of Governor Blount, and spoke pleasantly of the war, and the unsuccessful efforts that had been made to induce him to renew it. McKee had provided himself with a few gallons

[292] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 445.
[293] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 429.
[294] American State Papers. Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 435.

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of rum, and plied him with it, hoping by that means to acquire information from him, but all he got for his pains was the conviction that neither war nor the solicitations of his enemies had lessened Watts' friendship for him. On leaving he accepted McKee's invitation to meet him at Spring Hill on March 8th.

Watts did not appear at the time appointed, nor did he ever appear, though McKee waited until the 16th, and then sent a messenger to him. He told the messenger that he could not come on account of a great ball play, though McKee was afterwards informed that the ball play was not to have taken place before the 26th. Some days later John Walker, the innocent looking spy of the Buchanan's Station expedition, informed him that it was not the ball play that detained Watts, but a quarrel between him and Talotiskee on account of Watts' visit to him at Chattooga.[295] Watts was so insulted that he determined to leave Willstown, and actually packed up and had gone fourteen miles, when the young warriors sent and persuaded him back.[296]

Though McKee got nothing definite or satisfactory from his mission, he had hardly returned when Watts himself appeared on the border, and sent word to Governor Blount that he was at the Hanging Maw's, and wished to visit him at Knoxville, if he could do so with safety; but if he could not, he would be glad to meet him elsewhere. Governor Blount met Watts, the Hanging Maw, Doublehead, and other chiefs[297] at Henry's Station, on April 5th, and spent the day in eating, drinking and jocular conversation, of which Watts was very fond. He was friendly and good-natured, and impressed the Governor as "unquestionably the most leading character of his nation."[298] The next day Governor Blount made known to Watts the wish of the President that he and the other chiefs visit Philadelphia. He replied that in twenty-one nights (April 27th) they would have a full council at Running Water, and would then let him know what conclusion they had reached.[299]

The council did not meet at Running Water as expected, but on the 24th of May, Bob McLemore, a warrior of Watts' party, arrived at the Hanging Maw's with a message from Watts, that the council at Willstown, with the Shawnee am-

[295]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 445-6.
[296]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 452.
[297]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 452.
[298]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 443.
[299]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 447.

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bassadors, had broken up, and that all was straight; he would be up in five nights, with Talotiskee, the Bloody Fellow, and other chiefs, and would give the particulars. He neither wrote nor sent the particulars of the proceedings at Willstown, for fear of some mistake.[300]

June 3rd following, McKee informed Governor Blount that Doublehead, the Otter Lifter, and ten or twelve other chiefs from the Chickamauga towns had arrived at the Hanging Maw's, and that Watts was expected that day. They had come at the request of Governor Blount, and, having expressed the most pacific disposition, were expected to proceed to Philadelphia in company with McKee, whom Governor Blount had employed for that purpose, and authorized to provide for their wants by the way.[301]

Having everything arranged to his satisfaction, Governor Blount himself departed for Philadelphia June 7th, leaving Secretary Daniel Smith in charge as acting Governor of the Territory.

Hanging Maw, or Scollacutta, the head chief of the Cherokee Nation, at whose house the envoys from the Chickamauga towns were assembling, was one of their old chiefs; he was already a great man when John Watts was a child,[302] he knew Washington when they were both young men and warriors;[303] and got to be known as the Great Warrior of his nation.[304] But he had long been a friend of peace. As far back as 1780, when his towns joined the Chickamaugas in an invasion of the frontiers, he threatened to leave them and take up his residence with the whites;[305] and in turn, the victorious Americans protected his house and property from plunder, even when Chota, the white city, was not spared. When the Old Tassel became principal chief of the Cherokees, Hanging Maw was his associate, and assisted him to preserve peace during the stormy days of the Franklin government. When the Tassel fell the Hanging Maw became his successor. At one time the Creeks fomented so much trouble on the frontiers that he removed to Willstown, but there they called him Virginian, and stole his horse, so he returned to Chota, determined to stand his ground.[306] Governor Blount declares, at

[300]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 455.

[301]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 457-459; Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 6, pp. 409, 410, 418.

[302]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, p. 367.

[303]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 459.

[304]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 250.

[305]Weeks' General Joseph Martin, p. 432.

[306]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, p. 93.

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this time, that "If there is a friendly Indian in the Cherokee Nation, to the United States, it is the Maw, and he is a very great beloved man."[307]

During the month of May there were several small parties of Indians committing depredations in the settlements around Knoxville. On the 25th one of these parties killed Thomas Gillum and his son James, in the Raccoon Valley, near Clinch River. Governor Blount ordered Captain John Beard, with fifty mounted infantry, to give immediate pursuit, his purpose being to punish the offenders, to deter like parties of Indians in the settlement from committing depredations, and to pacify the white people on the frontiers.[308] Excitement in the neighborhood was at such a tension that only a favorable opportunity was necessary to cause it to burst out in the most terrible retaliation against the Indians. This opportunity was found in the order given to Captain Beard.

In following the party of Indians who had killed the Gillums Captain Beard claimed that the trail led to the town of Hanging Maw, where the envoys from the Chickamauga towns were gathered, at the invitation of Governor Blount. Though he had been ordered not to cross the Tennessee River, about daylight on the morning of June 12th, 1793, he crossed over to the south bank of that stream, and made an assault on the Hanging Maw's town. He killed Scantee, Fool Charley, or Captain Charley, and eight or ten others, among whom was William Rosebury, a white man who had an Indian wife and a small family, and Betty, the daughter of Kittigeskee. Among the wounded were the Hanging Maw, his wife and daughter, and Betty, the daughter of Nancy Ward, who, it will be remembered, was the Indian wife of General Joseph Martin.

Major Robert King, an agent of the government, who had formed a connection with Hanging Maw's daughter, was in the house when it was attacked, and only saved his life by jumping out of the window; an incident that shows some degree of advancement in their dwelling houses. James Ore and Daniel Carmichael, also government agents, were fired upon as they made their escape.

By hard pleading the white men induced Captain Beard to spare the rest of the Hanging Maw's family, and not to burn his house.[309] It was reported at the time that Doublehead

[307]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 436.

[308]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 455.

[309]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 6, pp. 409-10; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 577.

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and the Hanging Maw's wife were both killed, the latter while pleading for forbearance, and professing her invariable friendship for the white people. But it turned out that neither of them was killed; the Hanging Maw's wife received a wound from which she recovered; and four years afterward her husband, having died in the meantime, she applied to the government for a pension as his widow, alleging this affair as a ground for her claim.[310]

It was felt that this shocking assault would inevitably bring on a general war, and Secretary Smith immediately wrote to Hanging Maw, Doublehead, and Watts, pleading with them not to be rash, but to go on to see their great father, the President, as he had requested, and assuring them that he would give them satisfaction if they forbore to take it themselves.

The Indians demanded that they be given immediate satisfaction by the arrest and punishment of Captain Beard's party. Doublehead was furious. "I am still among my people, living in gores of blood," he wrote. "We have lost nine of our people that we must have satisfaction for. This is the third time we have been served so. I shall not go from this place until I get a full answer from you." Hanging Maw answered sarcastically that, while Governor Blount was in place nothing happened. "Surely they are making fun of you." "If you are left in the place of the Governor, you ought to take satisfaction yourself." "I think you are afraid of these bad men." And to President Washington he wrote that he need not look for them to go to Philadelphia at that time.[311] John Watts answered not a word.

Secretary Smith caused Captain Beard to be arrested and tried before a court martial, but public sentiment was too strong to be resisted, and he was acquitted; and Secretary Smith confessed, to his great pain, that he found it out of the question to punish Beard by law at that time.

Finding the authorities thus powerless to punish the offenders, the patience of the Cherokees gave way, and the latter part of August brought unmistakable evidence of Indian hostility. The settlements were put in a posture of defense. General Sevier was posted at Ish's Station, across the river from Knoxville, with four hundred mounted infantry. There were forty men at Knoxville, and a respectable force at Campbell's Station, about fifteen miles west of Knoxville, which was one of the strongest forts on the border.

[310]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 621.
[311]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 460.

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On the evening of September 24, 1793, John Watts, at the head of a large body of Indians, estimated at a thousand warriors or more, composed of Cherokees and Creeks, crossed the Tennessee River below the mouth of Holston, and marched all night in the direction of Knoxville. They avoided Campbell's Station, passed within three miles of Ish's, and daylight found them in sight of Cavett's Station, eight miles west of Knoxville.

When intelligence of the approaching Indians reached Knoxville, its men, under the leadership of Colonel James White, determined to meet them on the ridge, a mile and a quarter west of the town, rather than await them in the blockhouse. Among the brave men who shouldered their rifles and marched out to meet the enemy was the Reverend Samuel Carrick, whose wife lay dead in his house, and her body was left to be committed to the grave by female hands.[312] Colonel White skillfully planned his defense, carefully placed his men in ambush, and patiently awaited the enemy, but they never came.

Colonel Watts had with him some of the most intractable chiefs of the nation, particularly Doublehead. I have already mentioned the difficulty of controlling large bodies of Indians, and expressed the opinion that Watts did not have the force of character to compel obedience to his will. On this occasion the chiefs disputed the question, whether they should press on to Knoxville at once, or stop and destroy every cabin on their way. Doublehead favored the latter. Then the question arose whether they should massacre all the inhabitants of Knoxville, or only the men. Doublehead insisted on the former. The altercation between Doublehead and Vann was long and heated. Vann had a little boy, a captive, riding behind him. Doublehead became so infuriated that he killed Vann's little boy. The result was that, after a march, which for celerity and silence was quite remarkable, they found themselves eight miles from Knoxville at daylight, the hour at which their attack on that town was to have been made.

But they were in sight of Cavett's Station, a blockhouse in which Alexander Cavett and his family of thirteen people resided, only three of whom were gun-men. They abandoned Knoxville and assaulted Cavett's. The three men made a brave resistance. Alexander Cavett, the father, died with bullets in his mouth, which he had placed there to facilitate loading. Five Indians fell, dead or wounded, before their rifles. This checked the assailants and brought on a parley. The Bench,

[312]Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. 3, p. 434.

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Watts' nephew, who spoke English, agreed with the besieged that if they would surrender their lives should be spared, and that they should be exchanged for a like number of Indian prisoners. These terms were accepted and the little garrison surrendered. As soon as they left the blockhouse Doublehead and his party fell upon them and put them all to death in the most barbarous manner, except Alexander Cavett, Jr., who was saved by the interposition of Colonel Watts, though he was afterwards killed in the Creek towns. It is but just to add that the Bench, who arranged the terms of capitulation, pleaded, though in vain, for the lives of the captives.

The house was then plundered and burned, and the Indians disappeared.[313] General Sevier, who then lay at Ish's with four hundred men, was ordered out by Secretary Smith, to pursue the Indians. Being reinforced until his whole army numbered about seven hundred men, General Sevier took the field and marched rapidly southward until October 14, 1793, when he reached the beloved town of Estanaula. The town was deserted, but as it contained abundant provisions, General Sevier halted here and rested his men. The Indians undertook to surprise his camp at night, but their attack was unsuccessful. From some Cherokee prisoners taken at Estanaula it was learned that the main body of the enemy, composed of Cherokees and Creeks, had passed that place a few days previously, and were making for a town at the mouth of the Etowah River. After refreshing his troops, General Sevier followed the enemy, reaching the confluence of the Oostanaula and Etowah rivers on the evening of the 17th.

The Creeks and a number of the Cherokees had entrenched themselves on the opposite bank of the Etowah, to obstruct its passage. A happy mistake on the part of the guides, Cary and Findleston, saved the day for the whites. They carried Colonel Kelly's forces half a mile below the ford, where he and a few others immediately swam the river. The Indians, discovering this movement, abandoned their entrenchments and rushed down the river to oppose Colonel Kelly. Captain Evans, discovering the error, wheeled, and, straining his horse's back to the ford, dashed into the river. The Indians at the ford, who were under the command of the King Fisher, a Cherokee chief of the first consequence, saw their mistake, and returning received Captain Evans' company furiously at the rising of the bank. The engagement was hot and spirited. The King Fisher made a daring sally within a few yards of Hugh Lawson

[313] Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 330-332; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 580-581.

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White, afterwards the distinguished jurist and statesman. He and some of his comrades discharged their rifles, the King Fisher fell, and his warriors abandoned the field. The whites lost three men in this engagement.[314]

This campaign ended the war, and closed the military careers of both Colonel Watts and General Sevier.

[314]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 584-589; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 469.

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HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The following historical statement has been sent to us with the appended inquiry:

During the Revolutionary War, about 1777, Major James Johnson was killed by Tories while bathing in the Clinch River in Hawkins County, Tenn. His wife was ill in bed with a young baby and saw through the window the killing of her husband. Later, after her husband's death, she married Thomas Murrill of Hawkins County. A greatgrandson of this Major Johnson was named Ichabod Mitchell (b. Sept. 27, 1822; d. Jan. 18, 1917, at Combstown, Tenn.). Two of the Johnson family, Martin and William, married Sallie and Tisha Combs.

It is particularly desired, if possible, to ascertain the exact date and location of this tragedy. Tradition says that Major Johnson had gone home on a furlough and had resigned or was about to resign his commission at the time of his death.

Perhaps members of our society in the eastern part of the State can find for us the desired data.

The September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* will be found unusually interesting to students of Civil War history, giving most valuable data and interesting history of certain secret political societies in the North during the Civil War period, viz:

The Knights of the Golden Circle, Knights and Sons of Liberty, the Northwest Confederacy of 1864, Treason Trials in Indiana and The Camp Douglass Conspiracy.

A valuable contribution to Tennessee history in the early French and Indian period of which we know so little, is to be found in the June number of the *Mississippi Historical Review* for 1916, by Verner W. Crane, entitled "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina," a study of early exploration and fur trade.

Our readers who have been following the interesting continued story of the Southern Indians will be appreciative of the additional article printed in this number by Mr. Goodpasture with its reproduction of the rare picture of Judge Friend. Friend."

Those interested in De Soto literature will find helpful articles in *Americana* for July, "De Soto's Route in Arkansas," and in Vol. II of Centenary Series of the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, "Did De Soto Discover the Mississippi River in Tunica County, Mississippi?" (two chapters), by Dunbar Rowland, and "De Soto at Chickasaw Bluffs," by J. P. Young.

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TENNESSEE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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TENNESSEE, THE COMPROMISE OF 1850, AND THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION.*

Upon the expiration of the long drawn-out congressional day of March 3, 1849, James K. Polk, the retiring president of the United States, spent Sunday, March 4, as quietly as possible. Having attended the First Presbyterian church, he parted affectionately with those in whose midst he had worshiped during the four years of his presidency. The following day, after the ceremonies of the inauguration of President Taylor had been concluded, Polk, accompanied by a considerable party, departed from Washington to travel, by a circuitous route, to his home in Tennessee. On April 2 he reached Nashville and found there a great concourse of people assembled to greet him. Though exhausted by his journey and not yet recovered from an illness which had attacked him some days before, he was obliged to drive with Aaron V. Brown,[1] his long time associate and political friend, to the public square, to hear a speech and to make one. The next day he rode with Mrs. Polk to inspect a new house which he intended to be his future residence. Later in the same week he visited Columbia, to see his aged mother. On the sixteenth the party returned to Nashville, spending the night at the house of Aaron V. Brown. After chronicling other visits and matters of minor importance, the diary, so carefully kept by Polk, closes with an entry for June 2, 1849. Two weeks later Polk had passed

[1] Representative from Tennessee in the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth congresses: elected governor of Tennessee in 1845, and defeated for reëlection in 1847 by Neil S. Brown. He is said to have been responsible for the democratic platform of 1852. In 1857 he was appointed postmaster general by Buchanan, and died in office. He was a facile speaker and writer, and some of his productions were gathered together in a volume entitled *Speeches, congressional and political, and other writings of Ex-Governor Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee* . . . (Nashville, 1854).

[* Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Dec., 1915, by permission.]

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away, having been granted no time to enjoy the "library of books" which he had found pleasure in arranging in the new house.[2]

When the diarist had completed his notes for the last days of his presidential term, he did not undertake further entries of a political nature. No word of comment is found upon the course of the new administration in Washington, or upon the political campaign for which the parties in Tennessee were preparing, though both matters must have recalled to Polk the experiences which he had met in his long political career. As in his own case four years before, the presidential appointments to executive office were the subject of criticism, both from the opposition party and from the friends of the administration. The whigs confined their misgivings to private correspondence: the democratic complaints filled the newspapers.[3] In this year the people were to elect a governor, members of the assembly, and representatives in congress. In April, according to the custom of Tennessee, were held the party conventions; in August followed the election; in October the assembly met; in November members of congress departed for Washington. Between May and August the candidates engaged in joint debate in every section of the state "from Carter to Shelby," to the peril of their health, but to the delight of the crowds who preferred to hear political topics discussed in a duel between orators rather than to read political essays in the newspapers. In this year the whigs sought to re-elect Neil S. Brown, who in 1847 had wrested the governorship from Polk's friend, Aaron V. Brown. To understand

[2] J. K. Polk, *The diary of James K. Polk, during his presidency 1845 to 1849*, edited by M. M. Quaife (Chicago, 1910), 4: 372 *et seq.*

[3] "The appointments that have been made in Tennessee have not given satisfaction." William B. Campbell to David Campbell of Virginia, May 14, 1849. Manuscript belonging to Mr. Lemuel R. Campbell of Nashville. This is one of a large number of letters written by William B. Campbell, one of the most prominent of the whigs in Tennessee, to his uncle, Governor David Campbell of Virginia. For the use of this correspondence I am under obligation to Mr. L. R. Campbell.

On the democratic side, besides the newspapers of that party, *passim*, there is an interesting comparison by Cave Johnson of the appointments made by the new administration with those of his own making as postmaster general under Polk, in letters written by Johnson, on his return to his home in Clarksville, Tennessee, to James Buchanan, June 17 and August 12, 1849. These letters are taken from a large number written by Johnson to Buchanan which are among the Buchanan manuscripts in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society which has kindly consented to their use. The collection will hereafter be cited as Johnson-Buchanan letters. Cave Johnson, it should be stated, was a devoted adherent of Buchanan and sought to bring about his nomination for the presidency.

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the principles at issue in the campaign it is necessary briefly to review the situation of public affairs when Polk surrendered his control of the national government to the whigs.

The sectional controversy over the boundaries and the organization of the territory acquired from Mexico by the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, and particularly the problem of the admission or the exclusion of slave property from this territory, overshadowed all other political issues. The failure alike of Polk's plan of extending the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific, of the so-called Clayton compromise, and of the "Walker Amendment," which met its death in the closing hours of the thirtieth congress, left the territories in the hands of the executive—except that congress did extend to California the revenue laws of the United States. But before the adjournment of congress there had developed under the leadership of Calhoun that movement which was regarded in such a sinister light by those devoted to the union, and by none more than by Polk, who inherited and cherished the traditions of Andrew Jackson. The proceedings of Calhoun and his associates were published at length in the Nashville papers and were accompanied with widely varying comments. The whig journal took up the favorite diversion of its party: that of denouncing the northern free soil element in the democratic party[4]. The *Nashville Union,* the leading mouthpiece of the democratic organization, defended the northern democrats and denounced the course of John Bell, the whig senator from Tennessee, who, with Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, had turned his back, the *Union* charged, upon the South.[5] It was, as one would expect, the policy of the democratic party to undertake to defend the rights of the South.

When the democratic state convention met upon April 19, the choice of the delegates, by a great majority, fell upon William Trousdale of Sumner county, a man of military reputation who was soon affectionately named "the veteran of three wars."[6] The platform voiced approval of the policies of the outgoing democratic administration of Polk, and continued with very positive statements that the federal government possessed no rightful control over the institution of

[4] *Nashville True Whig,* May 17, 1849.

[5] *Nashville Union,* February 14, 1849.

[6] *Nashville Union,* April 20, 1849, *et seq.* As candidates for the governorship several of the younger political leaders were named in the newspapers, one of the most prominent being Gideon J. Pillow, a brother-in-law of Aaron V. Brown. Pillow, however, soon withdrew his name. Cave Johnson, of Clarksville, and F. P. Stanton and L. H. Coe, of the western district, were also mentioned. The last two were inclined to the extreme southern point of view.

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slavery such as to impair the rights of the slaveholders; that all the territories were the common property of the states, and the enactment by congress of any law preventing citizens from emigrating with their property constituted a violation of state rights; that there would be no difficulty in choosing between "the only alternatives that will then remain, of abject submission to aggression and outrage on the one hand, or on the other by the adoption at all hazards and to the last extremity of such measures as will vindicate our constitutional rights;" and concluded by declaring that in the event of the passage of the Wilmot proviso, or any law abolishing slavery or the slave trade from the District of Columbia, "we are ready heart and soul with a united front" to join Virginia and the other southern states in such measures as might be proper "whether through a Southern convention or otherwise."[7]

As the canvass proceeded Cave Johnson wrote to Buchanan that Trousdale's chances were good. Besides the old questions of the bank, tariff, etc., the main reliance of the democrats for success was on the Wilmot proviso. "General T. takes the Virginia resolutions and [is] for resisting in every manner to the last extremity and insists that this is the best if not the only mode of preserving the Union. I do not like his position, but it is possible that he may secure Calhoun Whigs enough to carry the election in the Western District."[8] August 12, after the election, Johnson again wrote to Buchanan, attributing the success of the democrats to the superior aggressiveness of Trousdale, to resentment at the whig appointments, to the disaffection of part of the whigs under the influence of E. H. Foster, who was jealous of Senator Bell, and to the agitation of the emancipation question in Kentucky, and the position of the administration on the Wilmot proviso. "Cass's doctrine," he continued, "of the non-interference by Congress with slavery is the universal doctrine here, but I have found none unwilling to subscribe to yours—the Missouri Compromise."[9]

With the close of the summer elections, there was a noticeable quiescence in the agitation of national politics in

[7] *Nashville Union*, April 20, 1849. It was soon revealed by the whig papers that more strenuous measures had been recommended in a resolution which had been prepared by Coe of Memphis, which had been withdrawn before it was formally presented. The *Union* explained that these resolutions had not suggested secession, and that only cessation of commercial intercourse with the North had been proposed. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1849.

[8] Johnson-Buchanan letters, June 17, 1849.

[9] Johnson-Buchanan letters, August 12, 1849.

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the Tennessee papers, and matters of internal improvement and other state affairs took a more prominent place. But soon the assembling of the legislature reawoke interest in politics, and the message of the retiring governor, Neil S. Brown, and that of the incoming governor, William Trousdale, again emphasized the different points of view of the two parties. About the same time appeared notices of Mississippi's call for a southern convention to be held at Nashville. The comment of the *Whig,* now called the *True Whig,* as to this, was "we trust the Southern states will be fully represented as well for embodying in definite form the real sentiment of the South as for adopting such measures as may be best calculated to bring about unity and concert of action, and in defense of her rights and interests upon this vitally interesting and exciting question."[10] A yet more prominent whig organ, the *Republican Banner, and Nashville Whig,* while it expressed the hope that the convention might prove to be unnecessary, nevertheless also promised it a welcome to Nashville.[11] October 14, Cave Johnson wrote at length to Buchanan, telling of a visit to Nashville where he had called upon Mrs. Polk, whose mansion was still draped in mourning, and where he had found the assembly in session. He reported that the party organization was torn by sectionalism and personal feuds, the chief of which was that between the democratic senator, Hopkins L. Turney, and A. O. P. Nicholson, the principal supporter of the interests of General Cass. The legislature was "tied," and "the Whig party in more confusion than we are."[12] It happened that the democrats, while successful as to the lower house, had failed to elect a majority of the state senate. Consequently, when late in the session, joint resolutions upon the state of the union were adopted these, as might be expected of measures which had passed the whig senate and democratic house, were double-barrelled in character. They upheld the sacredness of the constitution and

[10] *Nashville True Whig,* October 16, 1849.

[11] *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig,* October 15, 1849.

[12] Johnson-Buchanan letters, October 14, 1849. "The Cass movement in this state at the last election was made to head off Pres. P. They feared, notwithstanding his positive declaration, that he might be taken up a second time in Baltimore and therefore sent a majority which was secretly dissatisfied with the dispensation of the patronage here. This was felt as unkind by him and by his leading confidential friends in this state, and Mr. N. is on that account not acceptable to them, and they will wish me to be the new Senator. I will not get into the fight, and may be enabled therefore to settle it, but I do not see how." Nicholson had been a candidate in 1845 for election as senator. He charged that Turney had secured the election by a deal with the whigs. As to the controversy that ensued, see Polk, *Diary,* 1: 112-114.

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prayed for the perpetuity of the union. The patriotic people of the state of Tennessee, it was declared, would stand by and defend the union "at all hazards and to the last extremity;" and the only method by which the union could be preserved in its original purity so as to secure to the several states their constitutional rights was by "resisting, at all hazards and to the last extremity, any and all attempts to violate the spirit of its provisions."[13] But a resolution which failed to pass was one introduced in the house, by which the governor was requested to appoint delegates to a southern convention. In the senate, however, the whig committee on resolutions reported that it was no part of their duty to aid in organizing a southern convention or any other convention. If such a meeting were desired by the people, it belonged to them in their primary assembles to call it, and not to the general assembly or to the executive. A democratic effort to pass a resolution requesting the people of the state to adopt this course was defeated by a vote of eleven to nine.[14] It was doubtless this activity of the democratic house which extracted from Cave Johnson the letter to Buchanan of which the following is a part:

"I begin to fear that there is a settled determination with the extreme men of both the great political parties to dissolve the Union and it will require much prudence and wisdom among the moderate men [to] resist successfully their nefarious projects. I have been shocked of late to hear cool calculation entered into to show the great advantages which the South and South West would obtain by the establishment of a Southern Confederacy and securing free trade with England. Cities would spring up as if by magic in the Gulf, railroads and the great Mississippi could give us the control of the interior whilst free trade would secure us the trade of all nations. The wealth of the East would be poured into our laps over the Isthmus. We should soon surpass in splendor and wealth the fabulous accounts of the East whilst the North would be ruined by the destruction of the manufactures and commerce and be left to enjoy their bleak and barren hills and to repent at leisure their injustice to the South. I lose all patience and self-control when I hear such things and be not surprised if you should hear even me with my fifty or sixty negroes denounced for favoring the abolitionists because I will not yield to the mad projects of disunion that are now so freely talked of. No man feels more

[13] "Joint resolution, No. 13," in *Acts and resolutions of the Tennessee general assembly*, 1849-1850. Passed February 11, 1850.

[14] *Senate journal*, 1849-1850, pp. 758-767.

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abhorrence at the conduct and course of the abolitionists than I do. I will resist quarrel and fight them if necessary but I shall not dissolve the Union or sit with any party that shall attempt it directly or indirectly [?]. I do not censure less the conduct of the extreme Southern men than that of the abolitionists and shall be ready to meet their nefarious projects as those of the former. The proposed convention at Nashville alarms me *and the mode* proposed of electing delegates. They are to be selected by the Governor or the present legislators passing over the people for a very obvious reason. It would not suit their purposes to have these question publicly discussed. High places are now filled by trick contrivances with men who would have been repudiated by the people if their designs had been understood and who will be scorned and rejected so soon as they are understood. I have been disgusted by the conduct of a few Southern Democrats in the defeat of Forney evidently designed to widen the breach if practicable between Northern and Southern Democrats. The greatest act of folly committed by the Democratic party for many years was in permitting Mr. C. to come back to it. We should have kept him at arms length and treated him as a nullifier. From the moment he learned that Gen. J. was in favor of Van Buren he has been making issues at which he is a great adept between the North and the South for the purpose of destroying Van Buren in the one or the other section and I suppose will never be content until he either rules or ruins. I think that he has now more power than that at any former period. I mean with the politicians because I think he has but little with the masses. You have no doubt noticed its progress in the Senate and House as well as the means by which it has been acquired. Unluckily since the death of Jackson and Polk we have none in the South with influence and courage enough to oppose it. Our legislature it is understood will sanction the convention and support or authorize the appointment by the Gov of delegates and pass strong resolutions not less strong than of Va."[15]

The story of the expansion of the movement for the defense of southern rights from the congressional meetings in Washington to the project of a convention of the southern states has been made clear in more than one scholarly treatment, and it is here necessary only to give the briefest outline of this evolution.[16] The connection of Calhoun with the

[15] Johnson-Buchanan letters, January 20, 1850.

[16] Besides the more or less unsatisfactory accounts in the general histories of Von Holst, Schouler, McMaster, Rhodes, and Garrison, and such older works as, e.g., J. P. Hodgson, *The cradle of the confederacy* . . . (Mobile, 1876), the student of this period may consult the

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movement in Mississippi is well established, though Foote of Mississippi professed that in the beginning he was ignorant of the correspondence which Calhoun was carrying on with men in Mississippi.[17] But the practical beginnings came from Mississippi, and in the course of the convention's session the honor of originating it was claimed by that state.[18] A convention held May 7 in Jackson, thinking itself to represent but a small part of the state, advised the assembling of another convention in October. After very great activity on the part of the politicians this convention met, passed resolutions upon the territorial questions, and included therein a call for a convention of the southern states. While democrats and whigs in Mississippi united in the movement, the democrats had taken the responsibility and the leadership, and the success of the democratic party in the elections in Mississippi was held to demonstrate the approval of the people of Mississippi and was a matter of encouragement to the southern partisans in other states. The action of Mississippi was followed in some sort by most of the southern states. There was, however, great diversity in the method of choosing delegates, and there was great difference in the spirit with which the elections were carried out. In some states the wish to refer the matter to the people led to the representation of only certain districts.[19]

With the opening of the year 1850, as news was received of action with regard to the proposed convention on the part of one or another of the southern states, the editor of the *Union* of Nashville, as well as those of other democratic papers in the state, had begun to agitate more actively the participation of Tennessee in the movement. In one of the earliest of the editorials on this subject, which appeared Jan-

altogether excellent monograph of Cleo Hearon, "Mississippi and the compromise of 1850," Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, 14: ch. 6, and the Justin Winsor prize essay by A. C. Cole, *The whig party in the South* (Washington, 1913), ch. 5, 6. A remarkable deficiency in the latter work, however, is the omission of any adequate discussion of the course of John Bell in the session of 1849-1850.

[17] D. T. Herndon, "The Nashville convention of 1850," in Alabama Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1904, v. 5: 204-209.

[18] *Nashville Daily American*, June 13, 1850, remarks of Governor Matthews of Mississippi.

[19] Herndon, "The Nashville convention of 1850," in Alabama Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1904, v. 5: 212-216. For the selection of Nashville as the meeting place I have found no definite explanation afforded by contemporary evidence. Sufficient reasons doubtless were (1) the influence of the great *party* gatherings in Nashville in 1840 and 1844; (2) the importance of Tennessee as a border-state; and (3) the convenient geographical situation of Nashville.

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uary 9, the *Union*, noting the introduction into the Tennessee legislature of a resolution looking to the appointment of delegates, and adverting to the action of Georgia, had maintained that the convention was not a party movement; but, as we have seen from the course of the matter in the legislature, this nonpartisan attitude was not to be preserved.[20] The whig newspapers, with the exception, first, of the *Enquirer* of Memphis and later of the *Trenton Banner*, were soon unanimous in opposition to the meeting of the convention in Nashville. The *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* from January on continued to rebuke the plotters of disunion.[21] The *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* was the organ of John Bell, upon whom again the editor of the *Union* launched strenuous criticism for his antisouthern course. A selfish politician, he had gained all that he could from Tennessee, and now in his whole senatorial course he looked to the North for countenance and support.[22] The *Union* did not fail to point out the more sympathetic attitude of the *Banner* in the preceding October, when that paper had welcomed the meeting of the convention. The change in view was ascribed to the appointment of the former governor, Neil S. Brown, as minister to Russia, by which step the administration had purchased the support of the Tennessee whigs.[23] The *Banner* retorted that it was now obviously the purpose of the convention to foment disunion and secession, which purpose had not then been made manifest. Nothing was then heard, said the *Banner*, of a southern republic with a capital at Asheville.[24] The *Union* ridiculed the idea of a southern republic,[25] denied any purpose of secession as attaching to the convention, and claimed that every democratic newspaper in the state was for the convention, and that so good a whig paper as the *Memphis Enquirer* candidly acknowledged the desirability of it.[26] Memphis was willing to have the convention if Nashville was not. In February the *Union* argued somewhat as follows: Whatever measures of compromise might be adopted would not be passed before the end of the session. The convention meeting in June would voice a southern protest against northern aggression. As to the expected aggressive laws, their unconstitutionality might possibly be made more manifest, and the hand of oppression be stayed by the demonstration. If such laws were passed, the

[20] *Nashville Union*, January 9, 1850.
[21] *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, January 28, 1850, *et seq.*
[22] *Nashville Union*, March 13, 1850.
[23] *Ibid.*, February 16, 1850.
[24] *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, February 19, 1850.
[25] *Ibid.*, March 11, 1850; *Nashville Union*, February 20-24, 1850.

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meeting of the convention might lead to a repeal. The measures to which the *Union* referred were declared to be, first, the proposal to deprive the South of the advantage of the "federal ratio" of five Negroes counting as three white men; secondly, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the navy yards, and other possessions of the United States; third interference with the interstate transportation of slaves; and, fourth, the Wilmot proviso.[27] The real fear of the whigs, said the democratic editor, concerned not a dissolution of the union, but the dissolution of the whig party by a successful settlement of the slavery question, upon the continued agitation of which the whig organization must depend for its very existence. Whig opposition to the convention was only a scheme to prevent a settlement.[28]

On April 13, as a part of its agitation to the end that Tennessee should be represented in the convention, the *Union* issued a call for a meeting to be held the first Monday in May to elect delegates from Davidson county, in which Nashville is situated. This call appealed to voters irrespective of party, but was limited to "friends of the convention." Among the signatures attached to the notice was that of Andrew Jackson's nephew, A. J. Donelson, who had just returned from his service as minister to the German government at Frankfort, having been recalled by the new whig administration.[29] A couple of days later ex-Governor Aaron V. Brown published in the *Union* a letter strongly pleading for the convention.[30] The gathering on the first Monday in May turned out not to be without its amusing features. A. J. Donelson was chosen president, obviously with the purpose of off-setting the use of Andrew Jackson's name in hostility to the convention. The "friends of the Convention" endeavored to railroad through the meeting resolutions looking to the election of representatives for Davidson county, but the debate revealed that the whigs were present in large numbers, and, notwithstanding Donelson's oratory on behalf of the convention, a resolution of an exactly opposite tenor was adopted. This was a decided damper to the "friends of the convention," but not utterly discouraged these remained in the room when the meeting adjourned and organized again with Donelson in the chair,

[27] *Nashville Union*, February 27, 1850.

[28] *Ibid.*, February 24, 26, 1850.

[29] *Ibid.*, April 13, 1850. A misunderstanding of this participation of A. J. Donelson in the call for the county meeting in May may account for the statement of J. Phelan, *History of Tennessee* (Boston, 1889), 434, to the effect that the southern convention was originally called at Donelson's suggestion.

[30] *Nashville Union*, April 15, 1850.

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and finally a list of twenty-nine delegates was presented and these were elected to represent Davidson county.[31] These proceedings were naturally a source of great glee to the whig newspapers, which of course trumpeted abroad the rejection of the convention by the community in whose midst it was to assemble. The proper interpretation of the incident is, however, somewhat different. The whigs were resolved to make the convention a party matter. In the Nashville district they outnumbered the democrats, and they were able to limit the report of the convention to the minority party and thus to stop any claim of the democrats that there was a general popular demand for the convention.

Even before the Davidson county meeting, to which we have referred, and throughout the week that followed, the newspapers are full of accounts of similar gatherings in other counties. The accounts of these in the whig and democratic papers, respectively, are so partisan that their statements must be taken with caution. It seems fair to conclude that, with certain exceptions, the lines of party were drawn in about the same way as in Nashville, the democrats generally favoring and the whigs generally opposing the election of delegates.

Leaving for the present the action of the local communities during the interval before the assembling of the southern convention, let us pass for a moment to the halls of congress, where the matter of the proposed convention at Nashville appears to have excited rather more interest than most of the historians of the period have indicated. It will be well first to consider the course of those who were directly responsible for the interests of Tennessee and particularly her two senators, John Bell and Hopkins L. Turney, the former a whig, the latter a democrat.

In the first session of the thirty-first congress, when the compromise resolutions of Henry Clay had been introduced, and while Foote was struggling to effect the appointment of a committee of thirteen, John Bell,[32] on February 28, 1850, submitted a compromise scheme of his own. The principal feature of this plan was the focusing of attention upon Texas rather than upon California. Recalling the terms of the provisions of the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, which looked to the formation of new states out of Texas,

[31] *Nashville Union*, May 7, 1850; *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, May 7, 1850.

[32] There is no adequate biography of John Bell. A thoughtful sketch is J. W. Caldwell, "John Bell of Tennessee," in *American historical review*, 4: 652-664. Caldwell, however, says nothing of Bell's activity in 1849-1850, except that he was a member of the committee of thirteen.

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he proposed that that part of Texas lying south of the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude and west of the Trinity river should be separated and admitted now to the union as a slave state. Next Texas, in return for five or six million dollars, should cede to the United States the territory claimed by the state west of the Colorado river, extending northward to forty-two degrees, together with all unappropriated domain north of thirty-four degrees. This territory should then be divided and the part west of the Colorado and south of the thirty-fourth parallel should be admitted, when of sufficient population, as a slave state while the remainder, except such part as lay east of the Rio Grande and south of thirty-four degrees, should be incorporated with the territory of New Mexico, to be governed in a "manner suitable to the condition of the people of the country," but without any resolution as to slavery. This plan, he urged, would meet the objections of the extreme antislavery people to the expansion of slavery territory, because really Texas would surrender "2½ degrees" of slave territory to be thereafter free territory; and it would solve the Texas-New Mexico boundary controversy. There should be no objection to leaving New Mexico without restriction as to slavery; as slavery would never find a lodgment there. The region west of New Mexico and east of the proposed state of California should likewise continue in a territorial condition without restrictions as to slavery; and the president's plan for the admission of California with the constitution adopted by the people of that region should be accepted. He included no suggestions as to the fugitive slave bill, the abolition of slavery, and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. These questions he believed would be adjusted if once the problem of the new acquisitions was solved.[33]

To Bell's resolutions of February 28 Calhoun, in his speech

[33] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 436-439. These resolutions Alexander H. Stephens described as "setting forth in substance what was then considered a modified form of the executive policy for a proper adjustment." (*A constitutional view of the late war between the states* [Philadelphia, 1870], 2: 205.) Bell's speech and resolutions were reprinted March 12 in the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, which cited the Washington correspondent of the *Charleston* [S. C.] *Courier*, as saying: "I learn that Mr. Bell's propositions for a compromise are preferred to those of Mr. Clay by the Southern members. From the best sources, I am informed that Mr. Bell's project was a subject of consultation and that it is as favorable to the South as any measure that is likely to pass. The South would prefer the Missouri compromise line to any other project that has been named, but it cannot pass. The whole question, it is said, will be settled in a fortnight, or not for three months. The Texians will give their hearty assent to Mr. Bell's plan." Compare with this Cave Johnson to Buchanan, *post*, note 63.

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of March 4, appears to have made no reference. But Webster, in the famous seventh of March speech, included a considerable discussion of Bell's proposal as to Texas. He believed that this further recognition of the stipulation with Texas weakened the original compact, and he did not agree that, when a state was to be divided, the rule for admission from a territorial position—the rule establishing a minimum population of sixty thousand—must necessarily be followed. But in his earnest declaration, which so grieved the abolitionists, that the resolution for annexation was a binding contract, and that the country was pledged to the admission of new slave states if Texas so decided, he gave a strong moral support to this idea of Bell's.[34] This fact explains a statement made March 22 by Toombs in a letter written from Washington and addressed to Linton Stephens. "The settlement will probably be in the main on the basis of Bell's proposition as backed by Webster. We will take that with a clause putting the rights of property of American citizens under American laws and I think we have some chance to get it."[35]

Foote moved that Bell's resolutions be referred to his proposed committee.[36] On March 27 Bell's resolutions were made the special order,[37] and for several days following the *Globe* uses the caption, "Mr. Bell's resolutions."[38] Webster, objecting to the reference to a committee and urging that the senate proceed at once to the question of California, coupled Bell's proposals with those of Douglas, Benton, and Clay.[39] Shields urged that if Texas were to be divided, the initiative must come from the people of that state. Benton was unwilling to confuse the Texas question with that of California.[40] On April 19 Bell was elected one of the committee of thirteen.[41] When the committee made its report on May 8 the majority declared against Bell's proposals, maintaining, as Shields had argued, the propriety of leaving the division of Texas to the initiative of its inhabitants.[42]

In direct opposition to the course of Bell was that of Tur-

[34] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 417.

[35] U. B. Phillips, *The correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb* (American Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1911, v. 2 — Washington, 1913), 188.

[36] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 496, 508.

[37] *Ibid.*, 611.

[38] *Ibid.*, 617, 633, 640, 646, 656, 704, 721.

[39] *Ibid.*, 640.

[40] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 657.

[41] *Ibid.*, 780.

[42] *Ibid.*, 944 *et seq.*

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ney. Of the feud between Turney and Nicholson we have already spoken. Turney had definitely identified himself with the southern movement in congress and, together with Stanton, a representative from the western district, had signed the southern address. Continuing to associate himself with the radicals, he appeared in May as chairman of a meeting called to consider the establishment in Washington of another newspaper which should be especially devoted to the interests of the South.[43] He professed devotion to the union, but to the extent of his capacity, which was not the greatest, he worked with the extremists. The occasion was afforded him to tell where he stood when one of the Washington newspapers cited the *Nashville Union* as opposing the proposed convention. He seized this opportunity to assert, on the contrary, the confidence of the democrats therein.[44] On the other hand John Bell was, as to this matter, very characteristically noncommittal. Emphasizing the excited state of opinion in the South, he stated: "At the same time, I must say, that in the State of which I am a public servant here, I have given no countenance—no encouragement at least—to some of the extreme measures proposed in the South. I have not countenanced the assembling of the Southern Convention among my friends in Tennessee. I have, on the other hand, rather encouraged the reposing of a liberal confidence in the North for the settling, not only of this, but of all other great questions of national and domestic policy, upon an equitable and liberal basis, as the best mode of repressing any hostile sentiments on the part of the North against the institutions of the South, or of the South against the North, on any ground whatever. If, therefore, any good should result from the proposed Southern Convention—and I trust that good may result from it; if it is held—I shall not be entitled to any credit for it; and if, on the other hand, evil should spring from it, though I may be a sufferer with every other citizen of the Union, I shall not be responsible for it."[45]

More serious than this evasion by the leader of the whig party was the statement made by Andrew Ewing, the democratic representative in congress from the Nashville district, which was usually a whig stronghold.[46] Ewing said, in reply to the remarks of Webster, Stanley of North Carolina, and others

[43] *Nashville Union*, May 21, 1850.

[44] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 417.

[45] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 438.

[46] The explanation of Ewing's success in a district usually whig is found in the large whig connection of his family, part of which he carried with him.

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who had prophesied that the convention would fare ill at the hands of the people of Nashville: "It is due to the truth that I should say, that in my opinion a majority of the people of Nashville deem the convention unwise and inopportune; but it is equally true that they deeply sympathize in the feeling of hazard and alarm that has driven their southern brethren to the adoption of this ulterior remedy; and under no circumstances would they treat with rudeness and indecorum a reputable body of their fellow-citizens, who had assembled at our city for the discussion of such grave and solemn interests."[47] The whig papers of course seized hold upon this, and the meeting of May, described above, seemed to bear out Ewing's admission that the people of Nashville were opposed to the convention.

The report of Clay's committee of thirteen was submitted to the Senate on May 8, and about a week later began to be discussed in the Tennessee newspapers.[48] The *Union* at once took up with enthusiasm the plan of the report in opposition to the presidential plan, which, it will be remembered, Bell was supposed to support. "It is time," said the *Union*, "to take sides. We take the side of the Compromise bill."[49] The *Union* complained that the whig newspapers were silent while waiting for instructions from Washington. Very shortly afterwards, the whig papers came out for the compromise also. But it is very interesting to analyze the different motives which actuated the whig and democratic journals. The whig editors made it their business to continue to attack the convention and to uphold the compromise plan as against the alleged disunion movement. The *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, changing somewhat its line of argument, now alleged that the "conventionists" were basing their scheme on the idea that if the compromise measures were adopted, the democrats might claim the credit of having compelled their passage, through the convening of this body. The *True Whig* devoted able editorials to demonstrating that there was not any essential difference between the president's ideas and those of Clay's committee[50]—a point of view hardly borne out by

[47] *Ibid.*, ap., 452.

[48] *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, May 14, 1850.

[49] *Nashville Union*, May 24, 1850.

[50] "The Desperate Fix of the Conventionists." *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, May 25, 1850. "The Administration and the Compromise." *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, May 31, 1850 (v. 2, no. 9), pp. 131-132, 135. In the same number under the heading, "Signs of the times," the *True Whig* presented some very interesting suggestions. It asserted, first that the southern

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the remarks either of Bell or of Clay in the senate. Thus each party declared for the compromise plan, and each interpreted in it its partisan sense.

On May 22 the removal of the remains of President Polk to a vault at his home place in Nashville was the occasion for patriotic ceremonies and an oration by Bishop Otey.[51] There now began a series of meetings throughout the counties in Tennessee in favor of the compromise report, and one of these was scheduled to meet at Nashville June 1, just two days before the time of assembling of the southern convention.[52] This meeting was held as appointed, and was addressed by E. H. Foster, the peer of Bell in the estimation of the whigs. Nicholson and Brown were called for, but neither appeared,[53] nor was the editor of the *Union* present.[54]

These gentlemen were doubtless busy with the preparation for the southern convention. Already for some days the delegates had been arriving.[55] A subcommittee of the Tennessee delegates, it was announced, would be constantly in attendance at the *Union* office on Cherry street near the postoffice. Delegates were invited to register here or to send their names.[56]

From the several newspapers one may pick up not a few bits of detail regarding the meeting of the convention. As

"ultraists" were fast abandoning the old position of nonintervention and were now demanding of congress a positive guarantee of the constitutional right to introduce slavery into the territories, a procedure which nullified their former arguments, for if it were constitutional to legislate slavery into the territories, it would also be constitutional to legislate it out: secondly, that the demand of the ultrasouthern senators for the extension of the line of 36° 30′ to which it was known that the North would not accede was prompted by a desire for the dissolution of the union as an "alternative": thirdly, that there was a noticeable identity in personnel between the southern advocates of the Nashville convention and the promoters of the expedition of General Lopez for the conquest of Cuba. This, said the *True Whig*, was "like casting a firebrand into the magazine," and "we have a right to infer that the refusal to admit Cuba as an independent Southern state into the Union . . . is another 'alternative,' vaguely hinted at by Mr. Calhoun in his letter to Colonel Tarpley to which 'disunion' would be preferred by the extreme Southern factionists." The Lopez expedition, it will be remembered, had just taken place — in the last of May, 1850.

[51] *Nashville Daily Gazette*, May 23, 1850.

[52] *Nashville Daily Gazette*, May 29, 1850.

[53] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1850.

[54] *Nashville Union*, June 2, 1850.

[55] *Nashville Daily Gazette*, May 30, 1850. Among the earliest were some from South Carolina, who thus had an opportunity to ascertain the sentiments of Tennessee.

[56] *Nashville Union*, May 30, 31, 1850.

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early as February the *Gazette* had jocosely remarked that the meeting of the convention would be a good thing for the hotel keepers. "Our landlords will feed and lodge the delegates well, notwithstanding they may deem them on a fool's errand, and destined to become as odious as the notorious Hartford Convention men."[57] The descent upon the little city of Nashville of nearly one hundred and seventy-five delegates, together with many others attracted by curiosity, must indeed have enlivened the town. In the evenings the delegates might be afforded amusement by the performance of the Swiss bell-ringers, while a Mrs. Fogg, on account of the thinness of her audience, postponed to a more favorable evening her "Ballad Entertainment."[58] It was noticed that the proceedings of the southern convention were telegraphed in full to many of the western and northern papers.[59] T. A. Foster, the traveling agent of the *Democratic Review,* was in the city.[60] The *Union,* before the convention was a day old, had added to its list two hundred new subscribers. At the first session which met in the Odd Fellows' hall it was discovered that that place was too small for the number of delegates. The trustees of McKendree church then kindly offered the use of that building,[61] and there the subsequent days' sessions were held. At the adjournment of the convention the delegates from South Carolina thoughtfully presented to the church a new carpet to take the place of the one which had been injured by the coming and going of the delegates.[62]

A particularly bright reporter of the scenes of the convention was a young woman who, assuming the name Kate Conynham, described herself as "a Yankee girl." Residing with a "colonel" who lived at "Overton Park," a three hours' ride from Nashville, she experienced a "start of innate horror" at the suggestion of her host that they should visit Nashville and the convention, for she supposed that like its predecessor at Hartford it would meet behind closed doors. She describes the impression made upon her by the churches at Nashville, and the half-finished capitol, and proceeds to give her impression of the convention as she beheld it assembled in McKendree church. On the floor only ladies were admitted, except of course the members: the galleries were packed with "lookers-on and lookers-down." On the floor in the front part

[57] *Nashville Daily Gazette,* February 13, 1850.
[58] *Nashville Centre-State American,* June 8, 1850.
[59] *Nashville Daily Gazette,* June 13, 1850.
[60] *Nashville Union,* June 2, 1850.
[61] *Nashville Union,* June 4, 1850.
[62] *Centre-State American,* June 15, 1850.

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of the church the delegation of each state was seated by itself. The front pews on either side of the broad aisle, in front of the president, were assigned to South Carolina and Mississippi, respectively. On the right of Mississippi was Virginia, occupying two pews. On the left of Carolina was Florida, and in the rear Alabama, while the Georgians sat behind the Mississippians. The Tennessee delegates, among whom was General Pillow in a white military vest, and Major W. H. Polk, the late president's brother, occupied the side pews on the left of the pulpit. In front of the pulpit was a carpeted platform within the chancel railing, on which were placed a dozen little green tables for the editors and reporters.

In the chair was Judge Sharkey, "a dignified, Andrew Jackson looking man." Speaking when her party entered, was Hammond of South Carolina of a "conservative, pale, intellectual aspect, with a high forehead, white and polished as marble." The South Carolina delegation was the most talented with the exception, possibly, of that of Mississippi. After a brief description of Rhett and Barnwell, she speaks of Cheves as "a hale, white-headed old gentleman, with a fine port-wine tint to his florid cheek." The most eloquent was Pickens who had a "face like one of the old Roman emperors which I have seen on a coin, Neva [*sic*], I think," and whose oratory was "worthy of the Forum." This young lady of the North was impressed with the conservatism of the South Carolina delegation. The most ultra were the Virginians. Among them was Beverly Tucker, the half-brother of John Randolph, entering upon his dotage, and sometimes forgetful that ladies were present. The most able and patriotic was Gordon. Among the others who impressed this visitor were McRea of Mississippi, a young man who was a "man of work by display of talents for debate." The oratory of Colquitt of Georgia was of the athletic kind. Among the Tennesseans William H. Polk was "bearded like an Ottoman chief." But chief in fascination for Miss Conynham was General Pillow who lived "in elegant and opulent retirement, not far south of Nashville," and would probably be the next governor. She deprecated the foolish stories about him in the newspapers.

Despite her prejudices, this young lady was deeply impressed with the dignity and solemnity of the gathering. At first the citizens were opposed to the convention, she reports, but day by day as its sessions advanced it grew in favor. The galleries, the people sovereign, thundered applause and the ladies smiled approbation. This applause was impartial, for with fickleness the galleries applauded both suggestions of nonintercourse with the North and sentiments of devotion to the defense of the union. The convention had contributed

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much to the social life of Nashville, and brilliant dinner parties were the order of the day. A "Whig jurist" opposed to the convention politically, nevertheless was entertaining the delegates.

The suggestions of a second session were regarded by moderate men as an imprudent challenge and one perilous to be taken up. What the result and influence of the action of the convention might be "is not," said Miss Conynham, "for a female pen to say, but I believe firmly that it will have a tendency to consolidate the Union." In conclusion she urged that the convention should command the respect of the North.[63]

The formal proceedings of the convention, which was in

[63] "More needles from my needle book," by Miss Kate Conynham, written for the *Model American Courier*, "Needle Number 17," reprinted in the *Nashville Union*, July 24, 1850, at the request of 'a lady."

Another interested visitor to the convention was Cave Johnson, who, in a long letter to Buchanan, has recorded his impressions of the gathering. This additional independent account is highly valuable in corroboration of the other sources for the history of the convention. The main body of the letter follows:

"I have seen the elephant and suppose that you will be somewhat interested in the little I learned. I declined being a member of the convention as you were informd in my last. I apprehend great danger to the Democracy of Tennessee, and to give a counter direction to public opinion here from what I supposed would be the action of the convention procured a public meeting in our town over which I presided and made a speech in favor of the Compromise bill reported from the Comm of 13. Many others followed, Whigs and Democrats. It resulted in a unanimous vote in favor of them. Meetings have been since held in many other counties with like unanimity and it seems probable that the State will follow with great unanimity. This was ten days before the convention met. I was prevailed upon by some of our friends to go to the convention to meet the Tennessee delegates to consult for ourselves what was best to be done. I spent two days. The convention you will see is composed of men from the other states who had been old nullifiers and of young men who had been most devoted to the chief of that sect. I found there Gen. Gordon and Goode, and W. Newton from Virginia, and Beverly Tucker, the author of the Partisan Leader, Pickens and Rhett, Hammond and Cheves from So C., the latter very old and said to be intemperate and of course useless except his name, Colquitt and McDonald from Ga., Fitzpatrick, Chapman and Campbell from Ala., Sharkey, and Clayton and Gov Matthews from Miss., Pearson of Fla., Roane of Arkansas, and Gen. Henderson from Texas. These seemed the most prominent. From a good deal of conversation with some of them I concluded they were less restive and factious than I supposed. They expect to make 36.30 their ultimatum. Our Tennessee men were apprehensive that the real design of some of them was to defeat the bill now pending by opposing to it the Missouri Compromise which they believed in its turn would be defeated and the question left for agitation. This seemed likely to be the point of difference between Tenn and the other states when I left there. A. V. Brown and Nicholson were appointed on the part of Tennessee on the Comm to prepare resolutions. Brown

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session from June 3 to June 12, inclusive, are to be found in the official publication issued by authority of the convention itself, and in the very full accounts which appeared in some of the Nashville newspapers.[64] At the first session, held on Monday afternoon, June 3, the convention was called

will struggle for retaining the Compromise bill with a change of the boundaries to 36° 30′ and produce union. Nicholson whose opinion I had not had an opportunity to ascertain precisely I think will go for the Compromise lest any new measure should take a feather out of the cap of Cass and defeat its settlement. The Tennesseans would all have preferred 36° 30′, but for the reason assigned. Rumors were afloat that you had agreed with 15 Southern Senators to bring force enough from the North to carry 36° 30′ and that you had published a letter wh was most anxiously expected [by] every mail. I could not trace the origin of the report but expressed the opinion that you wd not publish any letter or say and do anything that could be construed into an effort to defeat the aforesaid bill but your opinion had been long known in favor of 36-30, had made a speech, etc. From the little I could learn the class of politicians there from the South would under no circumstances take Gen C — and it was difficult to learn whose claim they wd most favor. Gov McDonald spoke freely in your behalf Many others favorably without expressing a preference. It is understood here that Bell would probably favor if not defend the course of Gen T—. Strong apprehensions are expressed that he would go for 36-30 as a means of defeating the bill, hence a great anxiety was felt to give him no excuse for voting agt Clay's bill. I think the Tennesseans will withdraw or enter a protest agt the policy proposed by the Southern States and stake themselves on the Compromise, which is exceedingly popular with both parties here. [I] cd not remain longer. Most of the ultra Southern men here are unconquerably prejudiced agt Cass. I think are disposed to favor Woodbury. I thought if they had favored you they wd have talked more freely with me. There were many speculations as to the effect of the compromise if passed. Some said that the next presidential [?] wd between Cass and Clay. If not passed the North would take up Taylor and that Clay wd be run by the Compromisers. If 36-30 shd be insisted that you wd probably be the nominee agt Taylor. Taylor has no friends here *now*. I suppose we shall have the resolutions in a day or two when the debate will commence but I think there is no *fighting ground* between the Compromise Bill and 36-30. I could not adhere to my resolutions of having nothing to do with politics when such questions were before the people. Tho my sign board is up as a lawyer I am more generally regarded as a politician. My movements now are I find attributed by the Whigs to a desire to supercede Turney and they promise help if the Democrats succeed in the next election while the friends of Gen Harris are alarmed lest I should seek his place. Both alike mistakes but one thing is certain, I receive more political visits than professional calls as yet." Johnson-Buchanan letters, June 6. "Have you seen the elephant?" was a popular slang phrase of the day.

[64] The southern convention in Nashville has been made the subject of two special articles, as follows: (1) Herndon, "The Nashville convention of 1850," in *Transactions* of the Alabama Historical Society for 1904, pp. 203-237. Herndon's account of the first session, however, is based almost exclusively on the reports in the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* of Nashville, and that of the second session upon the material in the *Nashville American*. (2) F. Newberry, "The

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to order by Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee. Judge W. L. Sharkey of Mississippi was chosen permanent president, and Governor McDonald of Georgia, vice-president. E. G. Eastman, editor of the *Nashville Union*, and W. F. Cooper were appointed secretaries. After some very warm speeches, among which that of Pickens of South Carolina attracted special notice, the convention decided to vote by delegations, and that each state should have one vote. On the second day, upon motion of Governor Brown, it was resolved to raise a committee of two members from each state to which should be referred all propositions submitted for the consideration of the convention. Of this committee each delegation was to choose two members —except in the case of Texas which had only one delegate. For Tennessee the two members chosen were Brown and Nicholson. The convention then proceeded to hear the several resolutions introduced by its members, which turned out to be a lengthy proceeding, extending over several sessions. These

Nashville convention and southern sentiment of 1850," in the *South Atlantic quarterly*, 11: no. 3 (July, 1912). The latter author appears to be unaware of the former's work. The article has merit, but is less satisfactory than that of Herndon.

The principal original source for the convention is the official journal published for each session. The titles are as follows: For the first session, *Resolutions and address, adopted by the Southern convention, held at Nashville, Tennessee, June 3d to 12th, inclusive, in the year 1850; published by order of the convention* (Nashville, Tenn.: Harvey M. Watterson, Printer, 1850). As cited in a bibliographical note by Miss A. R. Hasse ("The southern convention of 1850," in *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, 14: no. 4 [April, 1910], p. 239), the title varies slightly, including after "address" the words "and journal of proceedings of the southern convention," in lieu of those given above and omitting 'and" after the first word. A copy in the Harvard University library, cited in H. V. Ames, *State documents on federal relations* (Philadelphia, 1906), appears to agree in title with that cited by Miss Hasse. The copy used by the writer, belonging to Mr. L. R. Campbell, lacks pages 49-64, inclusive. For the second session, *Journal of proceedings of the southern convention, at its adjourned session, held at Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 11, 1850, and subsequent days* (Nashville, Tenn.: Eastman & Boyers, Printers, American Office, 1850).

Miss Hasse gives a valuable note as to the printing of the proceedings and speeches in various eastern newspapers. To this may be added the following note upon the newspapers of Nashville:

The democratic newspapers were (1) the *Daily Union*, E. G. Eastman, editor. For some time prior to September, 1849, the publisher was J. G. Shepherd, but in that month he disposed of his interests to Harvey M. Watterson, a former representative in congress. Eastman continued as editor until July, 1850, when he was dismissed by Watterson who then assumed the editorship himself. This action, as is made clear in the text of this paper, was due to a divergence in the political opinions of Watterson and Eastman. The *Union* considered itself the organ of the democratic party in Tennessee. It will be noted

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resolutions were referred without debate to the committee. The first to be presented were those of Judge Campbell of Alabama; others were presented by Erwin of Alabama, Dawson of Georgia, McRea of Mississippi, Benning of Georgia, Tucker of Virginia, Pearson of Florida, McClelland of Florida, Polk of Tennessee, Coleman and Buford of Alabama, Wilkinson of Mississippi, Henderson of Texas, Goode of Virginia, and Fouche of Georgia. Some of the resolutions were in long series, some were limited to a single proposal. Some were conservative, but the larger part were aggressive in tone.

By Saturday, the eighth, the committee of resolutions of which Gordon of Virginia had been made chairman, was ready to report, and submitted to the convention a long series of resolutions and an address. The resolutions are seen, upon comparison, to be based upon the first resolutions submitted, those of Judge Campbell. The address was later declared to be the work of Robert Barnwell Rhett, who, however, had been conspicuously silent during the convention. Both resolutions

that Eastman was one of the secretaries of the Nashville convention. As one would expect then, the accounts of the convention in the *Union* are very full. This is especially important for the speeches.

(2) The *Daily Centre-State American* prior to October, 1849, was owned in partnership by Thompson and Hutton. At that time Thompson disposed of his interests to Hutton, and Thomas Boyers, of the *Gallatin Tenth Legion*, became editor. In August, 1850, Hutton retired, and Eastman, who had left the employ of the *Union*, bought an interest in the *American*. Henceforth their names appear as E. G. Eastman, Thomas Boyers, editors and publishers. The accounts of the first session in the *American* are thinner than those in the *Union*. But as to the second session the reverse is true. In this one sees the influence of Eastman. Shortly after the commencement of Eastman's connection with the *American*, the words "Centre-State" were dropped and "Nashville" substituted.

The whig papers were (1) the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*. W. F. Bang and company, proprietors; William Wales, editor. In the early part of 1849 the *Nashville Whig* was edited by A. A. Hall and published by B. R. McKennie. Hall accepted appointment from President Taylor and transferred the subscription and good will of the *Whig* to the *Republican Banner*, which then assumed the title given above. This newspaper was devoted to the interests of John Bell, and undertook to represent the whig party as the *Union* did the democratic. The accounts of the proceedings and the debates of the convention were full, at least for the first session, though the editor was bitterly in opposition.

(2) On the action of Hall, to which reference is made above, McKennie associated with himself A. M. Rosborough, formerly editor of the *Columbia Observer*, and E. P. McGinty, who had conducted the *Clarksville Chronicle*. Under their editorship, with McKennie as publisher, was instituted the *Nashville True Whig*. Besides the regular daily form a weekly edition was published under the title *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*. This paper also gives a full account of the proceedings and debates of the convention, and

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and address were read by Campbell, and then, together with the minority report signed by Nicholson and Brown of the Tennessee delegation, William M. Murphy of Alabama, Arthur J. Forman of Florida, and Sam C. Roane of Arkansas, were ordered to be printed. To the committee were referred other resolutions recently introduced.

Monday, June 10, Pillow presented some amendments to the address, but by a parliamentary *tour de force*, the resolutions were first forced to a vote. They were adopted. Later, on the vote by states, the address—amended meanwhile as proposed by Pillow—was unanimously adopted: but upon a call of the roll of individual delegates several of the Alabama group, with Gholson of Virginia, recorded their names as against the adoption of the address. Sharkey did likewise, but later, upon the solicitation of friends, withdrew his vote, though he did not change it to the affirmative.

After resolutions in regard to the interests of Texas had been adopted, Mr. Dawson, a young delegate from Georgia, pressing resolutions as to the establishment of a southern party and of a southern press at Washington city, insinuated that the convention might be charged with political purposes. "It had been suspected and whispered that a little infant president was quickening in some portions of the Address that had been adopted. He called on the convention to disavow it." The resolutions, were, however, laid upon the table. After passing various resolutions of thanks, and after brief valedic-

like the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* was hostile to the convention.

(3) The *Daily Gazette*, city of Nashville, Wm. Hy. Smith, editor, A. Nelson and company, publishers, a smaller and cheaper paper, in July, 1850, was transferred, the business department to J. L. Haynes and company, and the editorship to John L. Marling. This newspaper did not attempt to give full reports of the meetings of the convention, but contented itself with summaries. These, however, are often helpful as contmporary interpretations of the actions of the convention.

In Ames, *State documents on federal relations* (pp. 263-269), will be found reprinted all the June resolutions with the exception of those relating to Texas. M. W. Cluskey, *The political text-book or encyclopedia* (Washington, 1857) gives the first thirteen of the June resolutions, but not the address (pp. 532-533); the November resolutions (pp. 533-535); and the Tennessee resolutions (pp. 535-536). Herndon's article (see above) is particularly well documented, including lists of the delegates (taken, however, from the newspapers and not from the official journals), the resolutions of the first session, in part, and extensive excerpts from the address, and the resolutions of the second session.

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tories from the president and the vice-president, the convention adjourned sine die.[65]

While sentiment in Tennessee was well nigh universal in favor of the compromise, the assembling of the convention made a deep impression. Of course the most outspoken approval of the convention was that of the *Union*. The work of the convention, as that paper summed it up, had prepared the way for the removal of difficulties and for the development of a sentiment of unity. The effect on the community, said the editor, has been noticeable. Now there was heard none of the fierce denunciation that had marked the early period before the convention met.[66] The *Centre-State American*, with enthusiasm, said that the phantom of treason had not intruded on its deliberations.[67]

With even greater interest one turns to the opinion of the whig newspapers. The *Gazette admired* "the propriety, dignity, forbearance and moderation" which characterized the deliberations of the convention. "It were well for the northern representatives in Congress to take warning."[68] "It is but just to remark," said the *True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, "that the Convention embodied a large amount of talent and intelligence; its deliberations were orderly and decorous; its discussions were conducted with ability and courtesy, and the delegates separated with as much harmony and good feeling as usually characterizes bodies of similar organization."[69] But while thus paying respect to the sobriety of the convention and refusing to underrate it, both this journal and the equally influential *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* denounced the doctrines which the convention had adopted as its own in the address. The charge of "Nullification" for some time filled the columns of the *True Whig*.

The whigs criticised with especial bitterness the course of the Tennessee delegation. The members from Tennessee had indeed softened the address, but why had they not voted

[65] In the course of the vigorous debate which marked the last two days of the convention there were made several speeches interesting and important for the historical student. Among these were Colquitt and Tucker on the extreme side, those of Hunter and Wilkinson, of conciliatory tone, and, especially, the running debate between Sharkey and Hammond.

[66] *Nashville Union*, June 14, 1850.

[67] *Centre-State American*, June 15, 1850.

[68] *Nashville Daily Gazette*, June 14, 1850.

[69] *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, June 14, 1850.

[70] *Ibid.*, June 21, 28, July 5, 1850.

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against it as the open dissentients had done?[71] To the writer the explanation seems clear. In insisting upon the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes and denouncing the plan of the senate committee, the convention was but following the leadership of the ultrasouthern group in Washington from which it had taken its real beginning. The Tennessee leaders, while thoroughly conscious that public opinion in their state was very different from that in South Carolina and the lower South, nevertheless were very much affected by the southern influence in the convention. In a speech delivered in the house of representatives August 9, 1850,[72] C. H. Williams, one of the whig members from Tennessee, gave the following interesting explanation of what had happened:

"This celebrated Nashville convention in the fullness of time met. The representatives of Tennessee, as I am credibly informed, having seen a letter from a member of the convention, were in favor unanimously of the Compromise bill of the Senate. Yet, before they adjourned, they were unanimously for the Missouri Compromise line. How was this radical change and sudden revolution effected? Let plain facts attest. Some of the representatives from Tennessee were telegraphed by members in this Hall, and were informed that if the convention would agree upon the Senate compromise bill then before the Senate, that there was every prospect that it would be passed by the Senate of the United States. The same representatives in the convention were informed that if the convention agreed upon the Missouri compromise line, it could not and would not pass the Congress of the United States. With a full knowledge that its passage was hopeless, the Nashville convention, with great unanimity, agreed upon that line of adjustment, regardless of the fact that the democratic party, no longer ago than last Congress, repudiated and denounced that line of adjustment as unconstitutional and unjust. Why this political sumerset [*sic*]? The Hon. Robert B. Rhett tells you in his Charleston speech. He says that in five days the Tennessee delegation wheeled into line. What line? The disunion line. How? By rejecting the Senate compromise bill and agreeing to the Missouri compromise line that they knew to be impracticable."

Rhett's speech, to which Williams made reference, had been delivered in Charleston very shortly after his return from Nashville, and had been as much more radical than the ad-

[71] *Nashville Daily Gazette*, June 14, 1850.

[72] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, ap., 1052. This passage is cited by Herman E. von Holst, *Constitutional and political history of the United States* (Chicago, 1879-1892), 3: 353, n. 2.

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dress as that was more radical than the resolutions. Of the convention Rhett had said: "Its effect was in nothing more remarkable than in the change of opinion and feeling it apparently produced on the people of Nashville and the Tennessee delegation. . . . The toast of Governor Brown, at a dinner given by General Pillow and himself to the delegates of the Convention, declaring that in five days the Tennessee delegation were brought into line, shows how previous mistrust had been changed into confidence."[73] So much was made of this unguarded statement of Rhett's that Brown thought it worth while to make a formal explanation. His alleged statement was very speciously converted into a mere dinner jest which had had reference only to the arrangement of the tables at which the guests were seated.[74] Brown communicated to the newspapers a letter in defense of the convention and the Tennessee delegation, which like most of his productions, was rather rhetorical.[75] A more impressive document was the letter of Nicholson which appeared in the *Union*. From his experience in the convention Nicholson declared that there had been a general agreement on conservatism and that the convention had steadily looked toward harmonizing the South. It was a pioneer in a grand movement for the preservation of southern rights. It had given a quietus, he believed, to the idea of secession. He had yielded a reluctant assent to the proposal of the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes which to him involved congressional intervention on one side of the line and not on the other. He thought it a mistake for southern men violently to attack the compromise as reported, which was as much southern as northern in origin.[76]

Meanwhile early in July, after the adjournment of the Nashville convention, and just before the illness of President Taylor, Bell made in the senate a very long speech, which occupied in the delivery parts of three days.[77] At this time he strangely repudiated his own plan of February, which, he said, was made up of propositions submitted by others; yet he spent some time replying to the criticisms made of it.

[73] *Nashville Union*, July 3, 1850; *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, July 5, 1850; *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, July 27, 1850.

[74] *Nashville Union*, July 11, 1850.

[75] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1850; *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, July 5, 1850.

[76] *Nashville Union*, June 23, 1850. Nicholson's argument was ably criticised in the *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, June 28, 1850.

[77] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, ap., 1088-1106.

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He now undertook to defend the plan of President Taylor and involved himself in a running debate with Clay, who, he intimated, in his insistence upon the plan of the committee, was exercising a "moral despotism." The basis of this attack was Clay's speech of May 21 in which he defended, as he claimed, the bill of the committee against the administration. The issue between the president and Clay, Bell said, presented the old question whether Mahomet would go to the mountain, or the mountain should come to Mahomet. He did not undertake to say which was Mahomet or which the mountain. Clay retorted that he only wanted the mountain to let him alone.

As the debate progressed, Foote accused Bell of inconsistency in abandoning his own suggestions. "But in regard to those resolutions of his," Foote said, "upon which the great plan of adjustment is principally based, I must confess that whilst I recognized him as decidedly a public benefactor in proposing them, for which I have always considered him entitled to peculiar gratitude, yet it seems he has been merely contriving to lead myself and others into a mistake, and has induced us to accord a respect and favor to his own resolutions, which he is himself willing to show was misplaced." Bell replied that the committee of thirteen, with Foote and his friends, deserted him and cut off the only one of his resolutions that he had particularly at heart. Foote urged that Bell's course, if he really intended to support the compromise would weaken the support to it in the South. Bell disclaimed any such purpose, and modestly depreciated the extent of his own influence outside of his own state. After a long running comment on each of the measures contained in the compromise, he asserted that he would support any plan "which holds out the remotest prospect of restoring peace and harmony to the country." "And whatever doubts," he continued, "I may entertain of the efficacy of the one now presented for the decision of the Senate, I expect to give it my vote, unless I shall see that some other more acceptable measure is more likely to find favor with Congress."

The point which we have indicated was reached by Bell towards the conclusion of his remarks upon the second day. For the remainder of this day and upon the next Bell's speech became an eloquent, thoughtful, and conservative discourse upon the history of the past of the United States and upon the larger aspect of the questions which were then agitating the public mind. Nowhere is found a better expression of his attitude towards the political issues of the United States. But of the first part of his speech the *New York Herald* said

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that it was "a sweeping round and round the Omnibus, very seldom coming within hailing distance of the driver," and called it "dreadfully metaphysical, abstruse, and dull."[78] Late in September, after the adoption of the compromise measures and the adjournment of congress, Bell had republished in the *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register* his remarks of July 5 and 6, prefacing them with a letter rather pessimistic in tone. The crisis, he said, was not passed. He complained bitterly of the use of money under the disguise of the federal patronage "to operate as a standing premium to successful factions." He urged the sons of Tennessee to cultivate a spirit of harmony as the state would inevitably play a large part in the decisions of the future.[79] This, of course, was after the death of Taylor, an event which must have been a severe blow to Bell. The part which Bell might have played had the president lived affords ground for interesting speculation.

In contrast with Bell's somewhat uncertain course, Turney consistently threw in his lot with Davis of Mississippi and his coworkers. These carried out the ideas of the southern convention, endeavoring, first, so to amend the Texas and the California measures as to render them satisfactory to the South, and, failing in this, to defeat the compromise. According to a document said to have been found by federal soldiers in 1863, in Winchester, Tennessee, the home of Senator Turney, an agreement was signed on August 2, 1850, by ten southern senators to "avail ourselves of any and every means which a majority of those signing this paper may determine to prevent the admission of California as a state unless the southern boundary be reduced to 36° 30′ . . ." The first name upon the list is that of H. L. Turney. Upon the reverse of the document is a record of a vote taken by these ten senators on the question of resisting "by all Parliamentary means" the passage of the bill, which was lost upon a tie. Turney voted aye, with Davis, Soulé, Morton, and Yulee.[80] Despite all their opposition the bill was passed by the senate August 13. Hunter of Virginia then presented a

[78] Cited in *Nashville Union*, July 16, 1850.

[79] *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, September 27, 1850.

[80] "Fifth annual report of the historical manuscripts commission," ap. 1, in American Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1900 (Washington, 1901), 1: 602-603. Cited in R. G. Thwaites, *Descriptive list of manuscript collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1906), 146; and (not quite accurately) by Miss Cleo Hearon in "Mississippi and the compromise of 1850," in Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, 14: 139, n., 140, n.

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protest on behalf of this same group, on which, also, Turney's name appears.[81] The news of the passage of the compromise measures was received in Nashville with the booming of cannon, and an enthusiastic meeting was held which passed resolutions of thanks to those of the senators and representatives of Tennessee who had supported those measures. The exclusion of Turney by such words was deliberate.[82]

Very shortly after the adjournment of the June session of the convention, E. G. Eastman, the editor of the *Union*, had been dismissed by the owner Watterson, and later had become editor of the *American*.[83] The latter newspaper at once took on a stronger southern tone. It was the only Nashville paper to defend Turney and the only one to dissent from the chorus of approval of the compromise. Yet even the *American*, so late as October, declared that a second session of the southern convention "could not now do any good."[84] When, therefore, the southern intransigents determined that the action of congress did justify a second session, the convention, shorn of numbers and strength, reassembled on November 11, in an atmosphere distinctly hostile.

The meetings, which lasted through seven days, were held in the Christian church; and the procedure was much the same as before. The most vivid incident was, perhaps, the fiery speech of the aged Cheves, who urged immediate secession.[85] While the South Carolinians were in control, the general leadership was placed in the hands of C. C. Clay of Alabama. Less than sixty delegates attended, and only the South Carolina

[81] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 1578.

[82] *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, September 27, 1850. Turney voted for the fugitive slave law and the Utah bill, and against the Texas boundary bill, the California bill, and the bill for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Bell, on the other hand, voted for the Texas, the California, and the fugitive slave bill, and against the Utah bill. On the New Mexico and the District of Columbia bill he cast no vote. Of the Tennessee delegates in the house of representatives the whig members supported the compromise measures, except the District of Columbia bill, for which only M. P. Gentry gave a favorable vote. On this and on the Texas and New Mexico bills, the Utah bill, and the fugitive slave bill, the democrats joined with the whigs, unless an individual refrained from voting at all. The only real division of sentiment appeared in the case of the California bill. Here the votes were seven to four. All the negative votes were democratic; on the affirmative side were all the whig names, and those of these democrats: G. W. Jones, Ewing, and Andrew Johnson. Cluskey, *Political text-book*, 107-109.

[83] *Nashville Union*, July 22, 1850.

[84] *Centre-State American*, October 15, 1850.

[85] *Nashville Daily American*, November 16, 1850. Miss Hasse (see *ante*, note 64) was unable to find this speech in the eastern papers.

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and the Tennessee delegations were to any extent composed of the same men as in the June session.[86] The explanation is found, of course, in the withdrawal of the conservatives from other states, such, for example, as Judge Sharkey. Instead of a hundred, Tennessee now had but fourteen representatives and most of these were the politicians around Nashville. Among them were Brown, Pillow, Nicholson, and Donelson. These now attempted to stem the tide of radicalism in the convention by the preparation and introduction of the "Tennessee Resolutions,"[87] which were much more moderate than those adopted by the convention. On the last day, as their efforts had received unfavorable consideration in the committee on resolutions, they tried to get a hearing in the convention, but were stopped by the application of the previous question. Brown and Nicholson both wished to speak, but were willing to forego this as the delegates wished to adjourn. Donelson, however, moved a reconsideration of the vote and, despite adverse ruling from the chair, tried to hold the floor, with some disorder

[86] For the official journal and the accounts in the Nashville papers see *ante*, note 64.

[87] On November 11 the Tennessee delegates held a meeting and Brown and Nicholson were appointed to draw up resolutions. Brown undertook the task and next morning some verbal amendments were made by Nicholson. At another meeting of the Tennessee delegation the resolutions were reported by Nicholson but read by Governor Brown as they were in his handwriting. After some further amendments, all in the direction of compromise, the resolutions were adopted and ordered to be reported by General Pillow, chairman of the Tennessee delegation. These resolutions stated that the compromise measures fell short of justice to the South, yet to give proof of loyalty to the union Tennessee would accept them. This determination, however, was predicated on the express condition that the North should do her part. Also it was to be distinctly understood that the compromise measures embraced all the actions in regard to slavery to be taken by the North, and that no attempt would be made to alter southern representation, to abolish slavery, to prevent the transportation of slaves from one slave-holding state to another by their lawful owners nor on antislavery grounds, to prevent the admission of any new states.

The resolutions further stated that if the North failed to observe its promises and continued to harass the South, the South should boycott the North commercially, not as a matter of revenge but as a means of self-defense until means of redress should be obtained. This idea of commercial reprisal was a favorite one with Governor Brown. The last resolution recommended that, if congress should violate any of the conditions laid down, the legislature of each southern state should call a convention which should send delegates to meet "at such time and place as may be agreed on, with full power and authority to do anything and everything which the peace, safety and honor of the South may demand."

These propositions of Tennessee were much in contrast with those adopted by the convention, which stated that all the evils anticipated by the South and which occasioned this convention to assemble had

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and applause from the galleries.[88] The refusal to hear Donelson was resented by many, while only the *American* considered his action and the noise of the crowd discourteous to the convention.[89] From the whig newspapers, of course, the cries of condemnation for the resolutions of the convention were unanimous: but the *Union* was no less denunciatory. The convention was "admitted to have been a complete failure,"[90] and the readers of the paper were edified by the reprinting of the strongest paragraphs in General Jackson's proclamation of 1832.[91]

When the undelivered speeches of Brown and of Nicholson were published,[92] it was evident that there was a serious

been realized by the failure to extend the Missouri compromise to the Pacific ocean, and by the provisions of the compromise. The convention recommended that all parties in the slave-holding states should refuse to go into any national convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States, until the South's constitutional rights had been secured. It was recommended further that there should be held a convention of slave-holding states with full power and authority to act either for restoring the constitutional rights of the South or provide for future safety and independence.

The Tennessee resolutions appear in the official *Journal of proceedings*, 17-18; the resolutions adopted by the convention *ibid.*, 31-34. Both are to be found in Cluskey, *Political text-book* (see *ante*, note 64). The account of the action of the Tennessee delegation is taken from a note appended to an edition of the speech of Aaron V. Brown. See *post*, note 92.

Cole (*The whig party in the South*, 181) says "the Union victory in Georgia must have had a dampening influence on the second session of the Nashville Convention." The election in Georgia was held November 3. It would be improbable, in view of the poor telegraphic communication in the South outside of the largest towns, that news of the results of this election should reach Nashville in little over a week. As a matter of fact, the whig newspapers, which would have rejoiced to flaunt the outcome in Georgia in the face of the convention, have nothing to say of it until long after the adjournment of the convention. The principles of the "Georgia Platform," on the other hand, may be profitably compared with those of the Tennessee resolutions.

[88] *Nashville Union*, November 19, 1850.

[89] *Nashville Daily American*, November 19, 1850.

[90] *Nashville Union*, November 20, 1850.

[91] November 23, a very large union meeting was held in the hall of the house of representatives. The chief speaker was A. J. Donelson, who in the course of his remarks told an interesting story of the grief with which General Jackson broke with his former friends Hayne and Hammond, in 1832. *Nashville Union*, November 25, 26, 1850.

[92] That of Nicholson in the *Union*, November 30, 1850; that of Brown in the *American*, in his *Speeches* (see *ante*, note 1), and in pamphlet form, *Speech of Ex-Gov. Aaron V. Brown, in the second session of the southern convention, on the resolutions reported Saturday, 15th Nov., 1850; published in pursuance of a declaration made*

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difference between the two men.[93] This was kept alive in the two democratic newspapers—the *Union* following Nicholson and the *American* representing Brown. The results were serious; in fact it is to this breach, in large part, that the loss of the democratic party in Tennessee, in the elections of 1851 and 1852, is to be ascribed.[94] When Tennessee was redeemed for the democracy, it was not the work of Brown, but of a man of very different type, the east Tennessee leader, Andrew Johnson.[95]

A study of the relation of Tennessee to the events of 1849-1850 shows, then, that the "Southern movement" became, in Tennessee, a party matter, and that the great body of whigs were consistently opposed to it. John Bell, the party leader, jealous of Clay, tried to support President Taylor against the plans of the Kentucky compromiser: but Taylor's death left him without a position, and he fell in with the senate's measures. Among the democrats, there was at one and the same time a devotion to the union, inherited from the days of Jackson, and a distinct prosouthern spirit. In the first session of the Nashville convention, the democratic leaders were in part swept off their feet by the southern current; and they, too, were left in a peculiar position, when, having resolved to insist on the line of the Missouri compromise, they were forced to accept a compromise which entirely disregarded that line. In the case of the second session of the convention, the

to the convention, after the previous question had been called, that Gov. B. would do so (Nashville, Tenn.: Eastman and Boyers, Printers, American Office, 1850), pp. 1-12. Paged continuously with this are the Tennessee resolutions and a "Note" as to their origin (pp. 13-16).

[93] Brown continued to defend the South Carolinians. The *American* said (November 20, 1850): "Would it not be well for *some* of those who now find time for nothing else than abuse for South Carolina and Georgia to remember who it was, when Tennessee found it impossible to raise money to build the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, stepped forward and took a third of the stock?" This suggests a topic which limits of space do not allow us to consider in this paper. A little later the *Union* referred to Brown as standing with one leg in Tennessee and one leg in South Carolina, and humorously urged the ex-governor to "haul in that South Carolina leg before it is too late." *Nashville Union*, November 27, 1850.

[94] The widening breach between Brown and Nicholson was regretfully reported to Buchanan by Cave Johnson. (Johnson-Buchanan letters, November 10, December 13, 1850.) In November, 1853, Johnson wrote: "We have lost the state the last two elections by the rivalry between A. V. B. and A. O. P. N., and for want of union and harmony in their movements." (*Ibid.*, November 20, 1853.) In 1851 Turney lost his seat in the senate.

[95] See a paper by the present writer: "Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860," in American Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1914.

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chief result was the development of a factional fight between Brown and Nicholson, disastrous for the democratic party. Beyond these conclusions it is not wise, perhaps, to go: for this paper deals primarily with the history of Tennessee. But it is hardly possible, if one examines the materials which have been the basis for this paper, to avoid the impression that the Nashville convention was really more important than it has been thought to be, and that the death of General Taylor was an event of greater significance than has sometimes been realized. Certainly the history of the compromise of 1850 is still worthy of investigation.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

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JAMES CHRISTIAN, ARCHAEOLOGIST.*

James Christian was born in Meigs County, Tenn., January 7, 1819. His birthplace, a farm situated upon the headwaters of the Tennessee River, had been the site of an extensive pre-historic Indian village, and within its boundaries was included a mound group, and the burial place of the aforesaid prehistoric peoples.

James, or Uncle Jimmie as he was afterwards known to us, grew to manhood upon this place, helped his father convert and build up, from a primeval wilderness, a typical East Tennessee home. It was in the order of events that in clearing up this land and in its subsequent plowings and stirring of the soil the evidence of its earlier and former occupation should appear.

As the plow guided by Jimmie year after year delved deeper and deeper across and over the knolls and second bottoms of the Tennessee objects of earthware, stone, bone and shell were turned into the furrow, and when the plow reached the depth at which it disturbed the skeletal remains of the Indian Mound Builders, when the plow became fastened and clogged in the stone-walled burial cists, and the remains exposed to view within the rudely constructed sarcophagus, with evidences of the sentiment (or call it what you may) which caused to be placed with the enterments specimens of their handiwork and articles in use during the life of these primitive people, then Jimmie became interested. He noted with utmost care the freshly upturned earth in the furrows, carefully preserving such articles as showed human workmanship. In time this interest developed into a passion. All the time that could be spared by his arduous duties upon the farm was put into digging and exploring. The ancient cemetery upon the place was completely gone over. The smaller mounds were after a fashion explored by him, by digging holes and trenches.

When James was twenty years of age he possessed quite a collection, and which he increased year by year, by research and neighbors gifts. Often had he related to the writer of his tramps through the counties of Meigs, Rhea, Roane and Loudon, all traversed by the waters of the Tennessee, receiving as gifts such articles of Indian workmanship picked up by the people in that then sparsely settled region. It was in this section that the finest and best examples of the chunky or discoidal stone is found—more finer and larger examples

*From The Archaeological Bulletin, Dec., 1918.

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of these beautiful objects have been found there than elsewhere in the United States. Mr. Christian took great pride in his collection of these objects, of which he had a great many noteworthy examples, not only from the Tennessee region, but from other localities. (The entire lot some two hundred or more, which came to me by purchase recently, is incomparable, each a gem and far better than any collection in this country, public or private. The largest specimen, a beauteous pink quartz, measures 10 inches in diameter; three are a fraction over 8 inches, and a large number measure over 4 to 6 inches.)

At the close of the Civil War, during the late 60's, Mr. Christian emigrated to Southern Illinois, selected a home site upon the banks of Kaskaskia River, better known as the Okaw. Here, again, fortune favored him, not only in the selection of a fertile tract of land upon which he prospered as a farmer, but also in that in previous times the locality had been a favorite haunt of prehistoric peoples. Close by were Indian mounds, and upon the bluffs of the Okaw were burial places. The bottom lands of the Mississippi River, immediately south and west, were filled with tumili and mounds of the Mound Builders.

Uncle Jimmie brought his Tennessee collection with him to Illinois. His early collecting had been in a region famous for fine and extraordinary discoidal stones, pipes and shell objects; Southern Illinois gave him the opportunity to add to his collection the most extraordinary flint objects and pottery. The interest continued, his collection grew year after year in ever increasing proportion, until a special place or store room was built for its display—a relic house—adjacent to the dwelling.

I became acquainted with Uncle Jimmie in the early 80's, was a frequent visitor and guest at his house until his death in 1889. It was during these latter years that ground was broken for the erection of an Illinois States institution at the mouth of the Okaw River. This work necessitated the removal and leveling of the loess bluffs overlooking both the Okaw and Mississippi Rivers, a commanding site that had been chosen by the early Indians for a burial place. Major Salter, in charge of this institution work for the State of Illinois, became much interested in the material brought to light by the work, extended every courtesy to Mr. Christian, permitting his almost daily presence and affording him every facility to preserve and furnished assistance in labor to explore thoroughly what necessity made imperative to destroy. This ancient cemetery was the chosen one of the peoples who built

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the mounds and earthworks in the bottom lands north and south of and along the Kaskaskia and west of the Mississippi Rivers. Much valuable and many extraordinary objects were saved and added to Mr. Christian's collection, who at this time although feeble and not able to be very active owing to the infirmatives of age, was to the last an interested, ardent student.

Just previous to the above work, Mr. Christian discovered an ancient burial ground Lithium Creek, which flows through Perry and St. Genevieve Counties, Missouri. The headwaters of this stream was formed by the Lithia Springs—medicinal waters of value. A sanitarium was built here by Missourians many years since, and its waters are still used and shipped from the spring. The Indians formerly made use of these waters and those who died were buried nearby. The springs were a resting and halting place for the primitive workers traveling back and forth to and from the flint quarries upon Mill Creek in Union County, Illinois; since a number of workshops, whereto unfinished blocks of flint from Mill Creek were carried and the process of manufacture or chipping was completed. Several caches of finished and unfinished flints were discovered here, the most noteworthy being a deposit of some 80 superb flint spades, each completely finished and everyone of the finest workmanship, none of which was less than 14 inches in length, all seemingly made by the same master-hand —and cached in the store-house for future need.

Mr. Christian carefully preserved this, as well as other finds, and I became the fortunate owner of more than 50 of these extraordinary flints, each one separately wrapped in copies of a Chester, Ill., weekly newspaper dated in the 80's.

James Christian was a contemporary worker with collectors Wm. McAdams of Jerseyville; Dr. J. J. R. Patrick of Belleville and Charles Helber of Cairo, Ill.; Charles Jones of Nashville, Tenn.; H. H. Hill of Cincinnati, Ohio; Charles Artes of Evansville; Prof. John Collett of Indianapolis; Josephus Collett (a brother of the professor) of Terre Haute, Ind., and others, all of whom left large accumulations of prehistoric material. Not the least interesting was the correspondence of these collectors—letters, photographs, clippings, etc., which came to me with the acquisition of the Christian collection.

The writer was married in the adjoining county of Southern Illinois wherein his old friend lived. Uncle Jimmie attended. His gift of friendship and appreciation were two cherished "Indian relics" which had often been admired, and may be said coveted.

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Mr. Christian died in 1889. His family kept intact, until just recently, the wonderful collection of discoidal stones, sculptured pipes of the upper Tennessee country, and the large flint spades, notched hoes and other flints peculiar to the Central Mississippi Valley, forming what is known to be the best collection extant. Certain it is that no museum or private collection can compare in number, size, beauty or material, symmetry and workmanship. I have obligated myself to have this collection placed as Uncle Jimmie wished it to be placed. His wishes will be fulfilled. WILLIAM SEEVER.

St. Louis, Mo.

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INDIAN WARS AND WARRIORS OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1730-1807.

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CHAPTER XVI.

The Bench and Other Minor Chiefs.

Bushwhacking on the Holston; Lesley and the Creeks; Hanging Maw helps the whites; trial and execution of Obongpohego; raids of the Chickamaugas; exploits of the Bench; capture and rescue of the Livingstons. 1792-1794.

In the preceding chapters relating to the Holston settlements we have considered mainly the greater leaders and larger movements of the Cherokees; but the most intolerable solicitude and suffering of the pioneers was caused by the sudden forays of small parties of Indians, who prowled the woods with stealthy step, appearing and vanishing like frightful phantoms. They skulked in the neighborhood of the lone cabin, and ambushed the men going to and from their work; or, waiting patiently until they were out of earshot, fell upon their defenseless women and children. The first legislative assembly of the Southwest Territory, which assembled at Knoxville in February, 1794, in a memorial to Congress, declared that, since the treaty of Holston in 1791, the Indians had killed, in the most barbarous manner, more than two hundred citizens of the Territory, without regard to age or sex, and carried others into captivity and slavery; robbed them of their stores; destroyed their cattle and hogs; burned their houses and grain; and laid waste their plantations.[315] This enumeration, of course, included the depredations committed on the Cumberland, which, on account of its proximity to the Chickamaugas and Creeks, was at this period the chief sufferer.

There were no depredations committed on the frontiers of the Holston settlement from the treaty of 1791 until the fall of 1792.[316] At that time, it will be remembered, the Spanish incited the Chickamaugas and Creeks to declare war against the United States, which was followed by the invasion of Cumberland and the unsuccessful attack on Buchanan's Station. The Upper towns, as the Overhills were now called, still held the United States by the hand, and were recognized by Governor Blount as a friendly tribe. Some offenses, however, were committed by what the old chiefs called "their bad young

[315]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 314.

[316]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 325-6.

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men," whom they had no power to restrain, often in retaliation for like offenses committed by lawless white men, hardly less amenable to control. Hanging Maw's friendship for the United States was not questioned, yet in the spring of 1793 his next door neighbor, with a few fellows from the surrounding towns, killed two unarmed young men named Clements, as they left their father's house in search of cattle.

These Indians claimed to be taking satisfaction for the death of the Black Fish and the Forked-Horn Buck,[317] who had been killed on the 12th of the preceding November, while attempting the perpetration of a horrible crime. The Black Fish, of Chota, who had long lived in habits of intimate friendship with the whites, and the Forked-Horn Buck, of Citico, with a small party of warriors, mostly from the Chickamauga towns, attacked the house of Ebenezer Byron, in the Grassy Valley, near Knoxville, in which were two men and their families. The Indians surrounded the house before they were discovered and, forcing open a window, pointed their guns through it, when a well-directed fire from the two white men killed the Black Fish and the Buck. The others fled without firing a gun.[318]

Notwithstanding the fact that their bad young men sometimes joined such marauding parties, the Upper towns were for peace, and refused to take up the hatchet even after Captain Beard's attack on the Hanging Maw's town in June, 1793. But it was not so with the Chickamaugas and Creeks; after Watts' visit to Governor O'Neal in 1792, they dug up the hatchet with great ceremony, and cannot be said to have buried it again until after General Wayne's decisive victory over the northwestern Indians in 1794. While Watts was marching his formidable army against the Cumberland, Lesley, a young half-breed Creek, whose father was a Scotchman, with a few other young fellows from his nation, opened up the war on the Holston. On September the 12th they attacked the house of Mr. Gallespie, who lived on the border, killed one of his sons, and carried another prisoner into the nation. The latter was afterwards purchased by James Carey, an agent of Governor Blount's, with the assistance of Chunelah and other chiefs of the Upper Cherokees, for two hundred and fifty pounds of leather and a horse, equal to $98.30, and returned to his family.[319]

November 5th Lesley's party stole eight horses on Little River. They were traced towards Chilhowee, and the neigh-

[317]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 436, 437, 440.
[318]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 279, 280.
[319]Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 277.

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boring people, thinking the mischief proceeded from that town, assembled for the purpose of destroying both Chilhowee and Tallassee, an adjoining town, when they were stopped by General Sevier.[320]

Again in April, 1793, Lesley and his party burned the house of James Gallaher, on the south side of Holston. As they returned from the frontiers, they called on the Hanging Maw and asked for provisions, which he refused, whereupon they shot his dog and departed. They were pursued by a detachment of mounted infantry, who followed their trail across the Tennessee River. The waters having risen suddenly, the scouts had to swim the river on their return, and in doing so John McCullough was drowned. A few days later Lieutenant Tedford's rangers took up the pursuit of Lesley, and in the dusk of the evening fell in with two Indians on horseback, on whom they fired, killing one, who proved to be John Watts' old friend, Noonday, of Toquo.[321]

Governor Blount apologized to Hanging Maw and Watts for the death of Noonday, who, he said, was killed by mistake for a Creek. Watts' reply illustrated the Indian idea of satisfaction: "I sent your people word of the Creeks being at the Hanging Maw's, and as they returned from the pursuit of them, one of the men got drowned. I suppose that was the reason of Noonday's being killed; and as I wish peace, let both go together—Noonday for the man that was drowned."[322]

These raids of the Creeks so imperiled the Upper Cherokees, by drawing the white people upon them, that the Hanging Maw abandoned his town for a time, but when they mistreated him at Willstown, he returned, and joined the white people in the pursuit and punishment of the Creek marauders. July 24, 1794, a party of Creeks killed and scalped John Ash, while plowing in his field, a short distance from his blockhouse. Hanging Maw sent his son, Willioe, John Boggs, and nine other Cherokees to join Major King and Lieutenant Cunningham in the pursuit of the murderers. They struck the trail in the path leading from Coyatee to Hiwassee, and followed on through Hiwassee to Wococee, without overtaking the offenders, when a runner from Hiwassee informed them that Obongpohego, of Toocaucaugee, on Oakfusgee, one of the party, had stopped at a little village two miles from Hiwassee. Upon receipt of this information they returned to the house where Obongpohego was stopping. After some consultation as to who should take him, the honor fell to Willioe and three of

[320]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 326.
[321]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 294-5.
[322]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 450.

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his companions, who seized and tied him, and delivered him in bonds to the United States agent, John McKee, at Tellico Blockhouse, on the evening of July 28th.

The Governor at once issued a commission of oyer and terminer for the trial of Obongpohego. Judge Joseph Anderson opened court, and an indictment was found against him by the grand jury. He confessed the fact, and pleaded in justification that his people had thrown away the peace talks of the United States, and taken up the hatchet. Afterwards the court permitted him to withdraw this plea, and a plea of not guilty was entered. Upon the trial the jury found him guilty as charged in the indictment. Being asked what he had to say why the sentence of the law should not be pronounced against him, he replied that he had nothing to say; he had come out with the intention of killing and stealing, or being killed; he had killed John Ish, and it had been his misfortune to fall into the hands of the whites; he should have escaped from them had it not been for the Cherokees; and should he now be killed, there was enough of his nation remaining to avenge his death. He was sentenced and executed on the 4th of August.[323]

The Creeks demanded satisfaction of the Cherokees for the death of Obongpohego, but their support by the whites enabled them successfully to defend themselves. At the conference at Tellico Blockhouse, November 7-8, 1794, Governor Blount declared it was the duty of the Chickamaugas to serve the Creeks as the Upper Cherokees had; but John Watts, who was always ready with an intelligent answer, replied: "The Upper Cherokees were right in seizing one last summer and delivering him up to you, and in killing two others. They live far from the Creek country, and have the white people to support them, but the Lower towns are but few, live near the Creeks, and too distant from the white people to be supported by them."[324]

Though the Upper Cherokees and Creeks did some mischief on the frontiers of Holston, the Chickamaugas were responsible for much the greater part of it. They had never buried the hatchet from the beginning of the revolution till the death of Dragging Canoe. The peace Watts then concluded did not last six months. Some of their chiefs, however, like the Breath, or Nickajack, the Glass and Captain Charley, of Running Water, and Dick Justice, of Lookout Mountain, did not join in Watts' war of 1792,[325] but they were wholly unable to control the young men, even of their own

[323]Haywood's History of Tennessee, pp. 222-3.
[324]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, pp. 371-2.
[325]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 278.

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families. A nephew of the Breath, called the Little Nephew, Towaka, and four or five other young fellows from Nickajack,[326] made repeated raids on the Holston settlements. December 22, 1792, they went to the house of Mr. Richardson, in Jefferson County, laid in ambush many hours on a hill overlooking his door, until he left the house; and in his absence of half an hour massacred his family, consisting of Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Foster, Miss Schull, and two children. They robbed the house and went off, leaving a war club to signify that their nation had again taken up the hatchet. A few days later they drove eighteen horses from the Big Pigeon, and wantonly killed several cattle and hogs.[327] The following spring they returned to the same neighborhood. On the 9th of March they formed an ambuscade on a path near Mr. Nelson's house, on the Little Pigeon River, and when his sons, James and Thomas, came out, they shot and scalped them both. This time they got fourteen horses from the Flat Creek settlement.[328]

The most daring and crafty of these Chickamauga bushwackers was Bob Benge, the son of an Indian trader named John Benge, who married a niece of the old Tassel, and spent his life in the nation. The Tassel complained to the commissioners at the treaty of Hopewell, in 1785, that, in passing through Georgia, Benge had been robbed of leather to the value of £150 sterling. John McKee saw him, and was befriended by him, near Chattanooga, as late as 1793.[329] His Indian wife had two sons, Bob Benge and the Tail. Only the former of these bore his name; and, through the inaccuracy of the pioneer ear, that has been almost lost, as he appears generally in our Tennessee histories and public documents under the more dignified name of the Bench, by which I shall still call him, though he is celebrated in Virginia tradition as Captain Benge.

The Bench was red-headed,[330] a circumstance which cost him his scalp, which Colonel Campbell, at the request of Lieutenant Hobbs, sent to the Governor of Virginia, as a proof that he was no more; seeing that, with the exception of Red-Headed Will, the founder of Willstown, whose dust reposes on its ancient site, there was not probably another red-headed Indian in the whole nation. He was remarkable for his strength, activity, endurance, and fleetness, and was a man of courage as

[326] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 438.
[327] Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 281.
[328] Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 293.
[329] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 444.
[330] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 438.

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well as intelligence and cunning. More than once he traversed the white settlements with such celerity and stealth that he fell upon the pioneers without an intimation of his approach, and retired to his wigwam beyond the Lookout Mountain, without leaving a trace of the route he had traveled, though the rangers were constantly on the lookout for his trail.[331]

He does not appear in history until after the death of his great uncle, the Tassel, when he drifted down to Running Water, and attached himself to a band of about thirty Shawnees who lived there, under the leadership of the Shawnees Warrior, afterwards killed in the assault on Buchanan's Station. In accordance with the customs of their nation, he, Watts, Talotiskee, Unacata, and the Tail, each in his own way, dug up the hatchet to take satisfaction for the death of their kinsman. How much mischief the Bench committed can never be known, but after his death Governor Blount charged that he had killed at different times forty or fifty people.

The favorite field of his exploits was in southwestern Virginia. He so terrorized the people of that section that he has received a prominent place in the traditions of their descendants. They have made a kind of hero of him, crediting him with wonderful feats of daring and cruelty. On account of his having lived with the Shawnees at Running Water they call him a Shawnee chief, which appellation has lead them erroneously to ascribe to him some of the most daring exploits of the Shawnees of the northwest; notably with the capture of Mrs. Nancy Scott, whose escape and extraordinary wanderings are famous.[332]

His first enterprise in this quarter was undertaken in the summer of 1791. Notwithstanding the treaty of July 2nd, on August 23rd he startled the settlements in the neighborhood of Moccasin Gap, or Clinch Mountain, by a sudden and unexpected assault on the house of the McDowells and Pendletons. Mrs. William McDowell and Frances Pendleton, the seventeen-year-old daughter of Benjamin Pendleton, were killed and scalped; Reuben Pendleton was wounded, and Mrs. Pendleton and a boy eight years of age were carried into captivity. Three days later, in the same neighborhood, his party appeared at the house of Elisha Farris, about eight o'clock in the morning, killed and scalped his wife, and Mrs. Livingston and her three-year-old child, and mortally wounded Mr. Farris. His daughter, Nancy Farris, a girl about nineteen years of age,

[331]Coale's Wilburn Waters, quoted in Summer's Southwest Virginia, p. 433.

[332]Summer's Southwest Virginia, p. 327, quoting Charles B. Coale.

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they carried off a prisoner.[333] After this bloody raid they made good their escape, without discovery and without punishment.

In the spring of 1792 the Bench again visited the settlements on the upper Holston. April 6th he surprised the house of Harper Ratcliff, in Stanley Valley, about twelve miles from Hawkins courthouse, and not far from the scene of his massacres of the preceding year, killed his wife and three children, and then made off to the mountains. He left behind him three war clubs, a bow, and sheaf of arrows, as a proclamation of war. Captain James Cooper's company had been ordered out for service in Mero District, but when the murder of the Ratcliff family became known they were directed to range on the borders of Hawkins County; and while they never came up with the Bench, they forced him to retire from that quarter,[334] and his subsequent movements were comparatively harmless, though he was reported to have been in many parts of East Tennessee.

In September the Bench and his brother, the Tail, who lived at Willstown, passed through Hiwassee, declaring that they were going to kill John Sevier.[335] October 2nd, about an hour and a half in the night, they surprised and attacked Black's blockhouse, at the head of Crooked Creek, a branch of Little River, at which a sergeant's command from Captain Crawford's Company was stationed. Part of the garrison were sitting out of doors by a fire, all unconscious of danger, when they were fired upon, two of their number, George Moss and Robert Sharpe, being killed and John Shankland wounded. James Paul was killed in the house. The Indians also killed three horses and carried away seven.[336] After this feat they seem to have abandoned the idea of killing General Sevier, and returned to their towns.

The Bench entered upon his next campaign in the very beginning of 1793. His point of destination was his old stamping grounds in southwestern Virginia, but this time he reached it by way of Kentucky; proceeding so far with Doublehead, beyond question the most crued and bloodthirsty Indian in the Cherokee nation. January 22nd they fell in with a party of traders, at Dripping Spring, on the trace from Cumberland to Kentucky, killed Captain William Overall and Mr. Burnett, took nine horses loaded with goods and whiskey, and

[333] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 331; Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 270.

[334] Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 274.

[335] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 293.

[336] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 294.

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made their escape, though pursued as far as Cumberland River. It was reported that they cut and carried off the flesh from Captain Overall's bones[337]—a cruel lesson Doublehead imparted to all too apt a pupil

After the affair at Dripping Spring the Bench took his leave of Doublehead and turned up next on Powell's Mountain, March 31, 1793, where, if we may credit the Virginia writers, he fell in with an old acquaintance. Moses Cockrell was a border ranger on the frontiers of Holston, in Virginia. Famous for his size, activity and handsome person, he was proud of his manhood, and was ambitious to meet the famous Captain Benge, as he called him, in single combat. Perhaps he boastfully predicted the result of such a contest so loudly that it reached the ear of the Bench. At any rate, they met this early spring day on top of Powell's Mountain, in what is now Lee County, Virginia. Cockrell and two companions were wending their way to the settlements, with a number of pack horses loaded with merchandise. The Bench discovered their approach and awaited them in ambush. He instructed his followers not to kill Cockrell, as he desired to prove his personal prowess by taking him captive. At the first crack of the Indian rifles the two companions of Cockrell fell, seeing which their leader dashed down the mountainside, like a deer, with the Bench in close pursuit.

Two miles away, in the valley of Wallen's Creek, was the cabin of a pioneer, in reaching which Cockrell felt lay his only chance of escape. To this cabin he made at the utmost limit of his speed. He was handicapped by the weight of two hundred dollars, specie, in his belt, but by a desperate effort he reached the clearing and leaped the fence surrounding the cabin; but before he had touched the ground the Bench's tomahawk was buried in the top rail of the fence. Seeing that Cockrell had reached the cabin, and not knowing how it might be guarded, the Bench disappeared and rejoined his companions on the mountain.[338]

He remained in the settlement most of the summer, making reconnoisances with the especial view of discovering where negroes might be had; a species of property of which he was uncommonly fond. On the 17th of July he traversed the north fork of Holston for above twenty miles, fired on a man named Williams, and captured a negro woman, the property

[337]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 436, 438.

[338]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 7, p. 108; Summer's Southwest Virginia, pp. 433-4, quoting Coale's Wilburn Waters.

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of Paul Livingston. The latter made her escape after two days' captivity, and returned to her home.[339]

But the Bench was not wholly bad; he had some idea of the obligations of plighted faith, especially of the sanctity of a flag of truce. After the assault of Captain Beard on the town of Hanging Maw the Bench joined the great army raised by his uncle, John Watts, for the invasion of Knoxville. At the investment of Cavett's Station, September 25, 1793, being acquainted with the English language, he was selected to offer terms of surrender to the garrison. These were, that their lives should be spared, and that they should be exchanged for as many Indian prisoners then among the whites. After the surrender the Bench strove earnestly, but to no purpose, to prevent the treacherous butchery of the captives by Double-head and his followers.[340]

In the spring of 1794, the Bench made his last expedition to the frontiers of Virginia. At that time Peter Livingston lived near the present town of Mendota, in Washington County. His aged mother, the widow of William Todd Livingston; his brother, Henry, and his wife, Susanna, were living with him. His own family consisted of his wife, Elizabeth, and their five children; besides, they had a negro woman, with a young child, and a negro boy about eight years of age.

On the morning of April 6th, the family were about their usual occupations, not having a suspicion that there was an Indian on the frontiers; Peter and Henry had gone to a barn some distance in the field; the old grandmother was in the garden busying herself about planting the spring vegetables; Susanna—Sukey, they called her—with two of the children was in an outhouse on some errand or other; and Elizabeth, with her nursing infant, a child of two, and one of ten years of age, was in the house engaged with her usual cares. Presently she was alarmed by the furious barking of the dogs. Looking out she saw seven Indians, armed and frightfully painted, approaching the house. Slam! the door is closed and barred. The Indians rush furiously up, try to burst the door, and failing, demand to be admitted. They discharge two guns, one ball piercing the door, but doing no damage. Mrs. Livingston gets down her husband's rifle, puzzles with its double triggers, and finally returns a ball crushing through the door. The Indians retire, surprised at the unexpected defense.

But what is the frightful odor that reaches now the brave mother? Smoke! It fills the room; becomes suffocating. The

[339]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 7, p. 108.
[340]Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 330.

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Indians have fired the house. She throws open the door, preferring the tomahawk to the flames. But she was spared the horrors of a savage massacre. The Indians took her and her three little children and added them to a group of prisoners, which she found, to her inexpressible delight, contained her other two children and their aunt Sukey, the negro woman and her child, the negro boy, and a negro man belonging to Edward Callihan. Mrs. Elizabeth Livingston, in her statement, makes no further mention of her husband's mother; but Haywood intimates[341] and Benjamin Sharpe[342], a neighbor, expressly states that she was killed. The Indians were afraid to plunder the house, fearing it had been a man who discharged the rifle, and the whole of its contents were consumed by the flames.

Now there was a hurried retirement to a more secluded spot; a division of spoils; and a packing of bundles by the Indians. This gave time for a most pathetic scene. The captives were some distance in the rear, in charge of two Indians. The quick instinct of the mother discovered that their captors were rather careless about the security of the children. She calls in a soft voice to her oldest daughter—the little girl of ten—gives her the baby, and whispers to her to take them all and run to their neighbor, John Russell's. They leave her with reluctance, the five little tots; they look back over their shoulders; they halt, how can they tear themselves from their mother! She frantically beckons them to go on, though it almost breaks her heart to see them leave her, in their perilous, helpless condition. The Indians wink at their escape, and they disappear.

That evening they passed the Clinch Mountain, and bivouacked at Copper Creek. The next day they crossed Clinch River at McLean's fish dam, steered northwardly, and camped on the head of Stoney Creek. They did not put out spies or sentries, considering themselves out of danger. The next day they broke camp late, traveled slowly, and halted at the foot of Powell's Mountain. The Bench now felt easy; his manner softened, and his tongue loosened. He communicated freely with his prisoners. He was carrying them to the Chickamauga towns. His brother, the Tail, was hunting in the Wilderness on the way. He had white prisoners there, with horses and saddles, taken in Kentucky. He was coming back next summer and pay old General Shelby a visit, and take his negroes; in fact, he was going to take all the negroes off the

[341]Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 327.
[342]American Pioneer, Vol. 2, p. 466.

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north branch of Holston. He sent two hunters ahead to kill game for their sustenance by the way. This was April the 8th.

In the meantime news of the disaster to the Livingstons swept across the frontiers. When it reached Lee Courthouse, court being in session, immediately adjourned. Lieutenant Vincent Hobbs called upon the bystanders for volunteers to make instant pursuit. Thirteen men responded. Do they find the trail and trust to the speed of their horses to overtake the marauders? Not Lieutenant Vincent Hobbs! He is a backwoodsman as well as a soldier. He knows every pass in the mountains. With the unerring judgment of a hunter he dashes forward to Stone's Gap, where the Indians will cross Cumberland Mountain. He reaches the Gap. The Indians have already passed. He takes the fresh trail, comes upon two hunters—the two sent out by the Bench on the 8th—and kills them. The main party has not yet passed. Back to the Gap! Fortunately they are in time. They secrete themselves in ambush, and wait.

The Bench broke camp on the morning of the 9th, crossed Powell's Mountain, and is at this very moment approaching Stone's Gap. He comes within the ambuscade. Bang! Bang! at the first fire the Bench and three of his warriors fall dead. Mrs. Elizabeth Livingston and her guard are some distance in the rear. He orders her to run, which she performs slowly. He attempts to kill her; she breaks the force of the blow with her arm, and, seeing her friends approaching, grapples him. He throws her back over a log, at the same time aiming a blow at her head, which renders her senseless; in which condition she lies for an hour, but finally recovers.[343]

Lieutenant Vincent Hobbs sent the Bench's scalp to the governor of Virginia, and the legislature voted him a silver-mounted rifle for his gallantry.

[343]Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 7, pp. 111, 112; Summer's Southwest Virginia, pp. 441-443.

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CHAPTER XVII.

DOUBLEHEAD.

Doublehead, the terror of the frontiers; he kills the sons of Colonel Valentine Sevier; adventures of Thomas Sharp Spencer, the old pioneer; he is killed by Doublehead, at Crab Orchard; Doublehead bribed at the treaty of Tellico; his frightful execution by Major Ridge. 1791-1807.

The operations of Doublehead, though simultaneous with the Chickamauga incursions of 1792-4, had no organic connection with them. Self-willed and obstinate, he could not bear the restraint even of a concert of action with the head men of his tribe. Strong and athletic in person, he was famous for his feats of personal prowess. He was a stranger to all the softer and more gentle passions. If he had ever heard a love song in his nation he was unable to repeat it.[344] But by his proud and haughty bearing, his bold, fearless and masterful spirit, and his ready and terrible vengeance, he forced himself to the front rank among the councilors of his nation, though he lived in an outlying town, and in a country to which the Cherokees had no just claim.

We first meet with him in July, 1791, at the treaty of Holston, which, it will be remembered, the Chickamaugas refused to attend. After he had signed the treaty, he begged and obtained the written permission of Governor Blount to hunt on the waters of Cumberland.[345] He seems, however, to have had little use for this permit, as we find him making his fall hunt low down on the Tennessee. He had settled with a party of some forty Cherokees, Northwards, and Creeks, on the south side of the Tennessee River, at the Mussel Shoals, about the year 1790. Colonel Meigs thought this settlement was projected by the Cherokees in order to try their title to that portion of the Chickasaw hunting ground,[346] but Doublehead's son-in-law, Colonel George Colbert, the Chickasaw chief, assured General Robertson that he settled at the Mussel Shoals by his permission.[347] At the Chickasaw conference in June, 1792, Governor Blount drew their attention to Doublehead's settlement on their land, and asked them to drive him off, or to authorize the United States to destroy his town.[348] But imme-

[344]Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. 1 (1820), p. 317.

[345]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 257.

[346]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 5, p. 73.

[347]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 5, p. 81.

[348]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 285.

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diately after the Chickasaw conference Watts formerly declared war against the United States, invaded Cumberland with a formidable force, and made his unsuccessful attack on Buchanan's Station, and for the time, Doublehead was entirely forgotten.

Doublehead's hunting party in the fall of 1791, consisted of twenty-eight men, besides women and children. While on this expedition, without any known cause, and in open violation of the treaty of Holston, which he had signed only six months previously, he took seven men of his party and made a memorable scalping excursion up the Cumberland.[349] Near the mouth of the river he fell in with Conrad's salt boat, which he took after killing one man. He then proceeded up the river as far as Clarksville. It so happened that while he was skulking in the neighborhood, January 17, 1792, General Robertson called for volunteers to act as spies and rangers, and John Rice, notable as the grantee and original proprietor of the tract of land on which the city of Memphis now stands, Robert, William and Valentine Sevier, the only grown sons of Colonel Valentine Sevier, and nephews of General John Sevier, John Curtis, and two or three other young men from Clarksville and Sevier's Station, set out to join him at Nashville.

There being a scarcity of horses in the settlement they determined to go up the Cumberland in a canoe. Doublehead, who was watching for just such an opportunity, discovered their movement, and hastily crossing one of the numerous horseshoe bends in the Cumberland River, secreted his party on the bank, at a place now known as Seven Mile Ferry. When the boat came round to where they were concealed, they fired a volley into it, killing the three Seviers, Curtis, and Rice. Before the Indians could reload, the other members of the party pushed their canoe across the river, and commenced its descent back towards Clarksville, hugging the opposite shore. Doublehead then recrossed the isthmus, intending to intercept them on their return, but this movement being anticipated, the canoe was hastily abandoned and turned adrift. The Indians found and boarded the derelict, scalped the five young men, and carried away their goods and provisions, even to their clothing; the hat, coat, and boots of Curtis being subsequently identified by a trader.[350] A week later three of his warriors killed a man named Boyd in Clarksville, after which

[349]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 274-5.

[350]Putnam's History of Middle Tennessee, p. 372; Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 341.

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he returned to his camp, and was in the neighborhood of New Madrid, March 11, 1792.

On the very day that Doublehead killed the young men on the Cumberland, a delegation of Cherokee chiefs headed by Bloody Fellow, concluded a treaty with Secretary Knox, at Philadelphia, by which their annuity under the treaty of Holston was increased from $1,000 to $1,500.[351] In May the first annual distribution of goods under these treaties was made at Coyatee. The principal chiefs of the Chickamauga town were present, and for the first time in their history, unanimously declared for peace. Doublehead was absent, and his town was not mentioned; but in the following August Governor Blount expressed the belief that he was the only chief of his nation that still held out for war.[352] How much mischief he did during this period is not known, for it is rarely possible to identify the leader of a scalping party on the frontiers; but he is probably responsible for many atrocities charged in a general way to Indians. Haywood says he shed with his own hands as much human blood as any man of his age in America.[353] He was with the party that killed Captain William Overall, at Dripping Springs, dishonored his body by cutting the flesh from his bones, and carried his scalp and that of his companion to the nation, and had war dances over them at Lookout Mountain, Willstown, and Turnip Mountain, his party having been enlisted from all of these settlements.[354]

Doublehead was ambitious, and though he was not then considered one of the principal chiefs of the nation, he attended the conference at Henry's Station, February 6, 1793; and when informed by Governor Blount that the President desired a representative delegation of the real chiefs of the Cherokees to visit him at Philadelphia, he repaired with others to the Hanging Maw's, and was present when Captain Beard made his dastardly assault upon the Hanging Maw's town. This event gave Doublehead an opportunity to assert his leadership. He had been reported killed, but he wrote Secretary Smith that he was still among his people, "living in gores of blood." Nine of his people, some of them first and principal head men, had been killed. He demanded immediate satisfaction for them, without waiting to hear from the President. "This," he said, "is the third time we have been served so when we were talking peace, that they fell on us and killed us."[355]

[351] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 203.
[352] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 276.
[353] History of Tennessee, p. 318.
[354] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 438.
[355] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 460.

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In the war that followed he disputed the leadership with Colonel John Watts. When Cavet's Station capitulated, it was he and his party who, in violation of the terms of surrender, massacred the prisoners, men, women, and children. Only one escaped; Colonel Watts made Alexander Cavet, Jr., his prisoner, and to save him from the fury of Doublehead's young fellows, gave him to the Creeks, only to be tomahawked and killed by one of their chiefs three days after his arrival in the nation.[356] In this campaign, as we have seen, chief John Vann had a captive boy riding behind him. Doublehead, picking a quarrel with him, stabbed and killed his little boy. For this Vann dubbed him "Kill-baby," and subsequently so taunted him with it, that Doublehead would have killed him had he not saved himself by flight.[357]

After Colonel Watts' forces had been dispersed by General Sevier, and the Upper towns of the Cherokees had declared themselves for peace, Doublehead recruited a party of about one hundred warriors and again moved to his favorite field on the frontiers of Cumberland and Kentucky, and was responsible for all the mischief done in those quarters during the spring of 1794.[358] On the 12th of March he formed an ambuscade near Middleton's Station, on the road from Kentucky to Hawkins' Courthouse, and firing upon the post rider and twelve travelers who were in his company, killed four men, two of them—Elders Haggard and Shelton—being Baptist preachers.[359] And for some years after peace was permanently established the Methodist circuit rider crossed the Wilderness with fear and trembling, rumors still being current that Doublehead was under a curse to be avenged on the white people.[360] In the same month he killed the Wilson family, consisting of eight women and children, except one boy whom he took into his own possession.[361]

The first day of April, 1794, found him near Crab Orchard, on the road from Knoxville to Nashville, at a point since called Spencer's Hill, where he secreted his party and laid in wait for the unhappy traveler who might find it necessary to venture across the Wilderness.

At this point let us pause long enough to notice a few inci-

[356]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 634.

[357]Stephen Foster, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 331.

[358]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, p. 297; Haywood, p. 317.

[359]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 318.

[360]Thomas Wilkinson, McFerrin's History of Methodism in Tennessee, Vol. 1, p. 258.

[361]House Journal, Southwest Territory, Aug. 1794, p. 29. (Reprint, 1852.)

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dents in the career of the earliest and most picturesque pioneer of the Cumberland, Thomas Sharpe Spencer. He was a man of giant proportions and herculean strength. A hunter left by Timothy Demonbreun in charge of his camp on Cumberland, in the fall of 1777, discovered Spencer's tracks, and was so alarmed by their uncommon size, that he fled and did not rest until he had joined Demonbreun at Vincennes on the banks of the Wabash.[362] A few years later, at a general muster two boys became involved in a fight. Old Bob Shaw, who considered himself a mighty man, insisted on letting them fight it out. Spencer, however, was of a different opinion, and parting the crowd right and left, he seized one of the belligerents in either hand, pulled them apart with scarcely an effort, and bid them clear themselves. This Shaw took as a fighting offense, and struck Spencer in the faec with his fist. Spencer instantly caught him by the collar and waistband of his trousers, and running a few steps to a ten-rail fence, tossed him over it. This much is on the authority of General William Hall.[363] There is a tradition that when Shaw arose and brushed the dust from his clothes, he called out: "Mr. Spencer, if you will be kind enough to pitch my horse over, I will be riding."

But Spencer was not more distinguished by his colossal frame and his marvelous feats of strength, than by his heroic self-sacrifice and knightly bearing. He was a Virginian of cavalier stock, and came to Cumberland with a party of adventurers in 1776. All of them except Spencer and John Holliday soon afterwards returned. Two years later Holliday also determined to go back to the settlements, and insisted on Spencer going with him, but he steadfastly refused. When Holliday departed Spencer accompanied him to the barrens of Kentucky, and put him on the path he was to travel; and when Holliday complained that he had no knife, Spencer promptly broke his own, and gave him half of it.[364] So the two friends parted company, Holliday to make the long and perilous journey to the east, and Spencer to return to his solitary home in a large sycamore tree near what is now Castalian Springs. R. E. W. Earle, the artist, measured the stump of this old sycamore, which was still visible at the surface of the ground, about the year 1823, and found it to be twelve feet in diam-

[362]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 95.

[363]Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 15-16.

[364]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, pp. 94-5; Narrative of General Hall, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 15. 122-3.

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eter,[365] quite a commodious residence, even for a man of Spencer's proportions.

Once while hunting with a companion on the waters of Duck River, having killed a deer, as evening approached they found a secluded spot, and kindled a fire to cook their supper. Just as they had put their meat on the fire to roast, a party of Indians who had discovered their camp, crept up within range, fired upon them, and shot his companion dead. Spencer, who was lying on his blanket by the fire, sprang to his feet, caught up the two guns, but did not flee until he had placed the dead body of his friend on his powerful shoulders, when he dashed off through the cane, and so escaped and gave his friend Christian burial.[366]

On another occasion he gallantly saved the life of Mrs. Parker, who had formerly been the wife of Colonel Anthony Bledsoe. They were riding from Greenfield to Station Camp, the residence of her son-in-law, David Shelby, in company with Robert Jones and William Penny. Spencer and Jones were in front, followed by Mrs. Parker, with Penny in the rear. About two and a half miles east of Gallatin a party of Indians fired upon them, killing Jones and wounding Mrs. Parker's horse. Penny instantly wheeled his horse and bolted. Spencer jumped off his horse, passed his arm through the bridle rein, and breaking a switch, handed it to Mrs. Parker, who gave her horse the lash, and got out of range before the Indians could reload. In the meantime Spencer stood behind a tree between the Indians and Mrs. Parker, until he saw her out of danger, when he remounted his horse and made good his escape through a fusillade of bullets, for by this time the Indians had reloaded their guns.[367]

Spencer did not appear to have any fear of Indians, such as other men had, though he was often attacked by them. In the fall of 1780 he encountered an Indian scalping party in the woods, as he was returning to the Bluff with a load of meat. They fired upon him without effect, but got his horses, which were afterwards recovered.[368] Again in May, 1782, he was fired upon and wounded. He, George Espey, Andrew Lucas, and a man named Johnson were out hunting on the headwaters of Drake's Creek. As they stopped to let their horses drink, the Indians made their attack. Lucas was shot through the

[365]Haywood's Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, pp. cer's proportions.

[366]Narrative of Gen. Hall, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 16.

[367]Narrative of John Shelby, Indian Battles, Murders, Sieges, and Forays in the Southwest, p. 88; Narrative of General Hall, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 16.

[368]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 126.

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neck and mouth. He dismounted, however, with the rest, but in attempting to fire, the blood gushed out of his mouth and wet his priming. Perceiving this he desisted and crawled into a bunch of briers. Espey, as he alighted, received a shot which broke his thigh, but still he fought heroically. Johnson and Spencer acquitted themselves with incomparable gallantry. Spencer received a shot, but the ball split on the bone of his arm and saved his life. They were finally obliged to give way, and leave Espey, whom the Indians scalped; but they did not find Lucas, who shortly afterwards reached the fort, and recovered from his wound.[369]

In the fall of 1793, Spencer made a journey to Virginia to settle an estate, and receive a legacy that had fallen to him. Having completed his business, in the following spring, he started back to the west, having in his saddle bags $1,000 in gold, besides other valuables. His route carried him by way of Knoxville and Southwest Point. He left the latter place, in company with four other travelers, and started across the Wilderness, April 1, 1794. Spencer and James Walker were riding together in advance, and when they reached the point at which Doublehead had formed his ambuscade, they received a volley which brought Spencer dead from his horse, and wounded Walker. When Spencer fell his horse fled, and made his escape with the travelers in the rear, but his saddlebags coming off, his money and other valuables fell into the hands of the enemy.[370]

This was the last act of open hostility committed by Doublehead. He then hastened to Philadelphia, whither he went with a delegation of Cherokee chiefs, who concluded a treaty with Secretary Knox, June 26, 1794, by which their annuity was still further increased from $1,500 to $5,000. He was treated with the utmost attention during his stay, and loaded with presents on his departure.[371] He returned by way of Charleston, and did not reach home until the latter part of October.[372] Before his return Wayne had won his great victory over the northwestern Indians, August 20th, and Major Ore had penetrated to the Chickamauga towns and destroyed Nickajack and Running Water, September 13th, which practically ended the Cherokee wars in the Old Southwest.

Let us now notice the conclusion of Doublehead's tempest-

[369]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, pp. 136, 223.

[370]House Journal, Southwest Territory, Aug., 1794, p. 29; Haywood's History of Tennessee, p. 318; Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, p. 16.

[371]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, p. 356.

[372]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 523.

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uous career. He had now reached a commanding position in the councils of his nation. He was present and signed the treaty of Tellico in 1798. He met the commissioners of the United States at Southwest Point in 1801, and refused to allow them to make a road through his nation from Nashville to Natchez.[373] Afterwards the people of Tennessee became clamorous, not only for roads through the Indian territory, but for the acquisition of large bodies of the Cherokee land. September 13, 1806, the General Assembly removed the seat of government from Knoxville to Kingston, appointed commissioners for the purpose of acquiring land at or near Southwest Point, to accommodate the permanent seat of government, and adjourned to meet at that place in 1807.[374] This was done in order to give color to the claim made at the treaty of Tellico, that the State might want to fix its capital at that point. The next session of the legislature did meet at Kingston, organized, and adjourned the same day to Knoxville, and Southwest Point was no longer considered available for the seat of government.

The treaty of Tellico was held in October, 1805. Previously to that time Doublehead had declared himself as unalterably opposed to selling one foot of ground.[375] But when the conference met two treaties were concluded, with his consent, one on the 25th, and the other on the 27th of October, 1805. By the terms of the treaty of October 25th, there were reserved three square miles of land, ostensibly for the purpose of removing thereto the garrison at Southwest Point, and the United States factory at Tellico, but really for the benefit of Doublehead, his friend and adviser, John D. Chisholm, and John Riley, as the price of their influence in securing from the Cherokees the extensive cession of land granted by that treaty. This was accomplished by means of a secret article attached to the treaty, but not submitted to the senate. This secret article also applied to a small tract at and below the mouth of Clinch River, likewise intended for the benefit of Doublehead; to one mile square at the foot of Cumberland Mountain; and to one mile square on the north bank of the Tennessee River, where Talotiskee lived.[376]

The treaty of October 25th ceded all the Cherokee land north of Duck River, and also the Cumberland Mountain reservation known as the Wilderness. A large part of the nation bitterly resented this sale, but did not at once take any steps

[373]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 656.

[374]Tennessee Senate Journal, 1806, p. 104.

[375]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 5, p. 76.

[376]Royce's Cherokee Nation of Indians, 5th Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1883-4), pp. 191-193.

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to punish Doublehead, who was chiefly responsible for it. Perhaps this was due to the fact that almost immediately after signing these treaties, Doublehead and a party of Cherokee chiefs accompanied Return J. Meigs and Daniel Smith, the commissioners who negotiated them, to Washington, and signed still another treaty with the United States, January 7, 1806, by which they ceded the Cherokee claim to what was really Chickasaw territory, lying between the Duck and Tennessee Rivers.

In the summer of 1807[377] the Cherokees had a great ball play on the Hiwassee River. This was their national sport, and attracted immense crowds. On this occasion there were more than a thousand Indians present, besides the officers from Hiwassee Fort, and numerous traders attracted by the prospect of selling their merchandise. The central figure among the Cherokees was the famous chief Doublehead. General Sam Dale, of Mississippi, then a Georgia Indian trader, who is authority for the following account of his death,[378] knew Doublehead and called upon him. "Sam, you are a mighty liar," was his greeting. When Dale demanded why he thus insulted him in public, a smile illuminated his grim face as he replied, "You have never kept your promise to come and see me. You know you have lied." He then produced a bottle of whiskey, and invited Dale and the officers present to drink with him. When they had emptied the bottle, he rejected Dale's offer to replenish it, saying, "When I am in the white man's country, I will drink your liquor, but here you must drink with Doublehead."

After the game was over a chief named Bone-polisher approached Doublehead and denounced him as a traitor for selling the land of his people. The stolid chief remaining tranquil and silent, Bone-polisher became still more angry, accompanying his abuse with menacing gestures. Then Doublehead spoke, quietly and without agitation: "Go away. You have said enough. Leave me, or I shall kill you." Bone-polisher rushed at him with his tomahawk, which Doublehead received on his left arm, and drawing his pistol, shot him through the heart.

Sometime after night, Doublehead, who had been drinking, came in to Hiwassee Ferry, and entered McIntosh's tavern. Among those whom he encountered there was a chief named Ridge, afterwards Major Ridge, a half-breed called Alex. Saun-

[377]Return J. Meigs, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 754.

[378]Life and Times of General Sam Dale, the Mississippi Partisan. By J. F. H. Claiborne, pp. 45-49.

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ders, and John Rodgers, an old white man who had long resided in the nation. Rodgers began to revile him, much after the manner of Bone-polisher. Doublehead proudly rebuked him: "You live by sufferance among us. I have never seen you in council nor on the warpath. You have no place among the chiefs. Be silent and interfere no more with me." The old man still persisted, and Doublehead attempted to shoot him, but his pistol, not having been charged, missed fire. The light was then extinguished, and at the same instant a pistol shot was fired. When the light was rekindled, Ridge, Saunders, and Rodgers had all disappeared, and Doublehead lay motionless on his face. The ball had shattered his lower jaw and lodged in the nape of his neck.

His friends now set out with him for the garrison, but fearing they would be overtaken, turned aside, and concealed him in the loft of Schoolmaster Black's house. Two warriors of the Bone-polisher clan traced Doublehead by his blood to his hiding place. At the same time Ridge and Saunders came galloping up, shouting the war whoop. Same Dale and Colonel James Brown, of Georgia, followed them. The wounded chief was lying on the floor, his jaw and arm terribly lacerated. Ridge and Saunders each leveled his pistol, but both missed fire. Doublehead sprang upon Ridge and would have overpowered him had not Saunders discharged his pistol and shot him through the hips. Saunders then made a rush on Doublehead with his tomahawk, but the dying chief wrenched it from him, and again leaped upon Ridge. Saunders seized another tomahawk and drove it into his brain. When he fell another Indian crushed his head with a spade.

It is interesting to note that, after the tribe had been removed to the west, Major Ridge was himself executed in the same manner, for a like offence.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The Nickajack Expedition. 1794.

It had long been apparent that the Chickamauga towns would have to be destroyed. The strength of their position had attracted to them a party of daring young warriors, mostly Cherokees, who wished a stronghold from which they could make sorties upon the frontiers. Moreover, they were situated at the Creek crossing place, on the Tennessee River, and their people fraternized with the Creek war parties, who used them as a base for their operations against the settlers on the Cumberland and in Kentucky. As early as August 13, 1792, President Washington wrote the Secretary of War: "If the banditti, which made the successful stroke on the station at Nashville [Zeigler's], could be come at without involving disagreeable consequences with the tribes to which they respectively belong, an attempt to cut them off ought by all means to be encouraged. An enterprise judiciously concerted and spiritedly executed, would be less expensive to the government than keeping up guards of militia, which will always be eluded in the attack, and never be overtaken in pursuit."[379]

Again, soon after the battle of Etowah, General Robertson, in a letter to General Sevier, asked when the Lower towns would get their deserts. He said the Governor had hinted that it might be next spring, but he feared that would be too late to save the Cumberland settlements, considering their exposed situation, and the little protection they had. He, therefore, urged General Sevier to carry an expedition of fifteen hundred men into the Cherokee country before the ensuing spring.[380]

Nothing came of General Robertson's request, and in the meantime the Indian depredations were renewed and prosecuted with great malignancy. The Territorial Assembly which met at Knoxville in August, 1794, adopted a second memorial to Congress on the subject, and appended to it a list of Indian depredations, which showed that they had killed sixty-seven people, wounded ten, captured twenty-five, and had stolen three hundred and seventy-four horses, between February 26 and September 6, 1794.[381]

[379]Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. 10, pp. 262-3.

[380]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 387.

[381]Journal of the Legislative Council of the Territory of the United States of America, South of the River Ohio, 1794 (Reprint, 1852), pp. 22-25.

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Many of these depredations were notable. The murder of the Casteel family, near Knoxville, was shocking. About daybreak, April 22, 1794, William Casteel was in his cabin, dressed, and waiting for Anthony Ragan, with whom he was going on a hunt. When Ragan arrived, a few minutes later, he found Casteel's dead body near the fire, where he had fallen from the stroke of a war club, evidently taken by surprise. His wife, aroused by the attack on her husband, seems to have made a desperate resistance. A bloody axe found by her side, a broken arm, and a mutilated hand, all testified to her courageous defence. She was finally despatched with a butcher knife. Four small children were killed and scalped, one of them, a little girl, receiving a stab which pierced through her body and into the bedclothes beneath her. The oldest daughter, Elizabeth, ten years of age, was found weltering in the blood that flowed from six wounds inflicted by a tomahawk. She afterwards showed signs of life, and under Dr. Crosby's treatment finally recovered.[382]

Among the killed on the Cumberland were the two young Anthony Bledsoes, sons, respectively, of Colonels Anthony and Isaac Bledsoe. They were killed near Rock Castle, the home of Secretary Daniel Smith, where they were boarding and going to school. The death of the old pioneer, Thomas Sharpe Spencer, has already been noticed. James R. Robertson, a son of Colonel James Robertson, was killed near his father's house on Cumberland River. Major George Winchester, a brother of General James Winchester, and a gallant militia officer, was killed on his way to the County Court, of which he was a member.

The committee of Congress to which the first memorial of the Southwest Territory, adopted February, 1794, was referred, reported to the House of Representatives, April 8, 1794, that the situation of the southwestern frontiers in general, and Mero district in particular, called for the most energetic measures on the part of the government, and recommended that the President be authorized to carry on offensive operations against any nation or tribe of Indians that might continue hostile.[383] This report, however, was not acted upon, and the Secretary of War wrote Governor Blount, July 29, 1794, that, "With respect to destroying the Lower towns, however vigorous such a measure might be, or whatever good consequences might result from it, I am instructed specially, by the President, to say that he does not consider himself authorized to direct any such measure, more especially as the whole subject was

[382]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 592-3.

[383]American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 476.

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before the last session of Congress, who did not think proper to authorize or direct offensive operations.[384] But the mild tone of the Secretary's letter, the well-known attitude of President Washington, and the great anxiety of Governor Blount for the relief of the frontiers, made it manifest that an unauthorized expedition against the Chickamauga towns, if judiciously concerted and spiritedly executed, would not seriously offend either the government of the United States or of the Southwest Territory.

Early in August, General Robertson received two dispatches from the Chickasaws, one by Thomas Brown, a man of veracity, and the other by a common runner, bringing information that the Creeks and Chickamaugas were "embodying" in large numbers for the purpose of invading Mero District about the 20th of the month. Afterwards, he received from some confidential Chickasaws and from Dr. R. J. Waters, of New Madrid, the further intelligence that two attacks would be made simultaneously, one by a party of one hundred Creeks, who would drop down the Tennessee River in canoes and fall upon the lower settlements, while a larger force, consisting of three or four hundred Creeks, were to pass through the Chickamauga towns, receive reinforcements from them, and march against Nashville.

The Creek campaign was launched in accordance with the plan outlined. A small party proceeded by river to Mero District, and invaded the lower settlements around Clarksville. The main body also marched, near the time appointed; but the action of Hanging Maw and the friendly Cherokees of the Upper towns, in killing two Creeks, and delivering a third over to the Territorial authorities, who tried and executed him, August 4, 1794, caused such confusion in the Creek and Chickamauga ranks, that this branch of their expedition was abandoned, only a few small war parties reaching the Cumberland. There were at least three such parties operating in the district about the middle of September, one in Tennessee, one in Sumner, and one in Davidson County.[385]

As soon as General Robertson heard of the purposed Creek-Chickamauga invasion, he began active preparations for an offensive campaign, of which every one seemed to be aware, but no one took official cognizance. After despatching Sampson Williams, the old scout, to Colonel William Whitley, at Crab Orchard, in Lincoln County, Kentucky, who was ex-

[384]Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 609.

[385]Robertson's correspondence, American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, pp. 360-362; Vol. 4, pp. 75-77.

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pected to take part in the expedition, he proceeded to organize and equip the local militia. Colonel James Ford raised a company around Port Royal, which he put under command of Captain William Miles; Colonel John Montgomery raised another in the neighborhood of Clarksville, which he commanded in person; and General Robertson himself enlisted volunteers in the country adjacent to Nashville. They rendezvoused at Brown's Blockhouse, September 6, 1794, and numbered about three hundred and eighty men.

Governor Blount may have received intelligence of the Creek invasion at the same time it was communicated to General Robertson, which induced him to order Major James Ore, with his command of about seventy men, to Mero District.[386] Major Ore's orders, which were received August 19, 1794, directed him to range the Cumberland Mountains in search of hostile Indians, but somehow he marched direct to the place of rendezvous at Nashville, and although Governor Blount had reason to anticipate Colonel Whitley's movements, and to apprehend their effect on the border people, he "forgot," Haywood says,[387] to give Major Ore any directions on the subject. In the meantime Colonel Whitley, with about one hundred men, arrived from Kentucky. He set out August 20, 1794, a day made memorable by the victory of General Wayne over the Indians of the northwest; and if he followed a party of Indians who had been committing depredations on the frontiers of Lincoln County, as reported to General Robertson,[388] it was an opportune coincidence. It happened, therefore, that Major Ore's United States troops, General Robertson's Mero militia, and Colonel Whitley's Kentucky volunteers, all met at Brown's Blockhouse, forming an army of resolute backwoodsmen five hundred and fifty strong.

The chief command was entrusted to Major James Ore, who commanded the only troops in the expedition levied by public authority; thus giving color to the claim of the troops for pay, which was subsequently allowed by the Federal government. The Territorial troops had been strictly forbidden to carry on offensive operations against the Indians, but evading this prohibition, on the ground that it could not be considered otherwise than defensive to strike the first blow, General Robertson ordered Major Ore to march against the Creeks and Chickamaugas who were threatening Mero District, and, if he should not meet with them before he arrived at the Tennessee River, to pass it and destroy the Lower Cherokee towns.

[386] American Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, p. 76.
[387] History of Tennessee, pp. 409-410.
[388] Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 618.

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Colonel John Montgomery was given command of the Territorial forces, Colonel William Whitley commanded the Kentucky contingent, and Richard Findleston, the friendly half-breed who warned General Robertson of Watts' invasion in 1792, who acted as guide for General Sevier at Etowah in 1793, was engaged to pilot the expedition.

Marching from Brown's Blackhouse, September 8, 1794, the army proceeded along Taylor's trace, by way of the present towns of Murfreesboro and Manchester, to the Cumberland Mountain, crossing which, they reached the Tennessee River about three miles below the mouth of Sequatchie, after dark on the evening of September 12th. Here Findleston volunteered to swim the river, which was about three-quarters of a mile wide, and build a fire on the southern bank to guide the men in crossing. Daniel G. Brown, the brother of Colonel Joseph Brown, and William Topp, joined him, and the trio safely made the landing. Then the soldiers began swimming the river, the least expert availing themselves of whatever assistance they could contrive, such as bundles of dry cane and small pieces of wood, and in this way about two hundred and sixty-five men crossed over, without an accident. The others remained on the north side of the river in charge of the horses and impedimenta of the camp. For the purpose of transporting their arms and clothing, they had provided two boats made of green ox-hides, to which were added some light rafts, which the men, in their impatience, improvised to expedite their passage. The boats were kept plying back and forth all night, and it was after sunrise on the morning of September 13, 1794, before the troops could again be got in motion.

Having crossed the river, they found themselves between the small village of Long Island, on the west, and Nickajack, on the east. Nickajack was situated on the east bank of Nickajack Creek, a short distance above its mouth, and contained about two hundred houses, mostly built of round logs, and covered with boards and bark. Protected on the south by picturesque and rugged mountains, it was surrounded by fields of potatoes and corn, peach orchards, and melon patches, and back of these was a thick growth of cane. Five miles east of Nickajack, nestled in a beautiful little valley, encompassed by friendly heights, lay the town of Running Water, the most important of the Chickamauga towns. It had been their capital in the time of Dragging Canoe, and contained a council house, sixty or seventy feet in diameter, with a conical roof, covered with bark. The road from Nickajack to Running Water passed a point called the narrows, between the Tennes-

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see River and the overhanging cliffs that jutted down from the mountain, and formed a defile of great strategic strength.

The army having been formed on the south bank of the river, marched southward up the mountain, intending to get in behind the town of Nickajack, and strike it from the rear. When they reached the field back of the town, the men were formed into line of battle among the cane, Colonel Whitley commanding the right wing and Colonel Montgomery the left. The two wings were ordered to march so as to strike the river above and below the town. Joseph Brown, one time prisoner in the town, being entirely familiar with the surroundings, was sent with twenty men to guard the mouth of Nickajack Creek below the town, and cut off the retreat of any Indians who might seek to escape in that direction.

Colonel Montgomery's division first sighted the enemy. He discovered two houses standing out in the field, about two hundred and fifty yards from the town. He left a detachment of fifteen men to watch these houses until the firing should begin in the town; and lest the Indians in them should discover the approach of the troops and give the alarm, he ordered his main force to push on with all speed. The corn was growing close around the houses, and concealed their movement from the enemy. Firing commenced near a house on the left of the town, and was returned by the Indians, one of whom was killed. The troops then dashed into the town, but found the houses all vacant and their doors open.

While these movements were taking place, the guard left to watch the houses in the field saw a lithe and graceful Indian maiden pounding hominy in a mortar outside the cabin. In a few moments she was joined by a young warrior who passed his arms around her waist, playfully swung her about, and then assisted her with the pestle. While engaged in this delightful dalliance the firing began in the town, then the crack of a rifle was heard in the cornfield, and the young girl's lover fell dead at her feet. The doors were instantly closed, portholes opened, and the men in the houses prepared to make a desperate defence. The girl undertook to make her escape by flight, but was pursued and captured by the guard, who, deeming it unwise to continue the contest, retired with their prisoner, and rejoined the main force in the town. The girl was put into a canoe with the other prisoners, and while she was being rowed down the river towards the crossing place, she sprang head foremost into the river, disengaging herself artfully from her clothing, which were left floating on the water. She swam superbly, and was fast making her escape. Someone shouted shoot her—shoot her. But the more gallant spirits,

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admiring her agility, beauty and boldness, intervened, and allowed the young heroine to escape.

The Indians in the town were taken completely by surprise. Years of security having given them faith in their fastness, they believed their town inaccessible, and when the whites suddenly appeared among them they wondered whether they had fallen down from the clouds, or sprung up out of the earth. As soon as the alarm was given they gathered up such of their effects as they could carry, and fled to the river, hoping to escape in their canoes. When Colonel Montgomery's men, who pressed closely upon them, reached the scene they discovered five or six large canoes in the river, filled with Indians and their goods, while twenty-five or thirty warriors still stood upon the shore. They at once opened fire upon them. By this time Colonel Whitley's division had swept down from the east, cutting off retreat in that direction. Having the Indians now surrounded, the engagement became little better than a slaughter, and hardly a soul on shore escaped.

A few of the Indians in the canoes succeeded in getting away, but many of them fell victims to the deadly aim of the rifle, some of them in their canoes, and others in the waters of their beloved river. Several men tried to kill an Indian who was lying nearly flat in his canoe, only his arms showing as he paddled for his life. Having failed to hit him, Colonel Whitley, who came up at the moment, asked them to let him try. He took deliberate aim, and when he pulled the trigger, the blood was seen to spout from the Indian's shoulder. Joseph Brown, who had been left with twenty men to guard the mouth of Nickajack Creek, heard the firing commence, rushed forward, and, after some fighting in the canebrake, rejoined the main body of the troops. Seeing a canoe floating down the river, he swam out to it, and finding in it the Indian Colonel Whitley had shot, turned him over to ascertain whether he was yet alive, when the Indian seized him and tried to throw him overbroard. After a hard struggle, in which the Indian was nearly scalped, he cried, "Enough!" but Brown, in his "wrath," declared it was not enough, and throwing him into the river, one of the men shot him from the shore.[389]

The carnage was awful. No quarter was given to the men, who were killed wherever found. The Breath, whom we have already noticed as the kindly chief of the town, and somewhere between fifty and seventy of his people—some of them, unfortunately, women and children—perished, either on the river

[389] James Collier, Howe's Historical Collections of the Great West, Vol. 1, p. 176, note; Joseph Brown, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, p. 77.

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bank, in the water, or at their cabins. Nineteen women and children were taken prisoners, among whom was the wife and child of Richard Findleston, the guide. A search of the town disclosed two fresh scalps lately taken on the Cumberland, one by a nephew of the Fool Warrior and the other by a Creek, and a number of old ones, which hung as trophies in the homes of the warriors who had taken them. They also found a quantity of powder and lead, lately arrived from the Spanish government, and a commission for the Breath. In making the search a Kentucky soldier witnessed a pathetic scene. Entering one of the cabins, he saw an infant, ten or twelve months old, with its bowels protruding from a wound in its abdomen, crawling over the body of its mother, who lay dead upon the floor. He was horrified at the sight, and as an act of mercy, put his rifle to its head and blew out its brains.[390]

Having burned the town of Nickajack, Major Ore immediately set out with his forces for Running Water, but news of their presence preceded them, and the warriors of that town made a stand at the narrows, already mentioned. They were advantageously posted behind rocks on the mountain side, but demoralized by the panic-stricken fugitives that fled from Nickajack, they gave way after the exchange of a few rounds, abandoned their town to its fate, and fled to the woods with their wives and children. At the narrows the whites had three men wounded, Luke Anderson and Severn Donelson, slightly, and Joshua Thomas, mortally. These were the only casualties of the campaign. Major Ore continued on to Running Water, which, with all the effects found in it, was burned, and the troops returned to the river, which they recrossed the same day, and joined their comrades on the opposite shore. Having completed their work in a single day, on the following morning they took up the line of march for Nashville, which they reached on the 17th, and were disbanded.[391]

[390] James Collier, Howe's Historical Collections of the Great West, Vol. 1, p. 176, note.

[391] Compare Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, pp. 406-414; Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, pp. 608-618; Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 1, pp. 76-77; Howe's Historical Collections of the Great West, Vol. 1, pp. 175-177, note.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Chicasaw Allies.

End of the Cherokee wars; further Creek hostilities; the Chickasaws to the rescue; end of the Creek wars. 1794-1795.

At the conclusion of the Chickamauga campaign General Robertson liberated a prisoner for the purpose of conveying to Colonel Watts a letter, in which he demanded the return of Miss Collins, a white prisoner, and four negroes that belonged to General Logan, in exchange for the prisoners taken by Maojr Ore; promised to desist from further hostilities until they had time to come in with a flag of truce, but plainly intimated that, should they not restore the prisoners and bring good assurances of peace, he would soon return and destroy all of their towns.[392] The easy penetration of their fastnesses and the complete destruction of Nickajack and Running Water by Major Ore, and the overwhelming defeat of the northwestern Indians by General Wayne, in which action some of their warriors took part,[393] had broken the spirit of the Chickamaugas, and they were at last sincerely disposed to peace. When Colonel Watts received General Robertson's letter, deeming it unsafe to go to Nashville, on account of the unsusual excitement of the settlers, he sought a conference with Governor Blount, which was held at Tellico Blockhouse, November 7-8, 1794. There were present at the conference, besides Colonel Watts, the Hanging Maw, who, as head man of the nation, had been asked to intercede for his refractory children, some minor chiefs, and about four hundred warriors. The issue had already been settled in favor of the whites, and it only remained to bury the bloody hatchet. The conference was conducted in a friendly spirit, and a peace concluded that has never since been broken, and may now be expected to last, in their own picturesque language, as long as grass grows and water runs.

The Creeks, whose only punishment had come from the direction of Georgia, had little fear of an invasion from the Southwest Territory, and were not so easily pacified. In the latter part of September, William Colbert and other Chickasaws informed General Robertson that they still threatened Mero District, not in such large numbers, but in small detached parties, which were even more dangerous.[394] Their first victim was Thomas Bledsoe, who was killed near Bledsoe's Station, October 2, 1794. The killing of his father, brother, uncle and

[392] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 531, 537.
[393] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 533.
[394] American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, p. 362.

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cousin, have already been noticed in this history. Several war-parties appearing in different parts of the district at the same time, gave unusual alarm to the inhabitants. Many of them shut themselves up in the stations, while some, like Colonel Isaac Tittsworth, determined to remove their families to safer sections.

Colonel Tittsworth came to Cumberland in 1783, and settled on Persons Creek, near Port Royal. His place was known throughout the neighboring settlements. When Tennessee County was erected in 1788, the court of pleas and quarter sessions was organized at his house. Afterwards he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the county militia. He had passed safely through the trying decade from 1784 to 1794, suffering no worse misfortune than the burning of his house by the Creeks in 1791. He and his brother, John Tittsworth, now determined to remove their families to Double Licks, in Logan County, Kentucky.

On Wednesday, November 5, 1794, they commenced their journey. The caravan contained the wives and children of the Tittsworth brothers, but neither one of them is known to have been with the train. Their route lay through a rich country covered by a magnificent forest. They traveled all day through the wild woods, and as evening drew on, had passed the uttermost limit of the settlement. Nightfall found them, weary from their day's journey, four miles further in the forest. Here they were glad to make their encampment for the night. Before morning their camp was attacked by a party of Creeks from the Hickory Ground, on the Coosa River. Seven or eight white persons were killed and scalped on the spot; a negro woman was wounded; and three small children, a girl, the daughter of Colonel Tittsworth, and a negro man, were taken prisoners.[395]

Pursuit was promptly made by the neighboring militia. The Indians avoided an engagement, but the militia pressed them so hard that they abandoned all the property taken from the Tittsworths, as well as some of their own. The eagerness of the pursuit, however, was most disastrous for the captives. The little children, being unable to keep up with their captors, were scalped, the Indians holding them by the hair and dragging them along until their heads were entirely skinned. One of them died the following day, and the others were not expected to live, though their fate is not now known.

The Creeks had a camp in the woods near the mouth of the Tennessee River. They carried Miss Tittsworth and the negro man to this place, where they kept them until their re-

[395] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 539.

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turn to the Creek nation, about six months later. During her captivity Miss Tittsworth was required to do menial service, such as making fires, bringing water, and pounding meal; was subjected to corporal punishment, and in all respects treated as a slave. The Spanish agent resident in the Creek nation offered a ransom of four hundred dollars for her, with a view, he said, of sending her to New Orleans and putting her in school, but the offer was declined. After peace was concluded in 1795, she was restored to her father, after a captivity of ten months.[396]

A party of Creeks from Tuskegee was also doing much mischief in the district. They were familiar with the country, having made many excursions to it, in one of which they had killed Major Evan Shelby. They began their depredations in the vicinity of Colonel Tittsworth's place, on Red River, where they killed Miss Betsy Roberts, on the twelfth, and Thomas Reason and wife, on the 14th of September, 1794. Soon afterwards they moved their operations down to the mouth of the river, where they hoped to break up Sevier's Station.

Colonel Valentine Sevier was one of the early settlers of Tennessee County. His father was a Virginian of French extraction, from whom he inherited something of the cavalier spirit, so prominent in the character of his brother, Governor John Sevier. Spare of flesh, with an erect, commanding, soldierly presence, a bright blue eye, and a quick ear, he was at once ardent, brave, generous, and affectionate. He had served his country faithfully, both in the Indian wars, and the War of Independence; had been prominent in the civil affairs of Washington County; took an active interest in the establishment of the State of Franklin, soon after the fall of which in 1788, he emigrated to Cumberland, and erected a station on the north side of Red River, near its mouth, and about a mile from Clarksville. In 1792 Doublehead and his party killed three of his sons, Robert, William, and Valentine, while on their way to Nashville to join General Robertson in the defence of the settlements. He now had a still more severe trial to endure.

About eleven o'clock on the morning of November 11, 1794, when the men were all away from the station except Colonel Sevier and his son-in-law, Charles Snyder, the Indians surprised and made a furious assault on Sevier's Station. The scene was wild and tragic. The screams of the women and the crying of the children were mingled with the roaring of the guns and the yelling of the Indians, while they killed and scalped, robbed and plundered, in frantic confusion. Colonel

[396]American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, p. 383.

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Sevier, assisted by his wife, successfully defended their own house, but the Indians were in nearly every other building before they were discovered. Snyder, his wife, Betsy; their son, John, and Colonel Sevier's son, Joseph, were all killed in Snyder's house, but the Colonel prevented the Indians from getting Snyder's scalp. Mrs. Ann King and her son, James, were also killed, and Colonel Sevier's daughter, Rebecca, was scalped and left for dead, but revived and finally recovered. The people of Clarksville heard the firing of the guns, and John Easten, Anthony Crutcher, and two or three other men, who happened to be in the town, ran over to the relief of Colonel Sevier, when the Indians hastily disappeared, having looted the houses and killed the stock.[397] Colonel Sevier abandoned his station and moved over to Clarksville, which place was itself upon the eve of being evacuated, when General Robertson ordered Captain Evans, with a part of his command, to scout on the frontiers of Tennessee County.

After the massacre of Sevier's Station, the Indians retired to the country around Eddyville, Kentucky, where they waylaid a hunting party, and killed Colonel John Montgomery, who has appeared more than once in this history. He was a bold, resolute, and adventurous pioneer. In company with Mansker, Drake, Bledsoe, and others, he explored the Cumberland country as early as 1771. A colonel in the western army under General George Rogers Clark, he went to southwest Virginia to enlist recruits for his army, and while there joined Colonel Evan Shelby in the destruction of the Chickamauga towns in 1779. He was a signer of the Cumberland compact, and was the first sheriff elected for the district. In 1784 he founded the city of Clarksville, and in 1794 commanded the Territorial troops in the Nickajack expedition.

After his return from Nickajack he led a hunting excursion to Eddyville, where his camp was surprised and attacked by the Indians, November 27, 1794. The whites, taken at a disadvantage, retreated, when Colonel Hugh Tinnon, one of the party, who was impeded by a wound, asked Colonel Montgomery not to leave him. With the courage and devotion so often found among the prisoners, he kept himself between Colonel Tinnon and the Indians until a bullet from one of their guns took effect in his knee, when, finding him disabled, the Indians rushed upon him and killed him with their knives. John Rains, on his return from Fort Massac, reached Eddy-

[397] Anthony Crutcher to William Crutcher, and John Easten to James Robertson, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, p. 542; Valentine Sevier to John Sevier, Ramsey's Annals of Tennessee, p. 619.

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ville the day of the tragedy and met Julius Sanders, one of the party, who had escaped, though shot in four places. Sanders said the last he saw of Colonel Montgomery an Indian was stabbing him repeatedly with a huge knife. Next day Rains went with a party, including a son of Colonel Montgomery, and found his body, which they buried where a tree had been uprooted by the storm.[398] Two years later, when Tennessee County gave up its beautiful name to the State—tradition says at the suggestion of Andrew Jackson—it was called Montgomery, in honor of Colonel John Montgomery.

At this juncture the Chickasaws made a diversion greatly to the interest of the Cumberland settlers. President Washington, admiring the courage of the Chickasaws, and appreciating the constancy of their friendship for the United States, in the spring of 1794 authorized Governor Blount to invite their great chief Piomingo, to visit him at the seat of government. The invitation was readily accepted, and Piomingo, with some other Chickasaw chiefs, proceeded to Philadelphia, where they were cordially received, and had an audience with the President, July 11, 1794. He gave some of the chiefs commissions as officers of militia, William Colbert heading the list, with the title of Major-General; and presented Piomingo with a parchment document setting forth the boundaries of the Chickasaw territory, as described in the Nashville conference of 1792. He also gave them many valuable presents, promised them goods to the amount of $3,000 annually, and with many flattering speeches, sent them off in great good humor.[399]

Having been invited by General Robertson and Governor Blount to make common cause with the Americans, and being honored by President Washington with military commissions, for their services in the army of the northwest, the Chickasaws regarded themselves as allies, offensive and defensive, of the United States. Now, the Chickasaws, though a small tribe, had never been controlled by prudential considerations in their intercourse with their neighbors, but boldly revenged every injury received, without regarding the consequences that night follow.

Early in January, 1795, General Robertson was informed by runners that General William Colbert, Captain James Underwood, Captain Muckishapoy, and the Old Counsellor, chiefs of the Chickasaws, with seventy warriors and some women and children, were on their way to Nashville, with five Creek scalps which they had taken near Duck River, from Shotlatoke

[398] Narrative of John Rains, Southwestern Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 266-7.
[399] Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, pp. 424-5.

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and four other Creek warriors, who were on their way to kill and plunder the people of Cumberland, as they had often done before. They had surrounded the whole party by night, and killed them in the morning. They said they were the people of the United States, bearing commissions from the President himself, and, therefore, felt themselves bound to retaliate on his enemies. They were received with great applause by the people of Nashville, who gave a public entertainment in their honor, escorting them from General Robertson's house with a company of cavalry in uniform. On their part, the Chickasaws held a war dance that night around the scalps of their Creek victims.[400]

By the 5th of March, 1795, they had killed and scalped ten more Creeks. Acts of hostility committed by other Indians seemed to disturb the Creeks more than similar acts of the white people; the killing of two or three Creeks by Hanging Maw created great excitement in the nation; and now the hostile attitude of the Chickasaws produced the greatest commotion among them. They prepared for a vigorous campaign. Their first acts of vengeance were as cruel as they were unnatural. Some of their warriors had Chickasaw wives; these were now killed, and, as the children of the marriage, under their customs, belonged to the wife, they were regarded as Chickasaws, and shared the fate of their mothers. In this respect the Chickasaws showed their superior civilization and humanity; their Creek wives were not only spared, but some of them, like Jessie Moniac, the wife of General William Colbert, were held in great honor and esteem.[401]

The Creeks, being occupied with their preparations for the invasion of the Chickasaw towns, few depredations were committed in Mero District. The Cherokees and Choctaws tried to preserve peace by urging the Creeks not to make war on the Chickasaws, at least, until they had made friends with the United States. The Chickasaws applied to President Washington for assistance against the Creeks, and General Colbert came to Nashville to await his answer. General Robertson knew that he was not authorized by the government to enlist troops to aid the Chickasaws in their war against the Creeks, but recognizing the merits of the demand, and appreciating the value of their friendship, he was unwilling to see them extirpated, and determined to encourage by his personal influence the enlistment of volunteers for the defence of their towns. In his loyalty to his old friends, General Robertson

[400] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 556-7.
[401] Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, p. 447.

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was supported by General Daniel Smith, Secretary of the Territory, and all the leading men of the district. With their approbation, he requested Captain David Smith to enlist as many volunteers as he could, and set out immediately with General Colbert for the Chickasaw nation. Captain Smith collected such men as he could at once enlist, despatched some of them by water, with provisions for the campaign, and with fifteen men escorted General Colbert through by land to Log Town, where Colbert lived. After their departure General Robertson induced Colonel Kasper Mansker and Captain John Gwin to join in the same enterprise. They accordingly raised thirty-one or thirty-two men, and following Captain Smith, reached the Chickasaw towns May 10, 1795.[402]

The Creeks who had massacred Colonel Tittsworth's family and were still encamped at the mouth of the Tennessee River, attacked and captured one of Captain Smith's boats, as it made its way down the Cumberland River. The other was saved by one white man and some Chickasaws, who carried it to Fort Massac, where they disposed of its contents, and continued on to the nation; all the other volunteers who were with the boats returned to Nashville.

On the 28th of May, 1795, a very large body of Creeks appeared in view of Log Town. Meeting with two women who had gone out for wood, they killed and scalped them. Captain Smith proposed a sortie, but General Colbert, thinking the Creeks wished to draw the men out of the fort, so they could get in and kill the women and children, declined to leave his post. A party of the women's kinsmen, however, rushed out upon the Creeks. In the melee that followed one of the Chickasaws was killed, whereupon Smith and Colbert with a small detachment, flew to the relief of the sallying party. On their approach the Creeks retired precipitately. There was much blood on their trail, and many of their arms were left upon the ground, from which it was believed they suffered severely. The Creeks continued in the vicinity until the first of June, killing cattle and taking horses, when they quietly disappeared. The Chickasaws thought they would not soon return, and were content that Colonel Mansker's troops should go home, which they did about June 7th. General Robertson, who had been sent by Governor Blount on a peace mission to the Chickasaws, was present at this action.[403]

The Creek-Chickasaw war now became the leading question in the south and southwest. The Creeks, in addition to the

[402]Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, pp. 448-9.
[403]Haywood, pp. 449-50, 453.

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large army they were preparing to raise in their own nation, sent emissaries to ask assistance from the Shawnees, against whom the Chickasaws had fought in the armies of St. Clair and Wayne. The Chickasaws, on their part, renewed their solicitations to President Washington, who replied that, to grant them the aid they asked would involve a general war between the whole Creek nation and the United States, which only Congress had power to declare. He told them the commissioners at the Nashville conference had no authority to promise to interfere in the disputes of the Indian nations, except as friends of both parties, in order to make peace between them; that General Robertson had done wrong to tell them he expected the United States would send an army against the Creeks next summer; and that the commissions he had given to the Chickasaw chiefs were expressly confined to operations against the Indians of the northwest.[404] The Chickasaws were greatly disappointed, but never lost their courage. "As what I expected of your assistance is not in your power," Piomingo writes to General Robertson, "I hope I have made good times for you, if I have made bad for myself; if so, you shall hear that I die like a man."[405]

Governor Blount, meanwhile, was exerting all his diplomatic skill to restore peace between the contending tribes. A suggestion of Superintendent Seagrove, after a peace conference with the Creeks, at Beard's Bluff, on the Altamaha, in which he advised Alexander Cornell, a son-in-law of the late General McGillivray, and deputy agent for Indian affairs, that he ought to take some of the Creek chiefs and visit Governor Blount at his home, gave Governor Blount the cue he wished. Replying to a letter of Cornell's containing the above information, he acted upon his suggestion, and appointed a conference to be held at Tellico Blockhouse, October 10, 1795.[406] At this conference, which was attended by Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws, plans were concerted under which peace was re-established between the Creeks and Chickasaws before the end of the year.

Not long after the conference at Tellico Blockhouse, an event of supreme importance to the west happened in international affairs. The long, irritating, and humilitating, negotiations with Spain, respecting the navigation of the Mississippi River, which were commenced in 1785, and dragged on for ten years, were finally concluded, and a treaty signed, Oc-

[404] American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, p. 393.
[405] American Historical Magazine, Vol. 4, p. 69.
[406] American Historical Magazine, Vol. 3, pp. 379-390.

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tober 27, 1795. By this treaty the southern boundary of the United States was fixed at the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and the navigation of the Mississippi River, from its source to its mouth, was declared to be free to the citizens of the United States. From this time Spain lost interest in American affairs, ceased her intrigues on our western frontiers, and withdrew her support from the Creeks, whose aggressions she had hitherto countenanced, if not actually instigated. Feeling the loss of this support, the Creeks now expressed a desire for peace with the United States, hostilities were at once suspended, and a treaty was concluded with them June 29, 1796. This brought to an end the sanguinary Indian wars, begun in the first days of the Revolution in 1776, which had for twenty years distressed and decimated the people of the Old Southwest.

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HISTORICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

Readers will note that the valuable contribution of Hon. A. V. Goodpasture on the history of southern Indians is concluded in this number. It is very much to be desired that this interesting and detailed study should appear in book form; possibly at some future date we may have the pleasure of announcing same.

Proper notice of such a noted contribution as has been rendered in the field of archaeology by a former Tennessean, Mr. James Christian, is well worthy of a place in this magazine.* A letter from the author of the article says that the fine collection has been divided and sold to various museums. Possibly if our society had an appropriate place for the care and display of such valuable collections it might share in such dispositions. It is known that a most valuable collection was lost to it a few years ago because of this lack.

The Sewanee Review Quarterly for October, 1918, has a brilliant write-up of Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, by the celebrated poet, essayist and lecturer, Edward Markham.

The Quarterly Publication of the Historical Society of Ohio, July-September, 1918, publishes a compilation of military papers, list of soldiers, etc., containing valuable detail data of the Anthony Wayne campaign of 1796. It is interesting to note the then subordinate titles of some afterward very famous men, viz.: "*Capt.*" Zebulun Pike, "*Lieut.*" Ferdinand Claiborne, "*Ensign*" Meriwether Lewis, "*Lieut.*" William Henry Harrison.

Joseph Habersham Chapter, D. A. R., of Atlanta, Ga., desire to announce that they have a limited number of copies of their valuable publications yet to dispose of. Application is to be made to the Chairman of the Book Committee, 1339 Peachtree Street. Vols. I and II, published in 1901 and 1902, contain unpublished lists of soldiers, emigrants, marriage bonds, death notices, etc., and Vol. III contains all marriages, wills and deeds in eighteen Georgia counties organized before 1796, also the unpublished Volume II of Logan's Upper South Carolina, etc.

The wide circle of friends of Dr. St. George Sioussat of Brown University, whom we delight to honor as our former editor, will be pleased to read the article that introduces this number of the Magazine. Due obligations for its republication from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are noted.

ITEMS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Meeting of November 12, 1918.

Mr. J. Tyree Fain was elected Recording Secretary to take the place of Mr. Irby R. Hudson, who had entered war service.

The special feature of the meeting was the presentation of a por-

*See p. 248.

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trait, drawn by the noted artist George Dury, of General Robert Armstrong, the intimate friend of President Andrew Jackson. This valuable addition to the gallery of the society came from Miss Catherine Vaulx, a granddaughter of General Armstrong, and was presented in an appropriate address by Judge Robert Ewing, a life-time friend of the family. A number of interesting facts were given concerning the intimate relationship existing between President Jackson and General Armstrong, special mention being made of the item in the will of President Jackson bequeathing the sword he wore at the Battle of New Orleans to General Armstrong, who later presented it to Congress through Hon. Lewis Cass.

The following were elected members of the society: Hon. Finley M. Dorris, J. Vaulx Crockett, Waldo E. Coudrey and Prof. James H. Ransom.

Gifts and loans were reported as follows:

Files of the "Southern Bivouac" and of the "South Atlantic Quarterly," by J. H. DeWitt.

Valuable mss. scrap books and miscellaneous volumes, by Maj. J. G. Cisco.

One army pistol, two pairs of spurs and a belt—Confederate relics—together with a bound volume of the "Lincoln Journal," 1858-1860, by R. H. Gray, Fayetteville, Tenn.

A valuable manuscript relating to the locating of the State Capitol building at Nashville, by Hon. Park Marshall.

Meeting of December 10, 1918.

A most interesting address on the History and Purpose of the Watkins Institute Foundation of Nashville was made by Judge Robert Ewing, in which many facts were set forth detailing the worthy purpose of the late philanthropist, Samuel Watkins, and the large practical results coming from this magnificent benefactor to Nashville.

The society adopted resolutions appointing a committee to formulate and submit suggestions looking to awakening the interest of the shortly-convening Legislature of Tennessee in the subject of proper housing the Historical Society and kindred organizations.

Gifts were recorded as follows:

Army pistol found on the battlefield of Shiloh, from Mr. E. H. Steinman, of Collinwood, Tenn., and a Civil War scrap-book compiled by a Confederate, from Mrs. Francis W. Ring, presented by J. H. DeWitt.

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Tennessee historical magazine

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